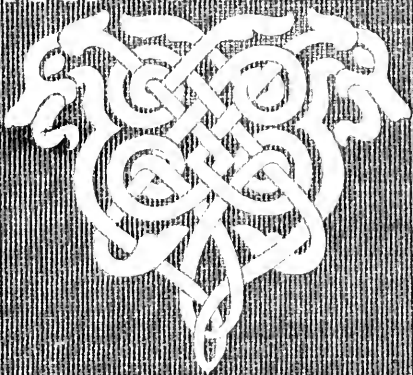


ANDREAS  
AND  
THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES



KRAPP



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Book \_\_\_\_\_

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ANDREAS  
AND  
THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES

*TWO ANGLO-SAXON NARRATIVE POEMS*

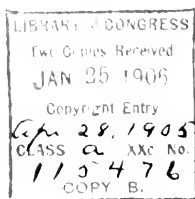
EDITED  
WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY

BY  
GEORGE PHILIP KRAPP  
LECTURER IN ENGLISH IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

— . . . —

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TO  
JAMES WILSON BRIGHT  
SCHOLAR AND GUIDE OF SCHOLARS  
THIS VOLUME  
IS  
GRATEFULLY DEDICATED



## PREFACE

Although editions of the text of *Andreas* have been made from time to time, no comprehensive treatment of the poem on its various sides of interest has appeared since Grimm published his *Andreas und Elene* in 1840. In the meantime our knowledge of the language and the literature of the Anglo-Saxon period has not remained stationary, and a new endeavor to present the poem in its proper linguistic and historical setting needs no apology. *The Fates of the Apostles* is here edited for the first time in its entirety and with explanatory comment.

The text of both poems is based upon Wülker's *Codex Vercellensis*, a photographic reproduction of the poetical parts of the Vercelli Book. This volume is referred to in the textual notes as MS. Where the readings of the reproduction are uncertain, which happens but rarely, recourse has been had to the *Bibliothek* and to Napier's collation of the text of the *Bibliothek* with the manuscript. Readings derived from either of the two latter sources are always specifically indicated. In the Text all departures from the manuscript readings which originate with the present editor are printed in italics; readings suggested by earlier editors or commentators which are incorporated into the text are printed in Roman type. Additions of a complete word or of several words are enclosed within square brackets.

With the exception of a few of the commoner forms of the pronoun, the article, and the conjunctions, the Glossary is intended to be a complete verbal and grammatical index to both poems. No space has been given, in the Introduction, to a formal discussion of grammar or metre. What little of special importance there was to say about these subjects has been said in the Notes.

The editor regrets that the results of his chapter on authorship, in the Introduction, could not be more conclusive than they are. In the end, however, the chief gain in such discussions consists in determining the differences and similarities of various works, not in tagging each with an author's name. The present discussion will have attained its end if it carry back the question of the authorship of *Andreas* to a

sounder if less dogmatic position than that to which much recent theorizing has been hurrying it. To some it would seem a simple solution of the matter to combine *Andreas* and *The Fates of the Apostles* into a single poem, and to assign this poem to Cynewulf; but reasons why this disposition of the two poems cannot be permitted will be found fully discussed in the Introduction. The importance, however, of *The Fates of the Apostles* in the discussion of the authorship of *Andreas*, as well as the general similarity of the poems in subject matter, rendered it advisable that they should be treated together.

To the various friends who by counsel and encouragement have assisted the editor in the preparation of this volume grateful acknowledgments are made, especially to Professor Hart for surrendering the *Andreas* into less skilful and experienced hands than his own after he had made considerable collections towards an edition of the poem; to Dr. Alma Blount for the use of her thorough and scholarly study of the language and vocabulary of *Andreas*; and to Professor Fred. Tupper, Jr., for his comments on some troublesome passages of the text. Above all, however, the editor is indebted to Professors Bright and Kittredge, the general editors of the series. Whenever it was possible to do so, specific acknowledgment has been made of this indebtedness, but in most instances the editor has been compelled to profit by their generosity in silence.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY  
October, 1905

G. P. K.



# CONTENTS

## INTRODUCTION :

PAGE

I. THE MANUSCRIPT AND EDITIONS . . . . .	ix
II. SOURCE OF ANDREAS . . . . .	xxi
III. SOURCE OF THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES . . . . .	xxix
IV. AUTHORSHIP OF ANDREAS AND THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES . . . . .	xxxiii
V. POETIC ELABORATION IN ANDREAS . . . . .	li
VI. THE LEGEND OF ST. ANDREW . . . . .	lix
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	lxxvii
TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS . . . . .	lxxix

## TEXT :

I. ANDREAS . . . . .	1
II. THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES . . . . .	69

## NOTES :

I. NOTES ON ANDREAS . . . . .	75
II. NOTES ON THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES . . . . .	160

GLOSSARY . . . . .	173
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# INTRODUCTION

## I

### THE MANUSCRIPT AND EDITIONS

The poems *Andreas* and *The Fates of the Apostles* are both contained in the *Vercelli Book* or *Codex Vercellensis*. This famous volume is preserved in the cathedral library at Vercelli, in northern Italy, where it has probably rested for some six or seven centuries. Various attempts have been made to explain the appearance of this book, made up entirely of Anglo-Saxon texts, in so unexpected a place; and, as the most plausible of the theories brought forward derives much of its probability from the presence in the volume of a poem on St. Andrew, the discussion has here a special interest and importance.

The opinion of the Italian scholar Gazzera,<sup>1</sup> that the manuscript was brought to Vercelli by John Scotus Erigena, is untenable, since John Scotus died about the year 875, and the handwriting of the manuscript is indisputably above a century later. Equally unfounded is Earle's theory<sup>2</sup> that the manuscript was taken to Vercelli by Cyneweard, bishop of Wells. Cyneweard is mentioned in the *Chronicle* under the years 964 and 975. The entry for the latter year states that he "left Britain" (*of Brytene gewāt*). Although this phrase differs slightly from the common euphemistic form of expression for recording a death, it seems probable that this is its meaning, since no further mention of Cyneweard is made in the *Chronicle*.<sup>3</sup> Even though the phrase be taken literally, however, it offers no foundation for Earle's hypothesis that Cyneweard was the son of the poet Cynewulf, that he was himself a poet and the author of the poetical account of the battle of Brunanburh given in the *Chronicle* under the year 937, and that in the year 975 he

<sup>1</sup> *Anglia* V, 452.

<sup>2</sup> *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, p. xxii.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Chronicle* (Parker MS.) 790, 794, 870 (cf. MS. D), and 961, and Earle and Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles* II, 163. Cf. also Klaeber, *MLN*. XX, 32, who calls attention to the amplifying phrase *þurh gecyrdne craf*.

left England, carrying with him a volume of his father's poetry which he left behind him in his journeyings at Vercelli.

Much more plausible is Wülker's theory,<sup>1</sup> based upon an oral tradition with which he became acquainted at the time of his visits to Vercelli (in 1881 and 1885), to the effect that there formerly existed at Vercelli a hospital for Anglo-Saxon pilgrims on their way to Rome.<sup>2</sup> At this hospital, Wülker thinks, a library of religious works may gradually have collected, and among them may have been the volume which we know as the *Vercelli Book*. Many Anglo-Saxons undoubtedly passed through Vercelli on their way to Rome. There is no reason to believe, however, that they established a library at Vercelli, and this explanation of the origin of the *Vercelli Book* is too uncircumstantial to merit more than a passing notice.

The most convincing theory of the history of the manuscript was first set forth in an unsigned contribution to the *Quarterly Review* for 1845.<sup>3</sup> The principal purpose of this article is the criticism of an essay by H. G. Knight, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy*. In his discussion of the churches of Italy, Knight had called attention to the markedly English characteristics of the church of St. Andrew at Vercelli.<sup>4</sup> It is in the endeavor to explain the presence of this English church in Italy that the reviewer brings forward his theory to account for the presence of the Anglo-Saxon manuscript at Vercelli. His words are as follows:—

If the traveller inquires who was the founder of this magnificent structure [the church of Sant' Andrea at Vercelli], he will hear a name which often occurs in the pages of Matthew Paris. It is that of the Legate, Cardinal Wala, or Guala, who appears as an influential statesman in English affairs during the eventful period of the last years of John and the accession of Henry III, when it seemed as if the crown of England might be transferred to a foreign dynasty.

Guala Bicchieri, born of a distinguished family, was raised to the purple by Innocent III, and despatched by him as legate to France in 1208. In

<sup>1</sup> First enounced in *Anglii*, V, 154, note; stated again in *Grundriss*, p. 237, in *Lat. Lit.*, p. vi, and *Anglii*, XI, 620.

<sup>2</sup> This tradition probably rests on the fact that a part of Guala's foundation at Vercelli was a hospital richly endowed with money obtained from Henry III of England. This hospital, founded in 1224, is still in existence. See Gesell Fels, *Old Ital.*, <sup>2</sup>, p. 702.

<sup>3</sup> I.XXV, 308-309.

<sup>4</sup> See Freeman, *Historical and Architectural Sketches, chiefly Italian*, pp. 295-304, for an interesting account of this church.

1215 the cardinal was again sent to France, when Innocent used his influence to dissuade Philip the Fair from attempting the conquest of England. For this purpose Guala crossed over with Louis, the better to oppose him. In England Guala strenuously supported John with all his influence, cursing the French prince and Stephen Langton with bell, book, and candle.

On the death of King John, Guala took an active part in the great council of Gloucester, and mainly assisted in establishing the claims of Henry III. The gratitude of the new monarch bestowed upon Guala much preferment, and amongst other benefices, the priory of *St. Andrew* at Chester. The object of his mission being successfully accomplished by the cessation of hostilities, Guala returned to his native city, where founding a Collegiate Church, he dedicated the new structure to St. Andrew, doubtless with reference to his English benefice. Guala employed as his architect a French ecclesiastic Thomas, who afterwards became the first abbot of the convent; <sup>1</sup> but the style is so truly English that it is impossible to doubt that the working drawings were brought from England. Upon this point the form of the choir is conclusive.

Guala, mixed as he must have been with various classes of society in England, had evidently acquired strong English feelings. He makes many bequests in his will in *sterlings*, of which he possessed so good store. Relics of English saints were bestowed by him upon his foundation; and a most curious and important collection of Anglo-Saxon poetry, now in the Cathedral library in Vercelli — and of which the chief piece, the metrical legend of *St. Andrew*, is about to be published by Mr. Kemble — results without doubt from the collection which Guala had formed.

<sup>1</sup> Fergusson, *History of Architecture* II, 199, says that the architect of the church was an Englishman, named Brigwithe, but I know no other authority for this statement. According to Street, *Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages*, London, 1874, pp. 333-334, in the gable of the church "is the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin, below a figure kneeling before her, and said to represent the architect of the church, who died in 1246, being Abbat as well as architect." That the first abbot of the church was a Frenchman, named Thomas, we learn from Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett. Ital.* IV, 464. An interesting letter is preserved (Brewer, *Monumenta Franciscana* I, 206) from Adam Marsh (d. circa 1257) to his friend Thomas, abbot of St. Andrews at Vercelli, in which the great Oxford scholar urges upon the abbot the evils of non-residence. Thomas appears to have held a benefice in England, though no mention is made of any specific place. In Frova's life of Guala (p. 175), also, we learn that it was to Thomas as abbot that the possessions of the church of St. Andrew at Vercelli were consigned at the death of Guala. A late and unfounded tradition is recorded in Michaud, *Biographie Universelle*, in the account of the life of Guala, to the effect that the church of St. Andrew at Vercelli was built after the plans of an English church at Winchester.

This account of Guala as given by the reviewer was corrected in one particular by Pauli,<sup>1</sup> who pointed out that the benefice bestowed upon Guala was not the church of St. Andrew at Chester, but that of St. Andrew at Chesterton in Cambridgeshire. The evidence for this is contained in a document,<sup>2</sup> dated January 22 in the 22d year of Henry III (A.D. 1238), which confirms a grant made during the king's minority "de ecclesia de Cestreton, in diocesi Elyensi" to God and the church of Blessed Andrew of Vercelli at the instance of Cardinal Guala, then papal legate in England.<sup>3</sup>

Some further circumstantial evidence in support of the theory of the reviewer may be derived from several of the statements in Frova's life of Guala.<sup>4</sup> We learn from this source that Guala was a scholar, a lover

<sup>1</sup> *History of England*, Hamburg, 1853, p. 512; also *Gött. gel. Anzeigen*, 1866, p. 1412. See Cook, *MLN*, IV, 212.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in the *Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton*, ed. Williams, Rolls Series, London, 1872, II, 344.

<sup>3</sup> The document is preserved in Bekynton in a copy dated October 20, 1420. The advowson of the church afterwards lapsed to Henry VI through the adhesion of the abbot and chapter of St. Andrews Vercellensis to the antipope, Felix V. In 1440 (see Bekynton, I, lxxix-lxxxi; II, 346 ff.) it was assigned to King's Hall, Cambridge, and afterwards it fell to Trinity College, Cambridge (1546), which college succeeded to all the property of King's Hall (Bekynton, I, lxxx). The church remains at present in the possession of Trinity College; its annual income in the first half of the fifteenth century was variously estimated as eighty marks and as forty pounds; it now amounts to between six hundred and seven hundred pounds sterling (Bekynton, I, lxxxi). Britton and Brayley, *The Beauties of England* II, 113, mention Chesterton as a large village one mile north of Cambridge. The church is described as "ancient and spacious." St. Andrew appears to have been held in special respect in Cambridgeshire. Of the twenty-five churches within five miles of Cambridge, eight are consecrated in his name, Barnwell, Cherry Hinton, Chesterton, Grantchester, Histon, Impington, Oakington, and Stapleford. See *Churches of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely*, Cambridge Camden Society, 1845, p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> *Gualae Bicherii, Presbyteri Cardinalis S. Martini in montibus, vita et gesta collecta a Philadelfo Libico* [pseud. of Giuseppe Frova], Mediolani, 1767. This volume has not been accessible to me. It was used, however, by the author of the brief biography in Michaud, *Biographie Universelle*, and by Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett. Ital.* IV, 1, iv, in the preparation of his longer account of Guala. Professor Cook, in "Cardinal Guala and the Vercelli Book," *University of California Library Bulletin*, No. 10, has given a very complete summary of those facts in the life of Guala which may have bearing on the history of the *Vercelli Book*. But Professor Cook knew Frova's life of Guala only through the medium of Tiraboschi. I am indebted to Mr. J. A. Herbert, of the British Museum, for kindly

and collector of books. That some of his books were of English origin is evident from the fact that at least two of them were written in an English character.<sup>1</sup> One is described<sup>2</sup> as follows: "item bibliotheca de littera Anglicana qua D. Cardinalis utebatur in capella."<sup>3</sup> The second book is described<sup>4</sup> as "Omeliarium de Capella D. Cardinalis de bona littera Anglicana." It is interesting to observe that these two manuscripts in English script are distinguished from the rest as being more especially the personal property of Cardinal Guala. At his death in 1227, Guala bequeathed his rich collection of books to the church which he had founded at Vercelli.<sup>5</sup>

One naturally asks, however, what use Cardinal Guala could have for a manuscript written in a language which was hardly intelligible even to an Englishman of the thirteenth century. To this Professor Cook replies<sup>6</sup> that "Guala, like other strong natures of whom we are told, may have been somewhat superstitious, and have believed that his life was somehow under the influence of St. Andrew. Not only did he leave England on or about St. Andrew's Day [Matth. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* iii, 42], Pandulf arriving on the Monday following, but King John, while under Guala's protection as legate, won a victory over his rebellious barons at Rochester on the vigil of St. Andrew, perhaps assisted by the saint himself, the patron of that city, according to Higden (*Polych.* 7:50)." Some such superstitious reverence would serve to account for

providing me with transcripts of those passages of Frova's life, particularly of the list of books which Guala bequeathed to his church at Vercelli, which are important for the present discussion.

<sup>1</sup> Only one is mentioned by Tiraboschi, IV, 124-125.

<sup>2</sup> Frova's life, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> The word *bibliotheca* is used here, as frequently in mediæval Latin (see Ducange, s.v.), with the meaning Bible. That the phrase *de littera Anglicana* means "in English characters," i.e. characters such as the English scribes used, not "in the English language," is evident from other occurrences of the phrase in Frova's list, e.g. *de littera Parisiensi*, *de littera Boloniensi*, *de littera antiqua*, etc. For other examples, see Ducange s.v. *littera*.

<sup>4</sup> Frova's life, p. 175.

<sup>5</sup> A list of the books which he gave to St. Andrews is printed in Frova's life, pp. 175-178, from an inventory made at the time of Guala's death. The books are chiefly copies of various parts of the Bible, of the writings of Augustine, Gregory, and other fathers, decrees of various councils of the church, and similar works. On p. 176, however, a work of Bede's is listed: "Item Jeronimus contra Jovinianum et Beda super actus Apostolorum in uno volumine."

<sup>6</sup> l. c., pp. 7-8.

Guala's possession and preservation of an Anglo-Saxon volume containing a poem on St. Andrew.<sup>1</sup>

This evidence, circumstantial and indirect as it is, does not of course show conclusively that the *Vercelli Book* was brought to Italy by Cardinal Guala. It has, however, removed a great deal of the feeling of strangeness and unexpectedness at the presence of an Anglo-Saxon manuscript in this remote Italian library. There can, indeed, be little doubt that, either directly or indirectly through his foundations at that place, Cardinal Guala is responsible for the long journey of the manuscript from its home in England to its present resting-place at Vercelli.

Like the *Exeter Book* the *Vercelli Book* is a miscellany. It differs, however, from the *Exeter Book*, which contains only poetry, in that it is made up of works in both prose and verse. The handwriting of the manuscript is that of the beginning of the eleventh century.<sup>2</sup> According to Wülker<sup>3</sup> at least two and possibly three different hands are to be distinguished in the writing of the manuscript. Napier,<sup>4</sup> however, sees only one handwriting in the volume. So far as one can judge from the photographic reproduction of the poetical parts of the manuscript, the differences in handwriting are very slight and such as might occur in the writing of any scribe as his materials — parchment, ink, and pen — changed from time to time. Furthermore, in its mechanical details the book is made on a single plan, the same system of punctuation and sectional division being maintained throughout. There are indications, also, it is interesting to note, that the form in which the manuscript has come down to us is that in which it left the hands of its first compiler.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There are indications that sympathetic relations existed between Vercelli and England in connection with a monastery school which grew up at St. Andrews. Englishmen are mentioned as being present at this school in 1228 (Tiraboschi, IV, 82-83). According to a credible tradition Adam Marsh himself was at one time a student in this school (Tiraboschi, IV, 464).

<sup>2</sup> Wülker, *Cod. Ver.*, p. viii; see also Wülker, *Grundriss*, pp. 237-243, and *Anglia*, V, 451-465; Körtling, *Grundriss z. Gesch. d. eng. Lit.*, p. 20. Grimm, p. xlv, dates the writing of the manuscript a century too early.

<sup>3</sup> *Cod. Ver.*, p. vii; *Grundriss*, p. 239.

<sup>4</sup> *Haupt's Zs.* XXXIII, 67.

<sup>5</sup> These indications are the following: Each signature of the volume is numbered by the scribe, in figures at the beginning of the signature and in letters of the alphabet at the end. In the case of several signatures where the numbering is omitted, the numbering of the following signatures indicates that they were counted in. On the first folio, which has been so much worn and injured that



The volume contains altogether 135 folios. From its appearance one might infer that occasional folios had been cut out; but, as Napier has remarked, the presence of a narrow strip of parchment between two folios is not always proof of the excision of a folio.<sup>1</sup> The writing is

very little of it is now decipherable, no number can be distinguished; but at the foot of fol. 9<sup>b</sup> is written the letter A, an indication that the first signature of the manuscript, as we have it, was the first signature of the volume as it was planned. According to Wülker (*Anglia* V, 454) only a few letters are legible on the first folio; on fol. 2<sup>a</sup>, however, the writing is quite plain, beginning in the middle of a sentence and the middle of a word. The first number, a prose sermon, extends to the bottom of fol. 9<sup>a</sup>; as this is somewhat longer than most of the prose works of the manuscript, and as the usual number of folios in a signature is eight or nine, we may suppose that the first folio of the volume as it now stands was its original opening folio. At the top, fol. 10<sup>a</sup> is numbered two; fol. 18<sup>b</sup>, bottom, is marked B. The third signature, C, comprises fol. 19<sup>a</sup>–24<sup>b</sup>; the fourth, D, fol. 25<sup>a</sup>–32<sup>b</sup>; the fifth, E, fol. 33<sup>a</sup>–40<sup>b</sup>; the sixth, F, fol. 41<sup>a</sup>–47<sup>b</sup>; the seventh, G, fol. 48<sup>a</sup>–55<sup>b</sup>; all these signatures are numbered on the first folio and lettered on the last. The eighth signature, which is neither numbered nor lettered, comprises fol. 56<sup>a</sup>–63<sup>b</sup>. The ninth signature is numbered on fol. 64<sup>a</sup> and lettered I on fol. 71<sup>b</sup>; the tenth, K, comprises fol. 72<sup>a</sup>–79<sup>b</sup>. The eleventh signature is numbered on fol. 80<sup>a</sup>, but it is not lettered at the end. The twelfth signature is numbered on fol. 86<sup>a</sup> and lettered M on fol. 91<sup>b</sup>. The thirteenth signature, N, comprises fol. 92<sup>a</sup>–98<sup>b</sup>; the fourteenth, O, fol. 99<sup>a</sup>–104<sup>b</sup>; the fifteenth, P, fol. 105<sup>a</sup>–111<sup>b</sup>. The sixteenth signature, neither numbered nor lettered, comprises fol. 112<sup>a</sup>–118<sup>b</sup>, as is proved by the numbering of the seventeenth signature on fol. 119<sup>a</sup>. The seventeenth signature, which is not lettered at the close, comprises only two folios, fol. 119<sup>a</sup>–120<sup>b</sup>; this short signature of only two leaves was made because the scribe needed only two leaves to finish a homily which closed one of the prose sections of the volume. On fol. 121<sup>a</sup>, which is numbered eighteen, begins the poem *Eleue*: this signature is lettered S on fol. 128<sup>b</sup>, showing that two letters designating signatures sixteen and seventeen must be counted in in the reckoning. Signature nineteen, numbered on fol. 129<sup>a</sup>, extends, according to Wülker (*Grundriss*, p. 238), only to fol. 130<sup>b</sup>, without lettering; signature twenty, according to Wülker, consists of fol. 131<sup>a</sup>–134<sup>b</sup>, with neither numbering nor lettering; fol. 135, with which the manuscript ends, Wülker thinks is tacked on to the end of the last signature. But Napier (*Haupt's Zs.* XXXIII, 67) has pointed out that Wülker is in error in his account of the manuscript from fol. 129<sup>a</sup> to the end. The nineteenth signature, according to Napier, comprises fol. 129<sup>a</sup>–135<sup>b</sup>; fol. 135 is not tacked on to the end of the signature but is the corresponding half of fol. 130. It is probable that one folio, the corresponding half of fol. 129, has been lost from this signature. This lost folio would make the nineteenth a signature of eight folios, which is the normal number in the manuscript.

<sup>1</sup> The scribe may have used sheets of parchment not large enough to double so as to form two folios, and in order to get a purchase for sewing this single-sheet

plain and legible. In several places, however, notably on fol. 36<sup>b</sup>, 37<sup>b</sup>, 38<sup>a</sup>, 38<sup>b</sup>, 39<sup>a</sup>, 42<sup>b</sup>, and 54<sup>a</sup>, it has suffered injury, apparently from the application of some acid. The only passage which is thereby rendered completely illegible is that on fol. 54<sup>a</sup>. Since the handwriting of the manuscript is always very clear and distinct, there is no apparent reason why these occasional passages should have been treated with acids.

The prose pieces occupy 92 folios, the sections in verse 43 folios, of the volume. The following is a complete list of the contents of the manuscript:<sup>1</sup>

- (1) Prose sermon on the Passion, the Entombment, and the Descent into Hell, fol. 1<sup>a</sup>–9<sup>a</sup>.
- (2) Sermon on the Last Judgment, fol. 9<sup>b</sup>–12<sup>a</sup>.
- (3) Sermon on the Christian virtues, fol. 12<sup>b</sup>–16<sup>a</sup>.
- (4) Sermon on the Last Judgment, including a dialogue between the soul and the body, fol. 16<sup>b</sup>–24<sup>b</sup>.
- (5) Sermon on the birth of Christ, fol. 25<sup>a</sup>–29<sup>a</sup>.
- (6) *Andreas*, fol. 29<sup>b</sup>–52<sup>b</sup>.
- (7) *The Fates of the Apostles*, fol. 52<sup>b</sup>–53<sup>b</sup>.
- (8) Runic passage, containing the name Cynwulf, fol. 54<sup>a</sup>.<sup>2</sup>
- (9) Prose sermon on the miracles preceding Christ's birth and the Flight into Egypt, fol. 54<sup>b</sup>–56<sup>a</sup>.
- (10) Sermon against extravagance and gluttony, fol. 56<sup>b</sup>–59<sup>a</sup>.
- (11) Sermon on the Last Judgment and the punishments of Hell, fol. 59<sup>a</sup>–61<sup>a</sup>.
- (12) Sermon on the suddenness of death, fol. 61<sup>a</sup>–65<sup>a</sup>.
- (13) Sermon on the transitoriness of the world and its joys, fol. 65<sup>a</sup>–71<sup>a</sup>.
- (14) Three sermons for the three *gangdægas*, or Rogation Days, fol. 71<sup>b</sup>–76<sup>b</sup>.
- (15) Sermon entitled *Larspel to sæykerre tide scea man wile*, fol. 76<sup>b</sup>–80<sup>b</sup>.
- (16) Sermon on the Judgment Day, fol. 80<sup>b</sup>–85<sup>b</sup>.

folio in, he may have bent over the inner edge of the folio, which would then show up between two folios as a narrow strip. This Napier takes to be the case after fol. 29, 35, 38, 50, and 53; on the other hand, after fol. 42 and 103 Napier thinks a folio has been cut out of the volume. Morley, *English Writers* II, 105, amusingly blunders into ascribing the composition of the *Vercelli Book* to Eusebius, and says that leaves were torn out of it, "often from among the poetry, as precious gifts for favored persons." But Blume, *Iter Italicum* I, 90–100, from whom Morley evidently derived his information, makes this statement not with reference to our codex, but with reference to a famous manuscript of the Gospels preserved at Vercelli. Robinson, *Introduction to our Early English Literature*, pp. 211–212, repeats Morley's mistake.

<sup>1</sup> As given by Wulker, *Anglia* V, 451–465, and *Grundriss*, pp. 485–492.

<sup>2</sup> Unnoticed by Wulker, first pointed out by Napier, *Haapt's Zs.* XXXIII, 70.

- (17) Sermon on the Epiphany, fol. 85<sup>b</sup>-90<sup>b</sup>.
- (18) Sermon on the Purification, fol. 90<sup>b</sup>-94<sup>b</sup>.
- (19) Sermon on St. Martin, fol. 94<sup>b</sup>-101<sup>a</sup>.
- (20) Poetical dialogue between the soul and the body, fol. 101<sup>b</sup>-103<sup>b</sup>.
- (21) Fragment of a sermon in verse on Psalm XXVIII, fol. 104<sup>a</sup>-104<sup>b</sup>.
- (22) *Vision of the Cross*, fol. 104<sup>b</sup>-106<sup>a</sup>.
- (23) Prose homily, fol. 106<sup>b</sup>-109<sup>b</sup>.<sup>1</sup>
- (24) Sermon on the deadly sins, fol. 109<sup>b</sup>-112<sup>a</sup>.
- (25) Prose homily, fol. 112<sup>a</sup>-116<sup>b</sup>.<sup>1</sup>
- (26) Sermon on the Christian virtues, fol. 116<sup>b</sup>-120<sup>b</sup>.
- (27) *Elene*, fol. 121<sup>a</sup>-133<sup>b</sup>.
- (28) Prose life of St. Guthlac, fol. 133<sup>b</sup>-135<sup>b</sup>.

The existence of the *Vercelli Book* was first pointed out by Dr. Friedrich Blume, a German law-professor and bibliographer. In 1822 and 1823 Dr. Blume made a tour of investigation through the chief Italian libraries, the first purpose of which was the acquisition of material for the study of the sources of Roman law. In the course of his investigations, however, he was drawn into a consideration of manuscripts of literary as well as those of legal interest. It was during his examination of the manuscripts of the cathedral library at Vercelli, from October 27 to November 19, 1822, that he discovered the *Codex Vercellensis*. On his return to Germany he published an account of his researches in Italy, in a work in four volumes entitled *Iter Italicum*.<sup>2</sup>

The account of our codex given in the first volume is very brief; it is evident that Dr. Blume was not aware of the importance of the manuscript he had discovered.<sup>3</sup> The discovery appears to have aroused little interest. Aside from several brief notices of the existence of the volume,<sup>4</sup> practically no attention was paid to it until a dozen years after

<sup>1</sup> No title or description of the content of numbers 23 and 25 is given by Wülker.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. I, Berlin and Stettin, 1824; Vol. II, Halle, 1827; Vol. III, Halle, 1830; Vol. IV, Halle, 1836.

<sup>3</sup> He gives the library number of the volume as Cod. CXVII, and says merely that it contains "Legenden oder Homilien in angelsächsischer Sprache. Dies ist um so merkwürdiger, da keine Kapitular-bibliothek in Italien andere als lateinische oder italienische Handschriften enthält; selbst griechische finden sich nur in Verona und vielleicht in Ravenna."

<sup>4</sup> By Pertz, who follows Blume, in *Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichte* V, 535 ff., Hannover, 1824; by Blume again, in *Rheinisches Museum für Jurisprudenz*, Jahrg. 1832, Göttingen, 1833, IV, p. 234 ff., and in *Bibliotheca Librorum*

its discovery. In the fourth volume of his *Iter Italicum*, p. 133, Dr. Blume returns to the subject: "Das angelsächsische Homilarium ist vor kurzem auf Veranstaltung englischer Geschichtsforscher, von (dem nun schon verstorbenen) Dr. Maier vollständig abgeschrieben worden; es haben sich wichtige angelsächsische Lieder darin gefunden (Jac. Grimm)." From this passage it will be seen that, contrary to the generally accepted opinion,<sup>1</sup> the first transcript of the *Vercelli Book* was not made by its discoverer, who indeed seems to have been ill prepared for such a task, but by one who has received slight credit for a very meritorious piece of work.

It was this copy of the manuscript by Dr. Maier that furnished the basis for the first printed edition of the text of any part of the manuscript. This edition, usually referred to as *Appendix B*, was published under the direction of the Record Commission of Great Britain, in the year 1836, as an appendix (*Appendix B*) to a *Report* by Charles Purton Cooper, secretary of the Record Commission, on the *Fœdera* of Rymer. The edition, which contains only a bare text of the poetical parts of the manuscript, with neither introduction, translation, glossary, notes (except a few textual emendations), nor account of the attendant circumstances of its publication, was printed, according to Kemble (p. v), under the direction of Thorpe.<sup>2</sup> The *Report*, of which the *Appendices* were to form a part, was never made, and on the expiration of the Record Commission in 1837 the *Appendices* were placed in store, where they remained until the year 1869. In that year the Master of the Rolls directed the *Appendices*, although imperfect, to be distributed in such a manner as might render them most useful for literary and historical purposes.<sup>3</sup>

A few copies of *Appendix B* appear to have got abroad, however, at the time of its first publication in 1836. Grimm, who apparently had

*Manuscriptorum Italica*, Göttingen, 1834, p. 6; at the latter place Blume gives a transcription of a few lines from the opening of the homily on the purification of the Virgin (fol. 90<sup>b</sup>), from which one may judge that his comprehension of Anglo-Saxon must have been very scanty. For this passage, and the above references, see Wülker, *Grundriss*, p. 240.

<sup>1</sup> Wülker, *Grundriss*, p. 420; Kemble, p. v; for fuller references see my note, *MLA*, XVII, 171-172.

<sup>2</sup> Three plates are given reproducing fol. 75<sup>b</sup>, fol. 43<sup>a</sup> (ll. 1025-1060), and the large capital on fol. 49<sup>a</sup> (l. 1478).

<sup>3</sup> See the note prefixed to the volume by the Master of the Rolls.

seen Dr. Maier's manuscript copy of the text, was greatly disappointed at the inaccessibility of this first printed edition. It was not until 1839 that, through the kindness of Lappenberg, the historian, he had at his disposal a copy of the *Appendix*. In 1840 appeared his edition of *Andreas* and *Elene*, which he characterizes as, after *Beowulf*, "the oldest and most instructive examples of Anglo-Saxon poetry."<sup>1</sup> Grimm's edition may fairly be called the first edition of any portion of the manuscript. His texts are preceded by an introduction in which there is a discussion of the sources, the date, and the authorship of the two poems printed, and he gives numerous elaborate and scholarly notes.

Grimm's edition was followed by Kemble's, Part I, containing *Andreas*, appearing in 1843, and Part II, containing *Elene* and the minor poems, including *The Fates of the Apostles*, appearing in 1846.<sup>2</sup> In 1858 appeared the second volume of Grein's *Bibliothek*, which contains *The Fates of the Apostles* and *Andreas*. In the preparation of his edition Grein made use of Thorpe (quoting his text as manuscript), Grimm, and Kemble; neither the original manuscript nor the transcript by Dr. Maier was consulted by him. First-hand reference to the manuscript was apparently not made again for many years, and then only to *Elene*.<sup>3</sup> But in 1881, and again in 1884, Professor Wülker visited Vercelli and made a new and careful study of the manuscript. The results of his observations appeared, first, in a description of the prose pieces of the manuscript,<sup>4</sup> and, second, in an entirely new text of the poetical portions of the volume.<sup>5</sup> In the meantime, however, Baskervill's separate edition

<sup>1</sup> P. iv.

<sup>2</sup> A brief introduction precedes the text, but nothing is added to Grimm's discussion of the poems. Kemble's text is also derived entirely from Grimm, without reference even to the text of *Appendix B*, though in the Preface, p. vii, he speaks of making use of the labors of his "two learned friends and predecessors." This is proved by such readings as l. 67, where Th. reads as the MS. *dede*, Gm. without remark and K. *deda*; l. 261, Th. as MS. *se ðe þæs*, Gm. without remark and K. *se þæs*; l. 337, Th. as MS. *ðurfan*, Gm. *durfon*, the MS. reading in the note given as *durfan*; K. without remark *durfon*. K's departures from Gm. are all either individual emendations or corrections of obvious misprints, e.g., l. 112, Gm. *alysed*, K. *alyseð*; l. 219, Th. and Gm. *wyrdeð*, K. *wyrðeð*.

<sup>3</sup> *Cynewulf's Elene*, herausgegeben von Julius Zupitza, Berlin, 1877 (fourth edition, 1899).

<sup>4</sup> *Anglia* V, 451 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Grein-Wülker, *Bibl. d. angels. Poesie* III, 1 ff., 1888.

of *Andreas* had appeared in 1885.<sup>1</sup> In 1889 Napier<sup>2</sup> printed a collation of the poetical parts of the manuscript, pointing out at the same time the important passage on fol. 54<sup>a</sup> containing the name Cynwulf, which had theretofore remained unnoticed. Finally, in 1894, Wülker<sup>3</sup> made the original of the poetical parts of the manuscript accessible to all by means of an excellent photographic reproduction of those sections.<sup>4</sup> Besides the complete editions of the poem, extracts from *Andreas* have also appeared in various reading-books.<sup>5</sup>

*The Fates of the Apostles* was first printed in *Appendix B*.<sup>6</sup> It was omitted by Grimm in his edition of *Andreas* and *Elene*, but was included by Kemble in his edition of the poetry of the *Vercelli Book*.<sup>7</sup> The text appears again in Grein's edition,<sup>8</sup> and in Wülker's revision of Grein.<sup>9</sup> The passage on fol. 54<sup>a</sup> (*Ap.* 96-122) appears in none of these editions.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Baskervill announced his text, on the title-page, as based on the manuscript. But in his introduction, pp. v-vi, we are told that the new manuscript readings are "a collation of the manuscript with the printed text," made by Wülker, apparently in 1881, on the basis of Grein's text. Besides these collations, which were entrusted to the editor for use in the preparation of his edition, Baskervill used Grimm, Kemble, and Grein, but not Thorpe.

<sup>2</sup> *Haupt's Zs.* XXXIII, 66-73.

<sup>3</sup> *Cod. Ver.*, Leipzig, 1894.

<sup>4</sup> Although the poetical parts of the *Vercelli Book* have all been printed a number of times, the prose pieces, which constitute much the larger half of the volume, still await the hand of the editor. An edition of these homilies by Professor Napier is among the announcements of the Early English Text Society.

<sup>5</sup> Ettmüller, *Engla and Seaxna Scopas*, pp. 148-156, gives a passage corresponding to Grimm, ll. 1068-1606. Theodor Müller's *Lesebuch*, a work which was never published and which has been accessible to me only in the readings from it recorded by Wülker, contains an extract from *Andreas* on pp. 159-167. Ebeling, *Angelsächsisches Lesebuch*, pp. 124-126, gives an extract corresponding to Grimm, ll. 1156-1258. Ebeling's text is an exact copy of Grimm's, the misprint (l. 1174) *ist* for *is* being repeated without remark; his notes also are merely abbreviated extracts from Grimm. Cook's extracts in *A First Book in Old English*, pp. 211-231, correspond to Wülker, ll. 235-536; ll. 818-825; and ll. 831-874<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> It follows *Andreas* immediately, but has this separate heading: *The Fates of the Twelve Apostles, A Fragment, e cod. vercell.*

<sup>7</sup> Kemble uses the same title as *Appendix B*. He separates the poem from *Andreas*, placing it among a group of the minor poems of the *Vercelli Book*.

<sup>8</sup> With the title *Fata Apostolorum*. It immediately precedes *Andreas*.

<sup>9</sup> With the title *Die Schicksale der Apostel*. It is placed immediately after *Andreas*.

<sup>10</sup> It is given by Wülker, however, *Bibl.* II, 566, in his Nachträge. It was first printed by Napier, *Haupt's Zs.* XXXIII, 70 ff. A literal transcript of the passage is given by Wülker, *Cod. Ver.*, p. viii.

## II

## SOURCE OF ANDREAS

It has long been recognized that the ultimate source of *Andreas* is the Greek Πράξεις 'Ανδρέου καὶ Μαθθαίου εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἀνθρωποφάγων.<sup>1</sup> None of the extant manuscripts of the Πράξεις, however, can stand as the immediate source of the poem.<sup>2</sup> It is necessary to assume, therefore, an intermediate version or versions, differing from all the Greek manuscripts. That this hypothetical intermediate form of the legend was a Latin translation of the Πράξεις — a theory inherently probable in itself — is capable of almost certain proof, although no complete Latin translation has been discovered.<sup>3</sup>

The chief argument for the former existence of a complete Latin translation of the Πράξεις is the fact that we have preserved to us fragments of a Latin translation. The first of these fragments is a passage of three or four lines inserted in the body of the text of one of the manuscripts of an Anglo-Saxon prose version of the legend of St. Andrew.<sup>4</sup> This passage, with the corresponding passage from the Πράξεις, is as follows :

<sup>1</sup> First edited by Thilo, *Acta SS. Apostolorum Andree et Matthiae*, Halle, 1846; again by Tischendorf, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, Leipzig, 1851, pp. 132-166; and again by Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha post Const. Tischendorf ed. Lipsius et Bonnet*, Vol. I, Part 2, ed. Max. Bonnet, pp. 65-116, Leipzig, 1898. Tischendorf's text has been translated into English by Alex. Walker, *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, ed. Roberts and Donaldson, Vol. XVI, pp. 348-368.

<sup>2</sup> As shown by Lipsius, I, 547; Bourauel, pp. 107-117.

<sup>3</sup> That the poem was derived from a Latin source is the opinion of Lipsius, I, 547; of Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte* III, 63; of Glöde, *Anglia* IX, 274; of Zupitza, *Haupt's Zs.* XXX, 175 ff.; and of many others. Ten Brink, *Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, p. 58, thinks the source of the poem was a Greek text of the Πράξεις, which, he says, must have been inaccessible to Cynewulf, the author of the poem, save through the help of learned monks. Bourauel, pp. 116-117, thinks it possible that the poet may have used both Greek and Latin versions of the Πράξεις.

<sup>4</sup> Preserved in two MSS., MS. 198 Corp. Christ. Col., Camb., and the MS. of the Blickling Homilies, preserved at Blickling Hall in Norfolk. The legend was first edited by Goodwin, *The Anglo-Saxon Legends of St. Andrew and St. Veronica*, Cambridge, 1851; it was again edited by Morris, *E. E. T. S.* IV, 229-249. A third edition, based upon new readings of the MSS., appeared in Bright's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, New York, 1894 (3d ed.), pp. 113-128. According to A. K. Hardy, *Die Sprache der Blickling Homilien*, p. 125, the collection to which the prose legend belongs was of northern origin.

*Blickling Homilies*, ed. Morris, p. 231.

Tunc sanctus Andreas surgens mane abiit ad mare cum discipulis suis et uidit nauiculam in litore et intra naue sedentes tres uiros.<sup>1</sup>

Ἠράξαις, p. 69, ll. 14-17.

Ἀναστὰς δὲ Ἀνδρέας τῷ πρῶτῳ ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἅμα τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ· καὶ κατελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν εἶδεν πλοῦάριον μικρὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῦάριον τρεῖς ἄνδρας καθεζομένους.

The corresponding passage in the Anglo-Saxon prose reads as follows :

Sē hāliga Andreās fā ārās on mergen, and hē ēode tō fære sƿ mid his discipulum, and hē geseah scip on fām waroðe and brȳ weras on fām sittende.<sup>2</sup>

The equivalent passage in *Andreas* is ll. 235-247.

These passages, it will be observed, repeat each other almost word for word. The only variation of importance is that *nauiculam*, which translates the Greek πλοῦάριον μικρὸν, appears in the Anglo-Saxon prose simply as *scip*, in *Andreas*, however, as *πλοῦάριον scip*, l. 240. But that *nauiculam* was the word which lay before the homilist we may be sure from his phrase *meduicelam scipe* (p. 110, l. 5), in the passage which immediately follows the lines quoted. The phrase of *Andreas* is to be regarded as nothing more than a poetic heightening of the language of its source. Aside, therefore, from the inference that the homilist is here quoting from his original, nothing can be determined from the comparison of these short passages.

The second Latin fragment is larger and more important. It was discovered by Bonnet at Rome in a palimpsest of the eleventh century,<sup>3</sup> the original writing of which had not been entirely destroyed. The whole of it is printed by Bonnet in his edition of the Ἠράξαις,<sup>4</sup> and as the passage is little short of decisive of the question of the Latin source of *Andreas* and the Anglo-Saxon prose, it is given here, in a

<sup>1</sup> Goodwin, p. vii, note, thinks that this passage of Latin crept into the Anglo-Saxon text through inadvertence; Zupitza, *Haug's Zs.* XXX, 181, and Förster, *Ueber die Quellen von Alfrics Hom. Cat.*, p. 40, look upon this, as on all similar passages, as an intentional learned insertion made by the translator from the language of the original which he was translating. Zupitza's explanation is the more probable one.

<sup>2</sup> Bright, *Revised*, p. 110, ll. 1-3.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. Vallicell. plut. I. tom. III. fol. 44<sup>v</sup>-44<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> II, i, pp. 85-88. A part of the passage was printed by Förster, *Herrig's Archiv* XCI, 202, for the purpose of comparison with the Anglo-Saxon prose.



literal transcript, with the corresponding section of the *Ἠράκλεις* beside it.<sup>1</sup> The equivalent passage in *Andreas* is ll. 843-954.

Cod. Vallicell. (*Ἠράκλεις*, p. 85, l. 14).

doniae . . . .

doniae. et respexit ad discipulos  
et uidit eos dormientem. et exci-  
tans eos dixit eis: Surgite filii  
5 mei et uidete et cognoscite miseri-  
cordiam dei que facta est nobis  
et scitote quia dominus Iesus  
Christus nobiscum erat in nauem  
et non cognouimus eum . . . .

10 . . . .

. . . . nobis

quas homo ad tentandum nos.  
nam domine Iesu Christe intellegi  
tua loquella . . . . . ide-

15 (p. 86, l. 13)oque non te minime

recognoui. Et dixerunt discipuli  
eius ad ipsum: Domine pater  
Andreas, ne speres quia nos alii  
intellegimus quicumque loquena-  
ris in mari. translati enim sumus  
20 in sommo gramori, et ascenderunt  
aquilae et rapuerunt animas nos-  
tras et duxerunt nos in paradysum  
quod est in caelis, et uidimus  
25 mirabilia magna. et uidimus  
dominum nostrum Iesum Chris-  
tum sedentem in throno gloriae  
suae et omnes angeli circumstan-  
tem . . . .

30 . . . .

. . . . et uidemus

*Ἠράκλεις* (Cap. 17, p. 85, l. 1).

καὶ θεασάμενος εἶδεν τὴν πύλιν  
τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης· καὶ περιβλε-  
ψάμενος εἶδεν τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ  
καθεύδοντας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. καὶ δι-  
5 πνυσεν αὐτοὺς λέγων· Ἀνάστητε  
τεκνία μου, καὶ γνώσασθε τὴν μεγά-  
λην οἰκονομίαν τὴν γενομένην ἡμῶν.  
καὶ μάθετε ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἦν μεθ'  
ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωμεν  
10 αὐτόν· μετεμώρφωται γὰρ αὐτὸν  
ὥσπερ πρωρεὺς ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ  
ἐταπείνωται αὐτόν, καὶ ἐφάνη ἡμῶν  
ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ἐκπειράζων ἡμᾶς. καὶ  
ὁ Ἀνδρέας ἐν αὐτῷ γενόμενος  
15 εἶπεν· Ἐπείγωμαι σοι κύριε τὴν  
καλὴν λαλαίαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐφανέρωσάς  
μοι αὐτόν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐγνώ-  
ρισά σε. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς οἱ μαθη-  
ταὶ αὐτοῦ εἶπον πρὸς αὐτόν· Πάτερ  
20 Ἀνδρέα, μὴ νομίσῃς ὅτι ἔγνωμεν ἐν  
τῷ σε λαλεῖν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ μετ'  
αὐτοῦ· εἰλκίσθημεν ὑπὸ ὕπνον  
βαρὺν· (p. 86)τάτοι, καὶ κατήλθον ἐκ  
τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀετοὶ καὶ ἦραν τὰς  
25 ψυχὰς ἡμῶν καὶ ἀπήγαγον ἐν τῷ  
παραδείσῳ τῷ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ  
εἶδομεν μεγάλα θαυμάσια. θεασά-  
μεθα γὰρ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν  
καθεζόμενον ἐπὶ θρόνον δόξης, καὶ  
30 πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι κυκλοῦντες αὐτόν.  
θεασάμεθα καὶ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ  
καὶ Ἰακώβ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους.

1 and 2. Evidently there stood here some form of the name Mermedonia. —  
3. dormientem: cf. l. 28, circumstantem; l. 34, dicentes. — 12. quas for quasi. —  
19. quaecumque? — 21. sommo gramori for somno grauiori. descenderunt? —  
28. Read suae.

<sup>1</sup> The readings of the various MSS. of the *Ἠράκλεις* are not given, as they differ but slightly from the text printed.

post uos . . . .

unumquemque . . . .

et audiuimus dominum Iesum di-  
 35 centes ad angelos: Audide apos-  
 tolos meos in omnibus que p . . . .  
 a uobis. Haec sunt que (p. 87,  
 l. 14) uidimus pater Andreas, et  
 cum nos resuscitasti, tunc reddite  
 40 sunt animae nostrae in corpore  
 nostro.

(Cap. 18). Et cum haec audis-  
 set sanctus Andreandreas, letus  
 factus est, qui digni fuerant disci-  
 45 puli eius haec mirabilia uidere.  
 Tunc respiciens sanctus Andreas  
 in caelum et dixit: Domine meus  
 Iesu Christe, ego enim scio quia  
 non est longe a seruis tuis, unde  
 50 obsecro te indulgeas michi in unc  
 locum. Haec dicentem sanctum  
 Andream uenit ad eum dominus  
 Iesus Christus in effigia pulcer-  
 rimi pueri et dixit ei: Gaudeas  
 55 cum tuis discipulis. Et cum ui-  
 (p. 88, l. 1) uidisset sanctum An-  
 dream, procidens in terra adora-  
 uit eum dicens: Indulge michi  
 domine Iesu Christe quia ut  
 60 hominem te extimaui in mari et  
 ita tibi locutus sum. quid enim  
 peccauit domine ut non te michi  
 manifestasti in mare? Et domi-  
 nus Iesus ait illi: Andreas, nichil

καὶ Δαυὶδ ἄδων φῶδην ἐν τῇ κιθάρῃ  
 αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐθεαυτάμεθα ἐκεῖ ὑμᾶς  
 35 τοὺς δώδεκα ἀποστόλους παρεστη-  
 κότας ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν  
 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἔξωθεν ὑμῶν  
 ἀγγέλους δώδεκα κυκλοῦντας ὑμᾶς,  
 καὶ ἕκαστος ἀγγελος ὅπισθεν ἐκά-  
 40 στον ὑμῶν ἐστηκώς. καὶ ἦσαν ὅμοιοι  
 ὑμῶν τῇ ἰδέᾳ. καὶ ἠκούσαμεν τοῦ  
 κυρίου λέγοντος τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ὅτι  
 Ἀκοίετε τῶν ἀποστόλων κατὰ  
 πάντα ὅσα ἂν ἐρωτῶσιν (p. 87)  
 45 ὑμᾶς. Ταῦτά εἰσιν ἃ εἶδαμεν πάτερ  
 Ἀνδρέα ἕως οὗ διήπνισας ἡμᾶς·  
 καὶ ἤνεγκαν τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ  
 σώματι ἡμῶν.

(Cap. 18). Τότε Ἀνδρέας ἀκού-  
 50 σας ἐχάρη χαρὰν μεγάλην· ὅτι κατη-  
 ξιώθησαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ  
 θαυμάσια ταῦτα θεάσασθαι. καὶ  
 ἀνυβλέψας Ἀνδρέας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν  
 εἶπεν· Ἐμφάνηθί μοι κύριε Ἰησοῦ  
 55 Χριστέ· ἐγὼ γὰρ γινώσκω ὅτι οὐκ  
 εἰ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῶν σῶν δούλων.  
 σινηχώρησόν μοι κύριε ὃ ἐποίησα·  
 ὥς γὰρ ἄνθρωπόν σε τεθέσθαι ἐν  
 τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ ὥς ἄνθρωπῳ σοι ὠμί-  
 60 ληται. νῦν οὖν κύριε φανέρωσόν  
 μοι σεαυτὸν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ.  
 Ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀνδρέου  
 παρεγένετο ὁ Ἰησοῦς πρὸς αὐτόν,  
 γενόμενος ὅμοιος μικρῷ παιδίῳ  
 65 ὡραιωτάτῳ εὐεθεῖ. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς  
 ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· Χαίρε Ἀνδρέα  
 ἡμέτερε. Ὁ δὲ Ἀνδρέας θεασάμενος  
 αὐτὸν πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν προσεκύ-  
 νησεν αὐτῷ (p. 88) τὸν λέγων· Σινη-  
 70 χώρησόν μοι κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ·  
 ὥς γὰρ ἄνθρωπόν σε εἶδον ἐν τῇ

30. petent? — 43. *Read* Andreas. — 44. *Read* quia. — 47. *Omit* et? — 49. *Read*  
 es. — 50. *Read* sanctus Andreas. — 62. *Read* peccauit.

65 michi peccasti, set ideo hoc tibi  
fecit quia dissisti: Non possum  
proficere in triduo in anc ciuitate.  
Propterea hoc tibi hostendi qui  
potens sum et omnia possum  
70 facere et unicuique aperire sicut  
michi placet. et nunc surge, in-  
gredere in ciuitatem ad Matheum  
fratrem tuum et erue eum de car-  
cere et omnes qui cum eo sunt  
75 peregrini. ecce enim dico tibi  
quia multa tormenta tibi habent  
inferre isti nequissimi ut carnes  
tuas in plateas ciuitatis et uicos  
expurgant. ita sanguis tuus fluent  
80 in terra sicut aqua, ita ut

θαλάσῃ καὶ ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ ὁμίλησά  
σοι. τί οἶν ἐστὶν ὃ τι ἡμάρτηκα  
κίριέ μου Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι οὐκ ἐφάνερω  
75 σὰς μοι σεντωνὸν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ;  
Καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν τῷ  
Ἀνδρέᾳ· Οὐχ ἡμάρτες, ἀλλὰ ταῦτά  
σοι ἐποίησα ὅτι εἶπας· Οὐδὲν ἴσο-  
μαι πορευθῆναι εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν  
80 ἀνθρωποφάγων ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις.  
καὶ ὑπέδειξά σοι ὅτι πάντα θνητὸς  
εἰμι καὶ ἐκάστῳ φανῆναι καθὼς  
βοῦλομαι. γὰρ οἶν ἀνάστα, εἰσελθε  
πρὸς Μαθθαίον εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ  
85 ἐξάγαγε αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς  
καὶ πάντας τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντας  
ξένους. ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὑπο-(1). δι)δέκινυμί  
σοι Ἀνδρέα πρὸ τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν σε  
ἐν τῇ πόλει αὐτῶν· εἰδέξονταιί σοι  
90 ἴβρεις πολλὰς καὶ δεινὰς καὶ ἐπά-  
ξουσίν σοι βασιλείους καὶ σκορπί-  
σουσίν σου τὰς σάρκας ἐν ταῖς πλα-  
τείαις καὶ ῥήμας τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν,  
καὶ τὸ αἷμά σου ῥέουσι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν  
95 ὥσπερ ἵδιον· εἰ μὴ μόνον τὸν θάνα-  
τον οὐ δύνανταί σοι παρασχεῖν·

66. *Read* feci. — 68. *Read* quia. — 70. *apparere*? — 77. *et*? — 79. *Read* expar-  
gunt (*i.e.* exspargunt *for* exspergent)? *Read* tuus fluet.

For the sake of convenience in comparison, the Anglo-Saxon prose may also be cited here :

ƿā sē mergen geworden was, ƿā sē hālga Andrēas ligende was  
beforan Marmadonia ceastre, and his discipulōs ƿær skēpende wæron  
mid him; and hē hīe āweahte, and cwað, ‘Arisað gē, mine bearn, and  
ongitað Godes mildheortnesse sio is nū mid us geworden. Wē witon  
5 ƿæt ūre Drihten mid ūs was on ƿām scipe, and wē hine ne ongēaton;  
hē hine geēaðmēdde swā stēorcrēbra, and hē hine æt-cowde swā man ūs  
tō costienne.’ Sē hālga Andrēas ƿā lōcode tō heofonum, and hē cwað,  
‘Mīn Drihten Hælend Crīst, ic wāt ƿæt ƿū ne eart feor fram fīnum  
ƿēowum, and ic ƿē behēold on ƿām scipe, and ic was tō ƿē sprecende  
10 swā tō men. Nū ƿonne, Drihten, ic ƿē biðde ƿæt ƿū mē ƿē onȝwe on  
biðse stōwe.’ ƿā ƿis gecweden was, ƿā Drihten him ætȝwde his onsȝne

on (p. 119) fægeres cildes hiwe, and him tō cwæð, 'Andrēas, gefeoht mid þinum discipulum.' Sē hālga Andrēas þā hine gebæd and cwæð, 'Forgif me, min Drihten, þæt ic to þē sprecende wæs swā tō men; and  
 15 wēn is þæt ic gefirnode, for þon þe ic þē ne ongeat.' Drihten him þā tō cwæð, 'Andrēas, nænig wuht þū gefirnodest, ac for þon ic swā dyde, for þon þū swā cwæde þæt þū hit ne meahstes on ðrim dagum þider gefēran; for þon ic þē swā a-tēowde, for þon ic eom mihtig mid worde swā eall tō dōnne, and ānra gehwilecum tō a-tēowenne swā hwæt swā mē licað. Nū  
 20 þonne aris, and gā on þā ceastre tō Mathēum þinum brēþer, and læt þonne hine of þære ceastre, and calle þā þe mid him syndon. Eno ic þē gecyþe, Andrēas, for þon þe manega tintrega hie þē on bringað, and þinne lichaman geond fisse ceastre lonan hie tostencap swā þæt þin blōd flōwð ofer eorðan swā swā wæter. Tō dēaþe hie þē willað gelædan, ac hi ne magon.<sup>1</sup>

An examination of these four passages shows, first of all, that the Latin is almost word for word a translation of the Greek. The inference is therefore unavoidable that we have here a fragment of a version which, in its complete form, must have been a close and entire translation of the *Ἠράκλειος*. There are, however, some instructive differences between the Latin and the Greek. In the first place, some form of the name Mermedonia stood at least twice in the Latin translation, though it appears neither in the corresponding passage of the Greek nor elsewhere in that version. The name of Andrew's companion in the Latin is Matthias (cf. l. 72), not Matthias.<sup>2</sup>

The phrase *ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ*, l. 4, is omitted in the Latin. In l. 66 the words *Ἀνδρέα ἡμέτερε* are wanting in the Latin; in their stead, however, the Latin has, l. 55, *cum tuis discipulis*, which is found in none of the Greek MSS. In l. 73 the Latin fragment adds *fratrem tuum*, in l. 77 *isti nequissimi*, neither phrase being found in any of the Greek MSS.

Comparing the Latin now with the Anglo-Saxon prose, it will be observed that the Anglo-Saxon has omitted a connected passage of the Latin, ll. 16-45, in which the vision of the disciples of Andrew is related. This, however, as further comparison of the prose with the Greek version and *Andreas* shows, is quite in keeping with the usual method of the Anglo-Saxon prose in omitting the episodes of the action. In matters of detail it will be noted that Marmadonia is mentioned twice (the first

<sup>1</sup> Bright, *Reader*, p. 118, l. 14 — p. 119, l. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Of the nine MSS. of the *Ἠράκλειος*, six read regularly Matthias, two regularly Matthew, and one varies between the two forms of the name. Cf. Bonnet, p. xxi and p. 65, and Lipsius, II, part 2, p. 136.

time on p. 118, l. 10, just preceding the opening lines of the passage quoted; the second time, in the passage quoted, l. 2) as it is in the Latin fragment, and, significantly, in the same context as the Latin. The name of the apostle is of course Matthew in the Anglo-Saxon version. The phrase ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν is omitted in the Anglo-Saxon as it is in the Latin. Again, in l. 66, Ἀνδρέα ἡμέτερε has no equivalent in the Latin or the Anglo-Saxon prose. In l. 13 the prose adds with the Latin the phrase *mid þinum discipulum*, which is wanting in the Greek. In l. 20 of the prose, *þinum brøðr* corresponds to the Latin, l. 73, *fratrem tuum*. Though the passages available for comparison are very brief, yet the evidence shows beyond a doubt that the Anglo-Saxon prose and the Latin are to be held together apart from the Greek; and we may reasonably suppose that if the whole of the Latin text had been preserved, it would consistently account for the variations of the Anglo-Saxon prose from the Πράξεις.

As is to be expected from the free nature of verse, the agreements between the Latin fragment and *Andreas* are less striking than those between the Latin and the prose. The most important parallels between the Latin and the prose, however, are also found in the verse. Thus, l. 844, Marmadonia is mentioned in the same context as in the Latin and the prose; it is, however, mentioned only once instead of twice as in the other two versions. The name of the apostle is again, throughout, Matthew. In l. 914, *mid þas willgedryht* corresponds to the Latin l. 55, and Anglo-Saxon prose l. 13. In l. 940, *þær þin brøðr* is corresponds to Latin l. 73, Anglo-Saxon prose l. 20.<sup>1</sup> That the Anglo-Saxon prose could not have been the source of the poem is evident

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, *Andreas* differs from the prose and the Latin in the following details: in l. 927 the name Achaia occurs, not found in the Greek version at all, or the Latin fragment so far as it has been preserved, or in the corresponding passage of the Anglo-Saxon prose. It is not necessary to suppose, however, that the name must have stood in the source of the poem at this place; we may allow the poet sufficient intelligence to have remembered it from its earlier occurrence in l. 169, in which context it also appears in the Anglo-Saxon prose. In l. 847, *Geseh hē þā on grōte* is a fairly close equivalent of ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, l. 4 of the Greek, a phrase omitted in the Latin and the prose. Certain phrases contained in the Latin and the Anglo-Saxon prose are omitted in *Andreas*: e.g. the phrase *ad tentandum nos*, l. 12 = Greek l. 13 = Anglo-Saxon prose ll. 6-7; *non cognovimus eum*, l. 9 = Greek ll. 9-10 = Anglo-Saxon prose l. 5; the sentence *Domine . . . mari*, ll. 17-20 = Greek ll. 19-22, a part of the connected passage omitted by the prose, is wanting in *Andreas*, although the rest of the passage is found there.

from the fact that there are numerous episodes of *Andreas* which are found in the *Ἠράκλειος* but are omitted in the Anglo-Saxon prose. It is probable that the original of *Andreas* presented readings differing somewhat from those of the original of the prose version of the legend. The prose version is important, however, as presenting, in approximately complete form, those readings which hold *Andreas* and the prose together with the hypothetical Latin version, otherwise only fragmentarily preserved. For further detailed comparison of *Andreas* and the *Ἠράκλειος*, see Bourauiel, pp. 74-85.

This argument for a Latin original of *Andreas* may be strengthened by evidence of a somewhat less direct character. To the group consisting of *Andreas*, the Anglo-Saxon prose, and the Latin fragments representing a lost Latin original, designated by Zupitza<sup>1</sup> the Western group, as distinguished from the Greek or Eastern group, belong also two later redactions of the legend. The first of these, contained in the pseudo-Abdias,<sup>2</sup> is very much compressed, the greater part of the story of the *anthropophagi* being omitted. Its affinity to the other versions of the Western group, however, is attested by the fact that Achaia is mentioned as Andrew's province, and Myrmidon (*Myrmidoni urbi, Myrmidonem civitatem, apud Myrmidonem*) is the city in which Matthew was made prisoner. The name of the apostle is always Matthew, and the phrase *tuum fratrem*, l. 73 of the Latin fragment, found also in the two Anglo-Saxon versions but wanting in the Greek, occurs likewise in the Abdias: *ut in Myrmidonem civitatem maturaret et fratrem Mathacum de squalore carceris erueret monuit*.<sup>3</sup>

The second of the later adaptations belonging to the Western group is a complete but very free Latin manuscript version of the Greek, which represents a different form of the legend from the Latin fragments printed above.<sup>4</sup> This complete Latin version is so free that according to Förster it cannot be the source of the Anglo-Saxon prose form of the legend; and, according to Bonnet, for the same reason it affords little help in the construction of the Greek text. It agrees, however, with the Anglo-Saxon prose (and consequently with the other members

<sup>1</sup> *Haupf's Zs.* XXX, 175-185.

<sup>2</sup> Fabricius, *Lib.* III, pp. 457-460.

<sup>3</sup> Fabricius, III, 458.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. Vaticanus lat. 1274, fol. 119<sup>b</sup>-160<sup>a</sup>. See Förster, *Herrig's Archiv* XCI, 202 ff., and Bonnet, II, 1, p. xxi. It has not been printed, but the contents are briefly described by Förster.

of the Western group) in giving the name of the apostle as Matthew, the country in which Andrew was teaching as Achaia, and the name of the city of the *anthropophagi* as Mirmidonia (*provincia* or *urbs*). A fuller report of the contents of this version would probably show further agreement with the other representatives of the Western group.

Thus there exist these various forms of the legend, held together by features, common to all, which are not found in any of the numerous manuscripts of the Greek version of the legend. As these versions all originated in Western Europe, it is an extremely probable inference that there once existed a complete Latin translation of the Greek from which the versions of the Western group were derived.<sup>1</sup>

### III

#### SOURCE OF THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES

No immediate source for *The Fates of the Apostles* has been discovered. In the short personal introduction with which the poem opens the author speaks of gathering his materials from afar,<sup>2</sup> and in the progress of the narrative he refers several times to sources.<sup>3</sup> These allusions we may look upon as hardly more than conventional poetic formulæ. For an examination of the type of narrative to which this short poem belongs, and a comparison of it with some of the representative examples of the type, lead to the inference that the author has exaggerated his difficulty in arriving at the information contained in his poem. Probably but a single version of what was in his day a well-known form of composition lay before him as he wrote.

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the list of the Greek or Eastern group is increased by a Syriac version (Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, London, 1871, Vol. I, the Syriac text, Vol. II, pp. 93-115, an English translation), an Ethiopic version (Malan, *Certamen Apostolorum*, London, 1871, pp. 147-163; cf. Lipsius, I, 546 f.), and a Coptic version (von Lemm, *Koptische apokryphe Apostelacten*, I, pp. 148-166, in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, Tom. X, Liv. 1, St. Petersburg, 1890), all of which are fairly close adaptations of the *Ἰπᾶξεις*. To these should probably be added an Old-Slavonic version cited by Harnack, I, 905, from Novaković in *Starine VIII*, 55-69; this version has not been accessible to me, and the description of it by Harnack is too brief to enable one to determine its relation to the other versions.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 23, 63, 70.

As early as the fifth century complete lists of the Twelve Apostles were current, held together by brief accounts of their missions, their sufferings, and the places of their death. It was evidently some such list as this that the poet of *The Fates of the Apostles* followed in the composition of his poem.<sup>1</sup> That it was a list written in Latin is evident<sup>2</sup> from the case forms of the proper names in the poem, e.g. *Gearopolim, Albano, Nerones*. But it has also been shown<sup>3</sup> that none of the extant versions of the Latin lists is the single source of the poem. All the details of it, however, as may be seen from the following extracts, may be derived, with but one exception, from the martyrology of Bede<sup>4</sup> and from the *Breviarium Apostolorum*.<sup>5</sup> Both Bede and the *Breviarium* give numerous details (omitted in the analysis) which are not found in *The Fates of the Apostles*; but the poem, with the one exception to be noticed later and a few passages of a personal character, contains nothing that is not also in these two Latin lists. In the martyrology of Bede the order of the names is chronological, the notices of the various apostles being thus distributed over the whole calendar; the order in the *Breviarium*, as compared with *The Fates of the Apostles*, is indicated by the numbers prefixed to the names.

Bede's *Martyrologium*.

III Kalend. Jul. Romae natale . . .  
Petri et Pauli . . . sub Nerone.

Prid. Kalend. Decemb. In civitate Patras provinciae Achaiae, natale . . . Andreae . . . Egea proconsule emittens spiritum perrexit ad Dominum.

VI Kalend. Jan. Natale . . . Joannis . . . quem Dominus Jesus amavit

*Breviarium*.

1-2. Simon Petrus . . . Roman pervenit . . . sub Nerone Caesare . . . cruce suspensus est . . . Paulus . . . sub Nerone eodem die quo et Petrus capite truncatus.

3. Andreas . . . praedicavit per Scythiam et Achaiam, ibique in civitate Patras cruce suspensus occubuit pridie Kal. Decembris.

5. Joannes . . . dilectus Domini, praedicator Asiae et in Epheso.

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the origin and history of this form of apocryphal literature, see Lipsius, I, 192 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Sarrazin, *Anglia* XII, 381.

<sup>3</sup> Sarrazin, *Anglia* XII, 379-382; Bourauel, pp. 101-107.

<sup>4</sup> Migne, *Patrolog. Lat.* XCIV, col. 797 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Described by Lipsius from numerous MSS., I, 211-212. A complete text may be found in Gerbert, *Monumenta veteris Liturgiae Allemanicae*, 1777. It is also quoted in detail by Bourauel, p. 101 ff., from whom my citations are made.



plurimum . . . rediit Ephesum . . . totas Asiae fundavit rexitque Ecclesias . . . aetatis autem suae nonagesimo nono mortuus, juxta eandem urbem est sepultus.

VIII Kalend. Aug. Natale . . . Jacobi . . . filii Zebedaei. In Cilicia . . . sub Dagno rege . . . martyrrium capitis obtruncatione complexit.

Kalend. Maii. Natale . . . Philippi et Jacobi . . . Philippus . . . reversus est ad Asiam, et apud Hierapolim dormivit in pace. (For James see below.)

IX Kalend. Septem. Natale . . . Bartholomaei . . . apud Indiam . . . praedicans, vivus a barbaris decoratus est, atque jussu regis Astragis decollatus . . .

XII Kalend. Jan. Natale . . . Thomae . . . qui Parthis et Medis . . . praedicans, passus est in India.

XI Kalend. Oct. Natale . . . Matthaei . . . qui primus in Judaea Evangelium . . . Hebraeo sermone conscripsit . . . apud Aethiopiam praedicavit . . . missus est spiculator ab Hirtaco rege, qui eum gladio feriebat efficiens martyrem Christi.

Kalend. Maii. Jacobus . . . qui et frater domini legitur . . . ab apostolis Hierosolymorum episcopus ordinatus est. . . . Hunc scribae et pharisaei praecipitaverunt de pinna templi, fullonis in cerebro percussus fuste occubuit.

V Kalend. Novemb. Natale . . . Simonis Chananaei, qui et Zelotes scribitur, et Thadaei, qui etiam Judas

4. Jacobus . . . filius Zebedaei, frater Joannis. Hic . . . sub Herode gladio caesus occubuit.

7. Philippus . . . Gallis praedicavit Christum: deinde in Hierapoli Phrygiae provinciae crucifixus et lapidatus obiit . . .

9. Bartholomaeus apostolus . . . ad ultimum in Albano maioris Armeniae urbe . . . per iussum regis Astragis decollatur, sique terra conditur IX Kal. Sept.

6. Thomas . . . Parthis et Medis praedicator . . . ad orientalem plagam. Lancea . . . ibi transfixus occubuit in Calaminice, Indiae civitate, ibi sepultus est in honore XII Kal. Jan.

10. Matthaeus apost. et evang. . . . primum quidem in Judaea evangelizavit, postmodum in Macedonia; et passus in Persida requiescit in montibus Portorum, XI Kal. Oct.

8. Jacobus, frater Domini Hierosolymorum primus Episcopus, . . . de templo a Judaeis praecipitatur, ibique . . . humatur.

11-12. Simon Zelotes . . . accepit Aegypti principatum . . . cathedram dicitur tenuisse Hierosolymorum . . .

Jacobi legitur, et alibi appellatur Lebbaeus . . . Thadaeus apud Mesopotamiam, Simon vero apud Aegyptum traditur praedicasse: inde simul Persidam ingressi . . . martyrium ibi . . . beato certamine consummaverunt.

meruit sub Adriano per crucem sustinere martyrii passionem. Jacet in Portofofo. Judas . . . in Mesopotamia atque in interioribus Ponti praedicavit: sepultus est in Merito Armeniae urbe.

A comparison of these passages from Bede's *Martyrologium* and the *Breviarium* with *The Fates of the Apostles* will show that all the incidents of the poem which relate to the various apostles might have been derived from Bede, except the account of the death of the fifth apostle, James, the brother of John, which agrees with the account of the *Breviarium*,<sup>1</sup> and the allusion to the awakening of Gad, in the notice of the eighth apostle, Thomas, an incident mentioned neither in Bede nor the *Breviarium*. It will be observed, also, that *The Fates of the Apostles* agrees frequently with Bede when Bede differs from the *Breviarium*. It seems extremely probable, therefore, that the author of *The Fates of the Apostles* had before him not, presumably, Bede's *Martyrologium*, but the list or lists which Bede used in the preparation of his *Martyrologium*. The items of these lists were probably arranged not as they are in Bede, according to the calendar, but somewhat as they are presented in the poem and the *Breviarium*.

The one important addition of *The Fates of the Apostles*, the allusion to the awakening of Gad, may have been in the common sources of Bede and *The Fates of the Apostles*, or, more likely, it may have been added from the author's own stock of information. Its ultimate origin is the longer apocryphal narrative of the Acts of Thomas, the Ἰπᾶξιος Θωμᾶ,<sup>2</sup> one of the group of apocryphal narratives from which the lists of the apostles were originally made.

The poem cannot have had any of the practical purpose of the *Martyrologium* or *Breviarium*, or of the Anglo-Saxon *Menologium*,<sup>3</sup> since it gives none of the dates of the feasts of the various apostles. The motive which inspired its composition was, therefore, purely literary and devotional.

<sup>1</sup> See ll. 33<sup>b</sup>-37<sup>a</sup>, note, for the source of the account of the death of this James.

<sup>2</sup> Tischendorf, *Acta Apost. Apoc.*, p. 100 ff.; Bonnet, Part 2, Vol. II., pp. 99-287. The story of Gad is mentioned in the account of Thomas given in the *Old English Martyrology*, ed. Herzfeld, E. E. T. S., CXVI, 220; but the name Gad does not occur, nor is the phrasing of the narrative at all similar to that of *The Fates of the Apostles*. Cf. also Lipsius, I, 253.

<sup>3</sup> See Imelmann, *Das altenglische Menologium*, pp. 38-40.

## IV

## AUTHORSHIP OF ANDREAS AND THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES

No Anglo-Saxon poem has been the subject of more widely divergent discussion with respect to authorship than *Andreas*. The earlier critics generally assigned the poem, without much hesitation but on very insufficient grounds, to Cynewulf. Thus Grimm<sup>1</sup> (1840) thought first that *Andreas* and *Elene* were by the same author, since they are preserved in the same manuscript, are similar in spirit and contents, and have similar characteristics of language. He adds later, however, that it is at most only possible, not highly probable, that the poems are from the same hand. If *Andreas* is not to be assigned to the author of *Elene*, he inclines toward the alternative opinion that it was composed by Aldhelm. Kemble<sup>2</sup> (1843) speaks more dogmatically than Grimm: "There cannot be a doubt that this Cynewulf [who signs his name to *Elene*] was the author of the poem *Elene*, probably of all the rest [of the poems in the Vercelli book] and those likewise which occur in the other collection [the Exeter book], and it becomes a matter of much interest to decide who he was." He fixes upon Cynewulf, abbot of Peterborough (d. 1014), as most probably the author.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 1 ff.<sup>2</sup> P. viii.

<sup>3</sup> Thorpe (1844), *Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church, The First Part, containing the Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Ælfrie* I, 622, repeats Kemble's opinion. Ettmüller (1847, 1850), *Handbuch* I, 132 ff., *Engla and Seaxna Scopas*, p. xi, assigns *Andreas* with probability to the same author as *Elene*, basing his opinion on the similarity of language between the two poems. Dietrich (1853), *Haupt's Zs.* XI, 210, assigns *Andreas* tentatively to Cynewulf. In a second study, *Kynewulf's Poetæ Actas*, Marburg, 1860, p. 5, after commenting on Grimm's list of parallels and differences between *Andreas* and *Elene*, he endeavors to show that by bringing into the discussion other poems of Cynewulf's, as *Juliana* and *Christ*, the differences are explained and Cynewulf's authorship of *Andreas* is confirmed. Rieger (1869), *Zacher's Zs.* I, 319, follows Dietrich in assigning the longer poems of the Exeter and Vercelli manuscripts to Cynewulf. Sweet (1871), in Warton, *Hist. of Eng. Poetry* II, 16, assigns *Andreas*, together with numerous other pieces, to Cynewulf. He thinks it most probable that the conclusion of *Andreas* is wanting and that, in its complete state, it contained an epilogue similar to that in *Elene*. The two poems are by the same author, he concludes. "from their marked resemblance of language and style." Grein (1874), *Kurzgefasste angels. Gram.*, Kassel, 1880 (published from lectures delivered in 1874), p. 12, assigns *Andreas*, *Juliana*,

The first detailed attempt to establish the authorship of *Andreas* was Fritzsche's<sup>1</sup> (1879). Fritzsche studied the poem from various points of view: (1) its relation to its source; (2) the nature of the subject matter, which he takes to be more legendary and marvelous than one would expect in Cynewulf; (3) the metre; (4) style and language; (5) vocabulary; (6) parallelisms between *Andreas* and other Anglo-Saxon poems. His conclusions are (p. 57) that the author of *Andreas* modeled his poem chiefly after *Beowulf* and the poems of Cynewulf; that the poet was an imitator or pupil of Cynewulf; and that, while the works of Cynewulf belong to the flowering period of Anglo-Saxon poetry, *Andreas* belongs to a later time when poetry was passing into a period of decay. Fritzsche's discussion has considerable power of conviction, and its influence is strongly felt in succeeding expressions of opinion.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Ramhorst<sup>3</sup> (1885), taking up Fritzsche's argument point by point, endeavors (in most instances unsuccessfully) to disprove it, and arrives at the opposite conclusion, that *Andreas* was composed by Cynewulf. The argument shifts to the other side again with Sievers<sup>4</sup> (1885), who points out that the dative *fæder*, required by the metre in l. 1410, cannot be paralleled in

*Guðlac*, and *Elene* to Cynewulf, but gives no reasons for his decision. Hammerich (1874), *Aelteste christliche Epik*, II. Michelsen, p. 97, sees no decisive reason for giving either *Andreas* or *Guðlac* to Cynewulf. Ten Brink (1877), *Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, II. Kennedy, p. 58, gives *Andreas* to Cynewulf. But Wülker (1878), *Anglia* I, 506, and Charitius (1879), *Anglia* II, 205, do not include the poem in their list of Cynewulf's works.

<sup>1</sup> *Das angels. Gedicht Andreas und Cynewulf*, Halle, 1879; also *Anglia* II, 441-496.

<sup>2</sup> Thus in the appendix to Ten Brink, p. 380, written after the appearance of Fritzsche's essay, the argument is said to be "calculated to raise serious doubts concerning Cynewulf's authorship." And Muller (1883), *Angels. Gram.*, p. 26, Lefevre (1883), *Anglia* VI, 184, and Ebert (1887), *Allgemeine Geschichte d. Lit. d. Mittelalters*, p. 60, accept Fritzsche's conclusions more or less unreservedly. Holtbuer, *Der syntaktische Gebrauch des Genetivs in Andreas, Guðlac, etc.*, Halle, 1884, also in *Anglia* VIII, 1-40, as the result of his own investigations, denies *Andreas* to Cynewulf. Earle (1884), *Anglo-Saxon Literature*, p. 226, returns to the old view that all the poems of the Vercelli book are by Cynewulf; the fact, he says, that *Elene* is the last poem of the volume, and is signed, "naturally suggests the inference, which indeed is generally accepted, that all the poems in the Vercelli book are by Cynewulf."

<sup>3</sup> *Das altenglische Gedicht vom heiligen Andreas*, Berlin, 1885.

<sup>4</sup> *PRB.*, N, 183.

Cynewulf's works. Cremer<sup>1</sup> (1888) and Mather<sup>2</sup> (1892) find also that the metre and language incline slightly towards the theory of non-Cynewulfian authorship of *Andreas*.

A new and important element was added to the discussion in 1888 by Napier's discovery of the runic passage on fol. 51<sup>v</sup> of the manuscript.<sup>3</sup> Napier sees in this passage a conclusion to *The Fates of the Apostles*, and assigns that poem without question to Cynewulf. He draws no inferences, however, as to the authorship of *Andreas*. Sarrazin<sup>4</sup> (1889), who on the basis of comparisons of phraseology had assigned *Andreas* to Cynewulf before the discovery of the runic fragment,<sup>5</sup> was the first to regard *The Fates of the Apostles* as the conclusion of *Andreas*, and, in consequence, the whole as the work of Cynewulf. This opinion, in slightly varying forms, has been enounced by numerous others.<sup>7</sup> But it has by no means passed without question. Wülker<sup>8</sup> (1888, 1896) regards *The Fates of the Apostles* as a separate and distinct poem from *Andreas*; the latter poem he ascribes, as Fritzsche had done, not to Cynewulf, but to an imitator. Sievers<sup>9</sup> (1891), returning to the subject, denies *Andreas* to Cynewulf, and in this negation sees one of the few undoubted results of investigations concerning questions of authorship in Anglo-Saxon literature. Brooke<sup>10</sup> (1892) is inclined, for stylistic reasons, to follow Fritzsche's opinion; in the note to his text, however, he shifts ground to the position that though it is "extremely likely that the *Andreas* is by Cynewulf, we have as yet no evidence for that opinion." In a later

<sup>1</sup> *Metrische und sprachliche Untersuchungen der altengl. Ged. Andreas, Guðlac, Phænix*, Bonn, 1888.

<sup>2</sup> *MLA*, VII, 106.

<sup>3</sup> First announced in the *Academy*, September 8, 1888. The passage is printed and discussed by Napier in *Haupt's Zs.* XXXIII, 66-73.

<sup>4</sup> *Anglia* XII, 375-387.

<sup>5</sup> *Beowulf-Studien*, Berlin, 1888, p. 111.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Angl. Beibl.* VII, 372, *Wer hat die 'Schicksale der Apostel' zuerst für den schluss des Andreas erklärt?*

<sup>7</sup> By Gollancz (1892), *Cynewulf's Christ*, p. 173; by Trautmann (1895, 1898), in *Angl. Beibl.* VI, 17 ff., *Bonn. Beitr.* I, 9; by Kölling (1896), *Eng. Stud.* XXVI, 99-101; by Simons (1896), "Cynewulf's Wortschatz," in *Bonn. Beitr.* III, 1; by Bourauiel (1900), p. 132; and by Skeat (1901), *English Miscellany*, pp. 408-420.

<sup>8</sup> *Berichte d. Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Phil. Hist. Classe.* 1888, p. 212; *Geschichte d. eng. Lit.*, pp. 39, 45.

<sup>9</sup> *Anglia* XIII, 25.

<sup>10</sup> *Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, p. 413, p. 489.

utterance<sup>1</sup> he is inclined to give credence to the views of Sarrazin. Brandl<sup>2</sup> (1898) refuses to connect *The Fates of the Apostles* with *Andreas*, but regards the former as a separate poem, the subject of which is a traveler's charm.<sup>3</sup> Professor Cook, who first declared that "there can hardly be much doubt that the *Andreas* is to be given to Cynewulf,"<sup>4</sup> later modified his opinions, saying, "I am strongly inclined to assign the *Andreas* to Cynewulf, though I hesitate to express a positive opinion, in the present state of our knowledge, especially against Fritzsche's hypothesis of a close imitation."<sup>5</sup>

Manifestly the first thing to be done in order to clear the ground for a just estimate of the mass of argumentation represented by the above-mentioned discussions is to determine the relation of the runic signature to *The Fates of the Apostles* and the relation of *The Fates of the Apostles* to *Andreas*. For if *The Fates of the Apostles*, with the runic signature, is merely an epilogue or concluding section of *Andreas*, we have indication of the first importance as to the authorship of the poem. The evidence which must be weighed here is of two sorts: first, the mere mechanical arrangement of the poems in the manuscript; and second, the evidence of the internal relation of subject matter in the two poems.

According to Skeat,<sup>6</sup> "if we go by the testimony of the MS. itself, we must allow that the first poem in the MS. occupies the back of fol. 29, fol. 30-53, and fol. 54, recto, where it ends with the word *FIXIR*, below which is a blank space sufficient to contain *six* more lines. And further that this poem consists of 1840 lines, disposed in 16 Fits, of about 115 lines apiece, on an average." The record of the manuscript is briefly as follows: the *Andreas*, which, as Skeat says, begins the first section of poetry in the manuscript, extends from the first line of fol. 29<sup>b</sup> to the middle of fol. 52<sup>b</sup>. It is divided into fifteen sections of approximately equal length.<sup>7</sup> The sections are separated from each

<sup>1</sup> *Eng. Lit. from the Beginning*, p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> *Herwig's Archiv* C, 330-334.

<sup>3</sup> Arnold (1898), *Notes on Beowulf*, pp. 121-126, Büttenwieser (1899), *Studien*, p. 86, and Binz, *Eng. Stud.* XXVI, 389, are all convinced that *Andreas* is not by Cynewulf.

<sup>4</sup> *MLA*, IV, 7 (January, 1889).

<sup>5</sup> *The Christ of Cynewulf*, 1900, p. lxii.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, p. 412.

<sup>7</sup> These sections are as follows: (1) fol. 29<sup>b</sup> top-fol. 30<sup>b</sup> bot.; (2) fol. 30<sup>b</sup> bot.-fol. 32<sup>a</sup> top; (3) fol. 32<sup>a</sup> top-fol. 33<sup>b</sup> mid.; (4) fol. 33<sup>b</sup> mid.-fol. 35<sup>a</sup> bot.; (5) fol. 35<sup>a</sup> bot.-fol. 37<sup>a</sup> mid.; (6) fol. 37<sup>a</sup> mid.-fol. 38<sup>b</sup> top; (7) fol. 38<sup>b</sup> top-fol. 40<sup>a</sup> mid.; (8) fol. 40<sup>a</sup> mid.-fol. 41<sup>b</sup> bot.; (9) fol. 42<sup>a</sup> top-fol. 43<sup>a</sup> bot.; (10) fol.

other by a blank space sufficient to contain one line. Each section begins with a large capital letter, the remaining letters of the first word being written in smaller capitals; these large capitals are all written out in the manuscript, except the opening letter of the twelfth section, fol. 46<sup>v</sup>, where the letter A stands alone, S, miswritten for D, having been erased, though the right letter was not afterwards inserted. Each section also ends with a distinctive mark of punctuation, usually a colon with a hook-shaped dash following it.

*The Fates of the Apostles* follows immediately after the conclusion of *Andreas*, the usual blank space being left between *Andreas* and the opening of *The Fates of the Apostles*. The first letter of the first word (*Hwæt*) is wanting, though space is left, extending down through five lines, for its insertion; the remaining letters of the word are given in smaller capitals. The narrative begins at the middle of fol. 52<sup>b</sup> and extends without interruption in the manuscript to about three fourths of the way down fol. 54<sup>v</sup>, where it ends with *FINN* and a period. The remainder of the page, sufficient to contain six lines, is left blank. The runic passage stands on this last folio (fol. 54<sup>v</sup>) by itself, beginning with the words, *Hēr mæg findan*, etc. It begins on the first line of the folio, without a capital or any other indication of a new beginning, nor is there any punctuation after the last word of fol. 53<sup>b</sup>.

From this examination it will be seen that there is no indication in the manuscript that the runic passage is anything other than a direct and uninterrupted continuation of *The Fates of the Apostles*, or that *The Fates of the Apostles*, together with this passage, stands in any other relation to *Andreas* than do the sections of *Andreas* to each other. A further examination, however, of the scribe's method of ordering other groups of poems in the manuscript, will show that there is no indication that *The Fates of the Apostles* must be taken as a part of a larger whole. On fol. 101<sup>b</sup>–fol. 106<sup>v</sup> there is a group of three poems that no one has ever thought of uniting. The first (*Dialogue between the Soul and the Body*) begins with a large capital on the first line of fol. 101<sup>b</sup>; on fol. 103<sup>v</sup>, near the bottom of the page, there is a sectional division, the last word of the section ending with the same mark of punctuation as that used in the first poem or poems of the

43<sup>v</sup> bot.–fol. 44<sup>b</sup> mid.; (11) fol. 44<sup>b</sup> mid.–fol. 46<sup>v</sup> mid.; (12) fol. 46<sup>v</sup> mid.–fol. 47<sup>b</sup> top; (13) fol. 47<sup>b</sup> top–fol. 49<sup>v</sup> bot.; (14) fol. 49<sup>v</sup> bot.–fol. 51<sup>v</sup> top; (15) fol. 51<sup>v</sup> top–fol. 52<sup>b</sup> mid.

manuscript, and followed by the usual blank space. The second section begins with a capital D. The conclusion of this second section, and of the poem, is wanting in the manuscript, as the poem breaks off abruptly at the end of fol. 103<sup>r</sup>. The same missing folio must have contained the opening of the second poem of the group (*Sermon in verse on Ps. XXVIII*), for fol. 104<sup>r</sup> opens abruptly with no indication that a new subject has been introduced. This fragmentary poem concludes on fol. 104<sup>r</sup>, near the top, with the usual mark of punctuation and the usual blank space. The third poem of the group (*Vision of the Cross*) begins with a large capital near the top of fol. 104<sup>b</sup> and continues without break to the foot of fol. 106<sup>b</sup>, where it ends with the usual mark of punctuation: the poem fills up the whole page, only a part of the last line being left blank. On fol. 106<sup>b</sup> then begins a group of prose selections. It will be seen, therefore, that if we observe merely the mechanical ordering of the poems in the manuscript, there is quite as much justification for declaring the three poems of the second group a single poem as for declaring *The Fates of the Apostles* a necessary part of *Andrew*: for the scribe uses exactly the same method in marking off sections of a poem that he uses in separating entirely different poems. The fact that a space of six lines is left vacant on fol. 54<sup>a</sup> is no indication that the scribe wishes to mark the end of a poem: for the second group of poems in the manuscript shows that it is not his usual method thus to mark the end of a poem. The space is left blank, we may suppose, first of all because it is a short space, and second because the next section of the manuscript was to be devoted to prose and not to verse selections. At the conclusion of *Elene*, fol. 133<sup>b</sup>, which is followed immediately by the prose life of St. Guthlac, the scribe did not leave the rest of the page blank as he had done at the end of *The Fates of the Apostles*, fol. 54<sup>r</sup>, but the reason is plain. On fol. 54<sup>r</sup> it required nineteen lines of his page in order to finish the poem in hand, leaving space for only six lines: on fol. 133<sup>r</sup> only six lines of the page were needed in order to finish the poem, leaving space for twenty-five lines (the writing here being much finer than in the earlier part of the manuscript). The wasting of twenty-five lines must have seemed a needless extravagance to the scribe.

The third and last section of poetry in the manuscript, extending from the first line of fol. 121<sup>r</sup> down through the sixth line of fol. 133<sup>b</sup>, contains the single poem *Elene*. The poem is divided into sections



just as *Andreas* is divided, each section beginning with capitals, ending with the usual mark of punctuation, and separated from the preceding and following sections by the usual blank space. The sections here, however, are numbered with roman numerals from one to fifteen inclusive,<sup>1</sup> apparently by the original scribe of the manuscript. Section fourteen, which concludes the actual narrative of the poem, ends with *FINIT* and the usual mark of punctuation. Section fifteen is a sort of personal epilogue in which occurs the passage containing the runes that form the name Cynewulf. This section concludes with a second ending, *AMEN*, followed by the usual punctuation. Immediately following the conclusion of the section, but separated from it by the usual blank space, comes the opening of the prose life of St. Guthlac, which is without number. Sarrazin<sup>2</sup> is therefore not exact when he says that the epilogue of *Elene* stands "äusserlich und innerlich" in the same relation to the body of the poem as *The Fates of the Apostles* to *Andreas*. In the manuscript record of *Elene* there is distinct evidence, in the consecutive numbering of the sections, that they are to be taken as parts of a single poem. The double colophon is also peculiar to *Elene*. The ending of section fourteen with *FINIT* may be a mere reflection of the source of the poem, for indeed the actual narrative does end with that section. After the epilogue was added, the poet, not wishing to repeat his former ending, finishes with *AMEN*. Fortunately, in the case of *Elene* the testimony of the subject matter leaves no doubt that the fifteenth section is an integral part of the poem; in this respect also Sarrazin makes too much of the parallel between *Andreas* and *The Fates of the Apostles* on the one hand and *Elene* and its concluding section on the other.

We cannot agree, therefore, with Professor Skeat and others, that the manuscript speaks decisively in favor of accepting *The Fates of the Apostles* as an integral part of *Andreas*. At the most the manuscript merely permits the theory but speaks decisively neither one way nor the other. All that it allows us to say is that from fol. 29<sup>b</sup> to fol. 54<sup>a</sup> we have a poem or a group of poems, written out in orderly fashion and ending with a *FINIT* and a blank space on the last page.

An examination of the subject matter of the two poems in their relation to each other results in a somewhat more positive conclusion. In

<sup>1</sup> The numbers are omitted in sections eleven and twelve.

<sup>2</sup> *Angl. Beibl.* VI, 205.

general two main theories have been proposed by which *The Fates of the Apostles* is to be united to *Andreas*. According to the first (supported chiefly by Sarrazin, Trautmann, and Gollancz) *The Fates of the Apostles* is not an integral part of the narrative of *Andreas*, but an addition or epilogue, standing in the same relation to *Andreas* as the epilogue of *Elene* to that poem. According to the second theory, supported chiefly by Skeat,<sup>1</sup> *The Fates of the Apostles* is a necessary part of the plot and action of *Andreas*.

The title of this longer poem (to take up the second theory first), consisting of *The Fates of the Apostles* and *Andreas* united, should be, Professor Skeat contends, not *Andreas*, but *The Twelve Apostles*. The writer of the poem announces his subject in the opening lines: *twelfe undertunglum*. Of these twelve he takes up St. Matthew first, St. Andrew being mentioned for the first time in l. 169. "When St. Matthew is thus happily disposed of [but St. Matthew is not disposed of until ll. 1050 ff.], the story of St. Andrew, henceforth considered as the *principal* hero, really begins" (p. 414). When he has finished the special story of St. Andrew, continues Skeat, the poet reverts to his original theme. "But finding by this time that the apostles cannot all be discoursed of at the same length as St. Matthew and St. Andrew, he cuts the story short by the ingenious device of giving, not their whole legends, but merely a brief account of how each one came to his end. As neither St. Matthew nor St. Andrew were killed off in Fits 1-15, it became necessary to give each of these a few lines more. We thus learn that St. Matthew was executed (put to sleep by weapons) and that St. Andrew was crucified (was extended on the gallows)."

One hesitates to take all this seriously. For, accepting this theory, we have a poem on a great topic so loosely put together that it can hardly be said to have any coherence or unity at all; and such inarticulate work Professor Skeat would have us ascribe to Cynewulf. Furthermore, a glance at the sources of the two poems shows that the theory supposes a degree of unification and adaptation of these sources either beyond the powers or the purpose of the author or authors who composed the poems. In neither poem is there any indication that the poet thought he was composing a great epic on the Twelve Apostles; he was simply retelling a story as he had found it. The poet of *Andreas* mentioned the twelve in opening his poem because his source mentioned

<sup>1</sup> *English Miscellany*, pp. 408-420.

them ; but even if this were not true, we need no more suppose that he intended writing in detail on each of the twelve, than that the poet of *Beowulf* intended giving us the life-histories of those heroes — *Heoregār* and *Hrōðgar* and *Hulga til* — and the others who are mentioned before the real action of the poem begins. The author of *Andreas* treated of Matthew first because his source did so ; he gave most of his attention to Andrew because he followed his source, and when he had finished the story of St. Andrew he stopped because his source stopped. And indeed it was an appropriate ending. The narrative had brought Andrew out of the land of Achaia, had related his adventures in the city of the *anthropophagi*, and had closed with the return of the saint to the place from which he had set out. One feels that the story is closed, it has its peroration and nothing more is needed or expected. The poet of *The Fates of the Apostles*, whether the same person as the poet of *Andreas* or not, we may be sure followed his source quite as closely.<sup>1</sup>

The fact that the opening passages of the two poems are very much alike, and are evidently fashioned either on the same model or one on the other, is rather an indication that the passages introduce two separate poems than two sections of the same poem ; the allusion to the twelve at the opening of *The Fates of the Apostles* cannot be taken, as Professor Skeat would take it, as a resumption and repetition of the subject as announced in the opening lines of *Andreas*, for the introduction to *The Fates of the Apostles* actually gives the subject of the narrative that follows, whereas the introduction to *Andreas* is purely preliminary and outside the real narrative of the poem. There is, in short, not the slightest indication in either poem of an endeavor to fuse the old material into a single tale of the fates of all Twelve Apostles. If the scribe of the *Vercelli Book* had happened to place *The Fates of the Apostles* in the second or third section of poetry in the manuscript, instead of in the first and immediately following *Andreas*, I doubt if it would ever have occurred to the ingenuity of any one to look upon it as a part of the story of *Andreas*.

The contents of *The Fates of the Apostles* in relation to the narrative of *Andreas* must now be examined ; for if *The Fates of the Apostles* and *Andreas* are not to be taken as one long poem on the Twelve Apostles, it is still possible, as Gollancz suggests, that *The Fates of the Apostles* is an appendix or epilogue to *Andreas*. As opposed to such

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, pp. xxix ff.

a theory it is to be noted, first, that *Andreas* ends with a definite and appropriate conclusion, with no indication of anything to follow; and, second, that *The Fates of the Apostles* opens with an entirely new beginning, followed by a regularly developed narrative and conclusion which is dependent in no respect on any preceding narrative. The opening of *The Fates of the Apostles* is not merely the exclamation *hæwt*, followed by an immediate resumption of the narrative, as in *Andreas*, l. 1478, but an elaborate formal beginning parallel to the opening of *Andreas* itself. Sievers<sup>1</sup> first pointed out the likeness between these two openings, showing that both are imitations of the opening lines of *Beowulf*. Such similarity is, of course, no indication that the two passages belong to the same poem; for, granted that they are by the same author, it is less likely that an author would repeat himself so plainly within the bounds of a single poem than in two separate poems.

In these opening lines of *The Fates of the Apostles*, ll. 1-11<sup>a</sup>, the poet announces his subject. In the first line of this passage, *hysne sang* is logically inseparable from what follows — *hu þa æðelingas*, l. 3, and its elaboration. It cannot be translated 'the above or preceding song,'<sup>2</sup> because the phrases with which it is coördinate in ll. 3 ff. do not describe the action of *Andreas*, though they do describe very closely the action of *The Fates of the Apostles*. The poem begins, therefore, without any allusion to preceding action, either to the *Andreas* or to any other subject. Again, in the narrative which follows immediately after this introductory passage, Andrew comes third in the list, as is usual in such compositions, whereas Matthew, entirely disconnected from him, comes ninth. Nowhere is there any allusion to the narrative of *Andreas*, or any indication that the author knew the story of *Andreas* or that he had treated of these two apostles elsewhere. In the account of Andrew stress is laid upon his death at the hands of Egeas, a name and incident unknown to *Andreas*; in the account of Matthew we are told of his death at the hands of Irtacus, also unknown to *Andreas*. Matthew is said to have preached *mid Sigelgearum*, l. 64, i.e. in Ethiopia (cf. note to *Ap.* 64); in *Andreas*, Andrew announces the end of their journey to his followers as *on Elmyrcna æðelrice*, l. 432. The allusion in *The Fates of the Apostles* is evidently derived from its source (cf. p. xxxi); no equivalent is found in the *Ἠράκλειος* for the statement of l. 432 of *Andreas*.

<sup>1</sup> *PBB.* IX, 135.

<sup>2</sup> Bouranel, p. 132, 'das obige Gedicht.'

It might easily be derived, however, from common stock of tradition, and at the most indicates, not that the author of *The Fates of the Apostles* wrote also *Andreas*, but that the author of *Andreas* may possibly have known *The Fates of the Apostles*. The name Mermedonia is not mentioned in *The Fates of the Apostles*. Finally, after the list of the Twelve Apostles is completed, *The Fates of the Apostles* ends with an appropriate conclusion, which, freely translated, runs as follows: 'Thus these noble ones, the great-minded twelve, perished; fame unending these thanes of glory won in the spirit. Now then I pray that he who loves the study of this song petition that holy throng [i.e. the twelve] for help for me, sad of heart, for protection and for aid. Alas! I shall have need of friends, of kindly disposed ones, on my journey, when, alone, I seek my long home, that strange habitation, leave behind me my body, this portion of earth, this corpse as a feast for worms.' After this passage, ll. 85-95, follows a second conclusion in which the poet gives the runes which form his name. Here, he says, the skilled in perception may find, he who takes pleasure in songs, who made this poem (*b̄as fitte*, l. 98). The runes then follow, in a passage the thought of which is the transitoriness of earthly possessions. In a few concluding lines (ll. 107 ff.) the poet returns to the request of the preceding passage, ll. 88 ff.: 'Be mindful of this, he who loves the study of this poem, that he beseech for me comfort and aid. Far hence must I, all alone, seek a new habitation, undertake a journey, I know not myself whither, out of this world. Those dwellings are unknown to me, that land and that home. It is so with every man unless he be partaker of the holy spirit. But let us the more zealously cry unto God, let us send our prayers into the bright heaven (*gesceaft*, l. 116), that we may enjoy that habitation, that home on high, where are the greatest of joys, where the King of angels yields to the poor unending reward. Now his praise remain forever great and glorious, together with his power eternal and ever renewed, throughout all creation!' It will be noted that in the passage which might be called the first conclusion (i.e. ll. 88-95) there is specific reference to the subject matter of *The Fates of the Apostles*, but no reference is made to the action of *Andreas*. In the second ending, however, there is direct allusion neither to *The Fates of the Apostles* nor to *Andreas*. The passage is entirely disconnected from any preceding narrative, and might easily belong to *The Fates of the Apostles*, or to *Andreas*, or to neither. In *The Fates of the Apostles*,

therefore, as in *Andreas*, a single narrative is appropriately introduced, is consistently developed, and (except for the double ending, which will be discussed later) is brought to a satisfactory conclusion; nothing in the one is needed to explain the details of the action of the other.

Certain expressions of *The Fates of the Apostles* have been supposed to refer back to *Andreas*. Thus, (1) according to Trautmann,<sup>1</sup> the phrases *hysses giddes begang*, *Ap.* l. 89, and *hisses galdres begang*, *Ap.* l. 108, cannot refer to *The Fates of the Apostles*, because the word *begang* connotes the meaning 'long, extended,' the whole phrase meaning 'this long poem,' a description which cannot apply to the 130 lines of *The Fates of the Apostles*, but which applies very aptly to *The Fates of the Apostles* as a part of *Andreas*. The meaning 'long' or 'extended' which Trautmann finds in the word *begang* he derives from its use in such combinations as *steegles begang*, *gärseeges b.*, *flōda b.*, *geofenes b.*, *holma b.*, *teyrda b.*, and others. But the idea of wide extent in these phrases comes not from the meaning of the word *begang*, but from the word with which it is united; by itself *begang* means only 'extent, space, circuit,' as the dictionaries define it. When combined with the name of an object of small extent it means no more than when combined with the name of an object of great extent.<sup>2</sup> (2) Bourauel<sup>3</sup> sees a verbal allusion to *Andreas* in the words *hās fitte*, l. 98, which he takes to be accusative plural — 'these sections.' The sections, according to Bourauel, are three, *An.* 1-1477, *An.* 1478-1722, and *Ap.* 1 ff., each section being indicated by the exclamation *hwaet* at the beginning. It is true that mere grammar permits *hās fitte* to be taken as accusative plural, but it is equally true that the words may be taken as accusative singular. If the poet had been speaking to us of "sections," or even of a long poem on St. Andrew, there might be some reason for taking *hās fitte* as accusative plural; but he has been speaking to us only of his little poem on the Twelve Apostles, he knows nothing about *Andreas* or at least says nothing about it. Surely then the natural and unconstrained rendering of *hās fitte* is as accusative singular, 'this poem,'

<sup>1</sup> *Angl. Beibl.* VI. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Barnouw, *Herrig's Archiv* CVIII. 371-375, after showing that *gong* and *begong* are used interchangeably (cf. *El.* 648, 1123, 1255; *Chr.* 1035, 235) cites *Gu.* 1134: *teyrda gongum*, describing a speech of Guthlac's of 30 lines; the phrase *on gæddrum*, l. 1180, is used in allusion to the same speech. But it may be seriously questioned whether 'extent, space, circuit' is the right definition of the word as it occurs in the two passages in *Ap.* See B.T., s. v. *begang*, II. <sup>3</sup> Pp. 129-130.

an equivalent expression to *Lysses giddes* or *galdres begang*. (3) Again Trautmann<sup>1</sup> insists that the double ending of *The Fates of the Apostles* already mentioned, though out of keeping in such a short poem as *The Fates of the Apostles*, becomes quite appropriate when we look upon this ending as the conclusion of the long story of St. Andrew. But, after all, the important point with regard to the double ending is not its length, but the fact that it is a double ending, the one part repeating, at times verbally, the other. It is difficult to see how such an irregularity is explained away by uniting *The Fates of the Apostles* to *Andreas*. As to the right explanation of this double ending there may reasonably be a difference of opinion. Sievers<sup>2</sup> hesitates to ascribe such inartistic work to Cynewulf, and proposes the theory that all the passage contained on fol. 54<sup>a</sup>, that is ll. 96-122, does not belong to *The Fates of the Apostles*, but to some other poem, and that it has been accidentally separated from its right connection and placed here at the end of a poem already provided with a complete ending. This theory, Sievers thinks, may explain the blot upon this folio as the mark of the scribe conscious of his error in placing the passage at this place. Where the passage actually belongs Sievers does not attempt to determine, though he denies emphatically that it has been separated from *Andreas* by the insertion of *The Fates of the Apostles*. Skeat<sup>3</sup> proposes a somewhat different explanation. The double ending, he says, consists of the two passages ll. 88-106 and ll. 107 to the end. The first passage, which contains the runes, he calls epilogue B, and the second passage epilogue A. "The author's first intention was to end with epilogue A. But he afterwards determined to compose an epilogue containing runes, so as to give a clue to his name. Consequently he composed epilogue B in its stead and placed it in its right position at the end of the poem. But by some chance the scribe had access to a copy of the original epilogue A; and, thinking it too good to be lost—for which he is not to be blamed—he inartistically tacked it on to the *end* of the poem." Neither Skeat's nor Sievers' hypothesis seems very convincing. Perhaps the simplest explanation is here the best. Though the double ending appears to be unnecessary and inartistic to our modern sense, it may not have seemed so much so to the author of the poem;

<sup>1</sup> *Angl. Beibl.* VI, 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Anglia* XIII, 21-25.

<sup>3</sup> *English Miscellany*, pp. 419-420.

he may thus have added the second ending as an afterthought without considering it necessary to remove or change the other.<sup>1</sup>

To sum up, then, we are forced to the conclusion that neither in the manuscript transmission nor in their contents is there any sufficient indication that *Andreas* and *The Fates of the Apostles* are to be taken as a single poem. The evidence of the manuscript permits such a supposition, but it affords no positive evidence in support of it; the evidence of subject matter is distinctly opposed to the theory, for each poem has its individual source and its own internal development. As to *The Fates of the Apostles*, the evidence of the manuscript points conclusively to Cynewulf as its author. Doubts are raised, however, by a consideration of the subject matter — especially the irregular double conclusion. But until some explanation of this peculiarity has been offered that carries more conviction than those so far brought forward, we may accept the testimony of the manuscript, and assign the poem to Cynewulf.

It remains to examine the evidence of metre, language, and style in *Andreas* as compared with the poems of undoubted Cynewulfian origin.<sup>2</sup> This has been carefully done for the metre by Cremer<sup>3</sup> and Mather.<sup>4</sup> Cremer concludes, as a result of his investigations, that though there are numerous differences between *Andreas* and the accepted poems of Cynewulf, these differences are too slight to justify a positive denial of the poem to him. Mather, working independently of Cremer but along similar lines, arrives at the same conclusion. He finds, for example, that double alliteration in the first half-line is one fourth more frequent in *Andreas* than in Cynewulf (i.e. *Juliana*, *Elene*, and *Christ* I, II, III). The D and E types of the second half-line, the distinctively epic verse-form, which Mather considers as most important in his comparative tests, are one fifth more frequent in *Andreas* than in the poem of Cynewulf containing the largest number (*Christ* III), and one third more frequent than in the poem containing the smallest number (*Juliana*). In this respect *Andreas* stands nearer to the *Beowulf*, as

<sup>1</sup> A similar double ending occurs in *Widsið*, ll. 131-134 and ll. 135-143. Müllenhoff, *Haupt's Zs.* XI. 203, regards the first of these two passages as an interpolation.

<sup>2</sup> In the present discussion the following poems are accepted as undoubtedly Cynewulf's: *Elene*, *Juliana*, *Christ* I, II, III, *The Fates of the Apostles*. By combining the glossary to *Christ* I and III, in Professor Cook's edition, with Simons, *Cynewulf's Wortschatz*, a complete verbal index to these poems is obtained.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 4-41.

<sup>4</sup> *JLLA*. VII, 97-107.



Mather points out, than to the poems of the Cynewulf group. The number of hypermetric lines in *Andreas* (given by Mather as ten) is much less than in Cynewulf (in the *Elene* alone there are seventy-one); in this respect also *Andreas* stands nearer to the *Beowulf* (which contains twelve hypermetric lines) than to the Cynewulfian poems. The evidence of the metre on the whole, Mather concludes, is not decisive. There is insufficient ground either for positively ascribing or denying *Andreas* to Cynewulf. The chief result of the metrical comparisons is that which establishes a special relationship between *Andreas* and *Beowulf*.

The evidence of language and vocabulary is more positive than that of metre. It should be remembered, however, that striking differences in language are not to be expected between two poems, though by different authors, of approximately the same time and place of origin; such differences as do appear are consequently of the more significance.<sup>1</sup> A few of the more noteworthy differences in language between *Andreas* and the accepted works of Cynewulf may be mentioned:<sup>2</sup>

(1) Certain forms in *An.*, Fritzsche thinks (pp. 42-43) still preserve traces of the original writer's individual usage: thus the forms *mec* and *þec* do not appear at all in *An.*, though they appear interchangeably with *mē* and *þē* in the poems of Cynewulf. That the usage in *An.* is not due entirely to the scribe of the MS. is indicated by the appearance of *mec* and *þec* in other parts of the *Vercelli Book*, as, for example, in *El.* The forms *cōm*, *cōmon* occur eighteen times in *An.*; the forms *cwōm*, *cwōmon* occur twice (ll. 738, 1278). The reverse is true of Cynewulf; the forms *cōm*, *cōmon* occur in *El.* 150 and *Riddles* LXXXVIII, 12 (if we regard the *Riddles* as non-Cynewulfian, only once in Cynewulf), beside numerous occurrences of *cwōm*, *cwōmon*. Fritzsche points out that as the poems of Cynewulf are preserved partly in the *Vercelli* and partly in the *Exeter Codex* this uniformity is the more striking. Such forms as *āgef*, *An.* 189, 285, 572, etc., *gesch*, *An.* 847, 992, 1004, beside the regular *āgeaf*, *geseah*, though not entirely unknown

<sup>1</sup> Thus Wack, "Artikel und demonstrativpronomen in Andreas und Elene," *Anglia* XV, 200-210, finds no appreciable difference between *Andreas* and *Elene* in the use of the forms studied. Holtbuer, *Der syntaktische Gebrauch des Genetives in Andreas, Guðlac, Phœnix, dem Heiligen Kreuz und der Höllenfahrt*, Halle, 1884, denies *Andreas* to Cynewulf, though his data do not justify so positive a conclusion. Barnouw, *Der bestimmte Artikel im Altenglischen*, p. 150, thinks that the use of the definite article in *Andreas* points to a pre-Cynewulfian period; he would place *Andreas* between *Gen. A* and *Daniel*; but again the argument is weak.

<sup>2</sup> Unless otherwise indicated the observations are my own.

in Cynewulf (cf. *El.* 587, *āgeƿon*; *El.* 841, *gesch*) are there exceptional, whereas in *An.* they are the more frequent forms.

(2) The dative of *fæder* in Cynewulf is *fædere* (cf. Sievers, *PBB.* X, 1483); *An.* 1346, 1410, prove the form *fæder* for that poem.

(3) The use of the periphrastic preterit, formed by the preterit of *onġinnan*, *cuman*, *geƿitan*, + an infinitive, Fritzsche points out (pp. 38-39) is more frequent in *An.* than in Cynewulf. Thus the form *cōm(on)* + infinitive occurs only five times in Cynewulf, twice, *Jul.* 563, *Chr.* 549, being with verbs of motion; in *An.* alone the construction occurs eight times with the infinitive of verbs of motion, once with another verb. The preterit of *geƿitan* + infinitive of a verb of motion occurs only once in Cynewulf, *Chr.* 533; the construction is common (see Glossary) in *An.*, occurring thirteen times.

(4) Though in general differences of vocabulary are best explained as arising from differences in subject matter, yet the following variations in the use of words and particles of common occurrence seem to have some significance:

(a) **butan**, conj. and prep., occurs only three times in *An.*, but twenty times in *Chr.*, ten times in *El.*, and six times in *Jul.*

(b) **ƿeninga**, adv., found four times in *An.*, does not occur in Cynewulf.

(c) **Ðā gēn**, 'then, again,' is found twice in *An.*, ll. 601, 727. In Cynewulf *gēn* and *Ðā gēn* occur frequently (six times in *Chr.* I-III, seven times in *El.*, nine times in *Jul.*), not only in the sense 'then, again,' but also with the meaning 'yet, furthermore.' On the other hand *Ðā gīt*, *gīt* (once *nū gīt*), occurs nine times in *An.*: it occurs in Cynewulf only in *Chr.* I, ll. 318, 351. *Ðā gīt*, *gīt*, in *An.* fills largely the place which *Ðā gēn*, *gēn*, occupies in Cynewulf.

(d) **lȳt** occurs five times in *An.*, in Cynewulf only in *El.* I, l. 63 (cf. *El.* 142 *lȳthƿen*). *Lȳtel*, the regular form in Cynewulf, occurring eight times (*Chr.* 1400, MS. *lȳt*, must read *lȳtel*, as is proved by the metre), occurs only once in *An.*, l. 1488.

(e) **sum** is found in *An.* always with a gen. plural, never absolutely as in Cynewulf (*El.* 131 ff., 548; *Chr.* 664 ff., etc.). Note also the absolute use in *Alp.* 11.<sup>1</sup>

(f) **sīð** = 'afterwards.' In Cynewulf the form *sīð* varies with *sīðþan*, the shorter form appearing twelve times. In *An.* the shorter form does not appear (*syð* of the MS., *An.* 1704, is manifestly to be read *syðþan*), though *sīðþan* is found twenty-two times. The phrase *sīð ond ƿē*, *sīð oððe ƿē*, etc., occurs ten times in Cynewulf (*El.* four times, *Jul.* three times, and *Chr.* three times); but it does not occur once in *An.* On the other hand,

<sup>1</sup> Noted also by Fritzsche, p. 53.

the phrase *cft swā āv* is found three times in *An.*, but not at all in Cynewulf.

(g) *āweðan* is found eight times in Cynewulf, — four times in *Jul.*, three in *Chr.*, once in *El.*; it does not occur in *An.* *Beceweðan* occurs four times in *An.*, but does not appear in Cynewulf.

(h) *feor*, adj., occurs five times in *An.*, but as adjective the word is not found in Cynewulf.

(i) *geare*, adv., with the verbs *cunnan* and *witan*, does not occur in the positive in *An.*, and only once in the comparative, l. 932. In Cynewulf in such phrases the positive occurs nine times, the comparative twice, and the superlative once. The verbs *cunnan* and *witan* are, however, of frequent occurrence in *An.*

(j) The phrase *æfter þam (þyssum) wordum*, *An.* 88, 761, 1026, 1219 (cf. *æfter wordewidum*, 1447), at the end of a passage of direct discourse, is not found in Cynewulf.<sup>1</sup> The poet of *An.* also had the habit of introducing speeches with the phrase *wordum cweðan*, 62, 173, 354, 539, or *worde cweðan*, 716, 727, 743, 850, 913, 1206, 1280, 1450. This phrase is found only once in Cynewulf, *Jul.* 92: *worde cweð*, as introductory to a passage of direct discourse. Other phrases, e.g. *wordum mælan*, *gescegan*, *frignan*, are occasionally but infrequently used by both Cynewulf and the poet of *An.* The frequent use of *wordum*, *worde cweðan* must be counted a mannerism of *An.*

(5) Fritzsche, p. 50, points out that neither the word for Bible nor that for book occurs in *An.*; and that the poet nowhere alludes to any written sources. In this respect he is strikingly different from Cynewulf, who very frequently refers to sources; cf. *El.* 204, 290, 826, 1255; *Chr.* 453, 701, 785, 793. It is noteworthy that the poet of *Ap.* refers to his sources in the manner of Cynewulf; cf. *Ap.* 1-2, 23, 63, 70.

The similarity in style between *Andreas* and the Cynewulfian poems, particularly *Elene*, which to the early commentators seemed a strong argument for assigning *Andreas* to Cynewulf, cannot be allowed much weight in determining the question of authorship. That *Andreas* belongs to the general school of Cynewulfian poetry is evident. But when one recalls the very homogeneous character of the poetry of this school, — as homogeneous in its way as the poetry of the English Augustan period, — it will be seen that the same verse-form, similar subject matter, and similar general tone, might all be the common characteristics of a number of different poets.

A discriminating observation will, however, bring to light some important differences between *Andreas* and the other poems of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Barnouw, p. 136.

Cynewulf group. Sarrazin lumping together all the parallelisms in expression which he could find between *Beowulf* and the Cynewulfian poems (including *Andreas*, *Guthlac*, *Pharax*, and *Rudolf*), attempts to establish a special connection between *Beowulf* and Cynewulf. "To prove, in short, that *Beowulf*, in its present form, was composed by Cynewulf. With this main purpose of Sarrazin we are at present not concerned." It should be observed, however, how easily Sarrazin's argument for the Cynewulfian authorship of *Andreas* may be turned against him. In *Beowulf* Sarrazin finds 37 parallels to *Beowulf*, in *Christ* 14, in *Andreas* 9, in *Guthlac* (both parts) 14, in *Pharax* 7, in *Rudolf* 14, but in *Andreas* alone he finds 68 parallels, and this number in his second study he increases to 180. The chief result, therefore, of Sarrazin's investigations, so far as *Andreas* is concerned, is to show that that poem occupies a peculiar position in the group of Cynewulfian poems, by reason of the fact that it has carried the systematic borrowing from *Beowulf* to a much greater extent than any other Cynewulfian poem. The argument which establishes this special relation between *Andreas* and *Beowulf* does so at the cost of separating *Andreas* from the other poems of the Cynewulf group—a conclusion which confirms Mather's observations on the metre of *Andreas*.

But the borrowings and adaptations of *Andreas* from the heroic verse are not only more numerous than in the poems of Cynewulf, they are also different in tone and feeling. The contrast between the language and phraseology of the heroic verse and the thought of the Christian legend is more violent in *Andreas* than in the poems of Cynewulf, than it is even in *Elene*, the poem which, in this respect, stands nearest to *Andreas*. There is in general a lack of restraint, a conscious and often labored use of the devices of Anglo-Saxon poetic style in *Andreas*, which set that poem sharply off from the poems of Cynewulf.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Beowulf*, ed. Sarrazin, Berlin, 1888, pp. 141 ff.; "Neue Beowulf Studien," *Zgg.*, 8, 1889, XXXII, 101-102.

<sup>9</sup> For some discussion of Sarrazin's argument from parallels, see Kolling, *Beowulf*, XXXI, 4-5 (p. 86), Kail, *Beowulf*, XXXI, 11-12.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Brooke, *Beowulf*, 100-101, *Beowulf and its Analogues*, p. 174. "The constant use of phrases borrowed from *Beowulf*, from Cynewulf himself, the effort to be specially heroic in description, to import more of the heathen elements of Saga into a Christian song than even the poets dared to do—the use of strange words, even the elaborate invention of words—point to a poet who was departing from a temperate style, and suggest, if they do not prove, that he [the author of *Andreas*] wrote at a time when Cynewulf was growing old."

It seems impossible, in the light of these considerations, to assign *Andreas* to Cynewulf. In its external history there is nothing to justify such a disposition of the poem, and in metre, language, and style it reveals characteristics that hold it distinctly apart from the avowedly genuine poems of Cynewulf. On the other hand, it is perhaps going too far absolutely to deny the poem to him; the evidence at present available does not justify so dogmatic an assertion. Without entering the field of merely possible hypotheses, we shall perhaps be going as far as our warrant permits if we say that the poem, although it follows the general traditions of Cynewulfian poetry, is too unlike *Christ*, *Juliana*, and *Elene* to be held in the same group with them.

## V

## POETIC ELABORATION IN ANDREAS

*Andreas*, "the Christian *Beowulf*" as it has been called,<sup>1</sup> is representative of that group of Anglo-Saxon poems in which Christian themes are treated in the spirit of the secular, heroic poetry. Its great companion piece in this group is *Elene*. The subject matter in both poems is late Christian legend, — in the one the adventures of Andrew and Matthew in the strange land of Mermedonia; in the other the story of St. Helena and her discovery of the Cross in distant Palestine. In spite of their subject, however, both are in spirit romantic stories of incident and adventure.<sup>2</sup>

The framework of the story of both poems was given in their sources, and, so far as the action is concerned, the authors show little or no power of invention. There is not a single incident in the action of *Andreas* which was not suggested by its source.<sup>3</sup> In his adaptation and elaboration of themes and allusions in his source, however, the author of *Andreas* was original. Such elaboration occurs chiefly in descriptions of nature, of towns and buildings, of spiritual struggles

<sup>1</sup> Gamett, *English Literature* I, 27.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ker, *Epic and Romance*, p. 276; *The Dark Ages*, pp. 263-264.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. xxi ff.; and for *Elene*, see Glode, *Anglia* IX, 271-275; Holt-Hausen, *Zf. f. deutsche Phil.* XXXVII, 1-19; Brooke, p. 124, remarks that "the writer of the *Andreas* has one power Cynewulf had not, inventiveness in incident"; and see further his remarks on p. 114 and p. 320.

conceived as actual battles, of the relations existing between lord and retainer; and it is by the effective use of details of this character that he has succeeded in transmuting the fantastic, Oriental situations of his original into a narrative of true English action and feeling.

The poem opens with the conventional formula of the epic, citing tradition as the source of the story, although it is all plainly of literary origin.<sup>1</sup> The heroic note is struck in the very opening lines, in the words with which the characters of the poem are designated. The apostles are the *þegn*s, they constitute the *comitatus*, of the Lord, who is their prince and king.<sup>2</sup> This conception of a sort of theocratic kingdom parallel to human political institutions is consistently maintained in the various names which are applied to the Lord.<sup>3</sup> Christ, when distinguished from the Father, is the *Fǿderling*, the son of the reigning Prince,<sup>4</sup> accused by Satan of being a usurper.<sup>5</sup> As their king the Lord commands the apostles to go wherever it is his will that they should go; and so it happens that Matthew suffers the hardest fate a retainer can suffer—he is sent into a strange land, away from the comfort and support of his lord.<sup>6</sup>

This relation of the Lord as commander, over-lord, and his followers as retainers, becomes structurally important in the body of the poem. On the one side are Andrew and his companions, who, with Matthew, are the Christian warriors, thanes, *fēlcƿegan*,<sup>7</sup> under the leadership of the Lord; on the other side are the warrior Mermedonians under the leadership of Satan.<sup>8</sup> By this device of dividing all the actors in the story into these two opposing camps the action of the whole poem is closely knit and unified. The story becomes thus one of the struggle between two organized forces, a story literally of the Christian warfare. When the heathen Mermedonians ride forth to the attack, they come with all the tumult and apparatus of battle, even though their foe is but a solitary person.<sup>9</sup> In other ways, also, this heroic conception of the action of the poem is kept in mind. When Andrew is in Satan's

<sup>1</sup> See I. 1, note.

<sup>2</sup> L. 3, note; cf. also 323–325; 726, note.

<sup>3</sup> See Kent, *Pentecost: Antiquities in the Andreas and Elene*, pp. 13, 21, for a list of them.

<sup>4</sup> 508, 610, 611.

<sup>5</sup> 680, note.

<sup>6</sup> Ll. 5, 6; 11 ff.; note the stress placed on the fact that it was a strange land to which Matthew was sent, ll. 16, 24, 26, 63, etc., and in 180 ff. the extremely personal tone of Andrew's remonstrance when a similar journey is proposed to him.

<sup>7</sup> L. 8.

<sup>8</sup> See 43<sup>b</sup>; 141; 1170<sup>b</sup> (cf. 822<sup>b</sup>); 1200–1200; 1328 ff.

<sup>9</sup> See 15 ff.; 125 ff.; 138; 652 ff.; 1007 ff.; 1004 ff.; 1201 ff.; 1200 ff.

power, the latter exults over him much as a warrior might exult over his defeated foe ; <sup>1</sup> when the heathen are in distress they call a council, a *witenagemot*, to discuss affairs, just as a Saxon army might do under similar circumstances ; <sup>2</sup> when Andrew's companions are given the privilege of turning back from the journey they have undertaken, in the true spirit of the *comitatus* they prefer the risk of death to the disgrace of deserting their leader ; <sup>3</sup> and in bargaining with the disguised sailors Andrew speaks of paying them with gifts of rings, <sup>4</sup> and even of land, <sup>5</sup> as a Saxon prince might speak of rewarding his retainers.

*Andreas* also follows the traditions of native heroic verse in its dignified treatment and elaboration of allusions to cities and buildings. <sup>6</sup> With epic impartiality commendatory epithets are used even of the heathen city of the Mermedonians ; it is the *wimbürg*, <sup>7</sup> the *goldbürg*, <sup>8</sup> the *wederbürg*, <sup>9</sup> the *micran byrig*, <sup>10</sup> the *beorhtan byrig*, <sup>11</sup> the *brecogostol brême*. <sup>12</sup> Bare allusions are also amplified into full descriptions. The brief statement of the prose version, which is here a literal translation of the Ἰππάζας, *hā se mergen geseorden twes, hā se hāliga Andreas ligende twes beforan Marmadonia ceastre*, <sup>13</sup> becomes in *Andreas* the detailed description of ll. 831-846. In ll. 1155-1160 a description of grief and sorrow is emphasized by a picture of the city deserted and desolate ; a contrasting description of joy is given in ll. 1655-1657 and 1672-1673, with their picture of the gold-adorned hall of feasting. The passage ll. 1229-1236, with its description of the streets of the city, is elaborated from a bare allusion, in the prose merely *purh þisse ceastre lanan*. <sup>14</sup> Likewise ll. 773-778 (part of a connected passage omitted by the prose version, but see the Greek version, Bonnet, p. 82, l. 7) are, so far as the details are concerned, a poetic amplification of a colorless statement of the original. So also allusions to buildings in the city are elaborated. The prison in which Matthew is held, mentioned merely as *carcern* in the prose version, <sup>15</sup> is described in the corresponding passage of the poem <sup>16</sup> by the aid of various epithets. In this prison,

<sup>1</sup> ll. 1315 ff.

<sup>2</sup> ll. 157 ; 1093 ff. ; 1161 ff.

<sup>3</sup> ll. 396-414 ; see l. 3, note.

<sup>4</sup> l. 271 ; 302-303 ; 476.

<sup>5</sup> l. 303.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. l. 1236, note.

<sup>7</sup> ll. 1637, 1672.

<sup>8</sup> l. 1655.

<sup>9</sup> l. 1697.

<sup>10</sup> ll. 40, 287, 973.

<sup>11</sup> l. 1649.

<sup>12</sup> l. 209.

<sup>13</sup> Bright, *Reader*, p. 118, ll. 14-15.

<sup>14</sup> Bright, *Reader*, p. 123, l. 1.

<sup>15</sup> *Reader*, p. 120, l. 12.

<sup>16</sup> ll. 1004-1008.

according to the prose version,<sup>1</sup> there stood a column, and upon the column a stone image. In the poem this single column is multiplied and magnified.<sup>2</sup> A similar heightening of an allusion of the original occurs in the mention of the ship in which Andrew sailed to Mermedonia.<sup>3</sup> The description of the temple in the poem<sup>4</sup> is part of a passage which is omitted by the prose version. The Greek version, however, in the corresponding passage says merely that the Lord entered a temple of the Gentiles, *εἰς ἱερὸν τῶν ἐθνῶν* (Bonnet, p. 78, l. 10). Apparently the Anglo Saxon poet has in mind the Jewish temple at Jerusalem,<sup>5</sup> which he describes in the same terms that the author of the *Beowulf* uses in describing the great hall Heorot.<sup>6</sup>

Among the passages of the poem descriptive of natural phenomena, the epic elaborations of allusions to dawn<sup>7</sup> and to sunset and night<sup>8</sup> are noteworthy. Particularly interesting is the symbolic description in ll. 125 ff., where the allusion to the night passes over into a description of the winter, the primitive mythic matter of night and winter being thus fused into one theme.

The most vivid and real descriptions of the poem are those of the sea, especially of the disturbed sea.<sup>9</sup> The eagerness with which the poet seizes the opportunity of introducing the description in ll. 300 ff. is noteworthy. The corresponding passage of the prose version says merely: *Le geseo þat þas brōðer synt geseceade of þisse sæte hreohnesse* (*Reader*, p. 117, ll. 4-5); and in the Greek version<sup>10</sup> it is made quite plain that the boat has not yet been cast off from land. In the Greek version and the prose the frightened disciples are offered the chance of leaving the ship before the voyage begins, whereas in *Andreas* the question of leaving the ship is not raised until the ship is on the open sea.<sup>11</sup> Somewhat similar and equally vigorous descriptions are the accounts of the water-flood on land<sup>12</sup> and of the circle of fire with which Andrew surrounds the city of the Mermedonians.<sup>13</sup> Several of the personifications in these sections of the poem are strikingly imaginative and vivid. Cold and frost are represented as hoary warriors

<sup>1</sup> *Reader*, p. 125, l. 15.

<sup>2</sup> ll. 1402-1408; the allusion to the image is omitted in the poem, perhaps because the columns were thought of as holding up the roof of the prison.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. l. 240, note.

<sup>4</sup> ll. 606-609.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *to hām cýnestole*, l. 606.

<sup>6</sup> See l. 608, note.

<sup>7</sup> ll. 123 ff.; 241 ff.; 835 ff.; 1208-1209; 1388.

<sup>8</sup> ll. 1253 ff.; 1304 ff.; 1450.

<sup>9</sup> ll. 360 ff.; 435 ff.; 480 ff.; 511 ff.

<sup>10</sup> See l. 427, note.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. ll. 307-308.

<sup>12</sup> ll. 1522 ff.    <sup>13</sup> ll. 1540 ff.



stalking abroad at night.<sup>1</sup> The terror of the sea is imaginatively conceived as a power rising up from the sea in order to attack the occupants of the boat.<sup>2</sup> Hunger is figured, almost in the spirit of allegory, as a 'pale table-companion,'<sup>3</sup> and again as a grim scather of men;<sup>4</sup> and evil and hatred are personified as a fiery, consuming dragon.<sup>5</sup>

The passages of description and dialogue in the poem are sometimes given a strikingly realistic, even extravagantly realistic coloring. The descriptions of battles between Andrew and the Mermedonians have been already mentioned; an even more grotesque example is the description of the flood as a beer-feast.<sup>6</sup> The fire described in ll. 1540 ff., which in the Greek version is the conventional fiery cloud from heaven, becomes in the poem a conflagration such as must have been familiar to the inhabitants of the inflammable early Teutonic villages.<sup>7</sup> Some of the passages of dialogue, however, are charmingly naïve and fresh, as, for example, when Andrew attempts to evade the command which the Lord has laid upon him,<sup>8</sup> or bargains with the sailors concerning his passage-money,<sup>9</sup> or asks for lessons in sailing.<sup>10</sup>

In determining the extent to which *Andreas* was indebted to specific Anglo-Saxon poems, the first place must be given to *Beowulf*. Not only are phrases and words borrowed liberally, but general situations are made to recall those of the earlier poem. The whole narrative framework of *Andreas* plainly suggests the first part of *Beowulf*. Andrew's mission to the Mermedonians is parallel to that of Beowulf to the Danes; the elaboration of the sea voyage in *Andreas* is evidently due to recollections of Beowulf's journey; Andrew performs his task of cleansing the heathen land of the Mermedonians from the sin of cannibalism, and Beowulf cleanses the great hall Heorot of the man-eating monster Grendel; both heroes, their work being finished, return to the land from which they set out.

These general similarities in situation are made more striking by frequent parallelism of phrasing between the two poems, as though

<sup>1</sup> L. 1258.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 442-445, and cf. note to ll. 444-445.

<sup>3</sup> L. 1088.

<sup>4</sup> L. 1115. It is particularly interesting to compare these personifications of famine with *Æl.* 691, where night, hunger, and a prison-house, three themes that always stirred the imagination of the poet of *Andreas*, are mentioned in a perfectly colorless way characteristic of the difference between the two poems.

<sup>5</sup> L. 769, and note.

<sup>6</sup> Ll. 1532 ff.

<sup>7</sup> See Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 96.

<sup>8</sup> Ll. 190-201.

<sup>9</sup> Ll. 471 ff.

<sup>10</sup> L. 485.

the author, regarding his hero as another Beowulf, strove as much as possible to tell his story in the same language as the story of Beowulf.<sup>1</sup> After *Beowulf*, the poems which show the closest affinity to *Andreas* are the Cynewulfian poems, particularly *Elene*,<sup>2</sup> *Christ*,<sup>3</sup> *Guthlac*,<sup>4</sup> and *Juliana*.<sup>5</sup> Of these four poems *Elene* offers the largest number of

<sup>1</sup> Parallels between *Andreas* and *Beowulf* are pointed out in the notes to the following lines: 1, 3, 8, 24, 25, 43, 45, 51, 64, 72, 106, 116, 123, 127, 128, 150, 151, 152, 154, 180-181, 208, 223, 230, 235, 240, 242, 259, 265, 267, 273, 301, 302, 310, 316, 320-323, 324, 333, 348, 358, 360, 366, 370, 371, 377-380, 393, 414, 421, 425-426, 429, 430, 454, 458-460, 464, 474-476, 493-495, 497, 511, 541, 553-554, 558, 591, 600, 620, 622, 668, 698, 706-707, 732, 769, 784, 803, 818, 824, 834, 837, 840, 841, 843, 845, 850, 914, 932, 940, 963, 982, 985, 988, 994, 1002, 1012, 1013, 1037, 1046, 1074, 1085, 1097, 1115-1116, 1132, 1137-1138, 1140, 1155, 1188, 1191, 1198, 1208, 1227, 1234, 1235, 1236, 1240, 1241, 1245, 1254, 1269-1270, 1275, 1305, 1312, 1324, 1351, 1359, 1393, 1447, 1469, 1481-1482, 1490-1495, 1526, 1531, 1538, 1542, 1547, 1548, 1555-1556, 1557, 1563, 1565, 1574, 1589, 1599, 1612, 1616, 1619, 1626, 1627, 1667, 1694-1695, 1722. See Arnold, *Notes on Beowulf*, pp. 121-126, for a discussion showing that the borrowing was by *Andreas* from *Beowulf*, not, as Sarrazin would have it, by *Beowulf* from *Andreas*.

<sup>2</sup> Parallels between *Andreas* and *Elene* are pointed out in the notes to the following lines: 10, 31, 39, 40-41, 62, 65-66, 70-71, 95, 106, 123, 133, 140, 204, 223, 235, 237, 265, 302, 360, 395, 410, 416, 458, 470, 485, 523, 544, 557, 564, 568, 569, 573, 583, 585, 588, 595-596, 602, 605, 606, 631, 645, 646, 672, 684, 688, 693, 718-724, 728, 736, 742, 750, 752, 770, 784, 788, 805, 832, 834, 852, 876, 892, 915, 932, 963, 967, 988, 1002, 1008, 1015, 1035, 1046, 1056, 1059, 1087, 1144, 1156, 1157-1158, 1165, 1166, 1202, 1204, 1242, 1243, 1251, 1271, 1278, 1312, 1313, 1326-1327, 1351, 1355, 1379, 1481-1482, 1491, 1511, 1520, 1535, 1538, 1542, 1618, 1627, 1636, 1637, 1640, 1643, 1649, 1684, 1685, 1688, 1698, 1699, 1709.

<sup>3</sup> Parallels are pointed out in the notes to the following lines: 33-34, 36, 50, 54, 59, 99, 104, 105, 111, 130, 139, 190, 198, 201, 206, 227, 228-229, 242, 253, 313, 323, 332-339, 397, 399, 408-409, 425-426, 501-502, 523, 525, 541, 564, 567, 576, 580, 585, 599, 606, 630, 640, 661, 671, 717, 721, 746, 747, 759, 776, 789, 795, 798, 800, 810, 814, 830, 832, 845, 868, 874, 938, 939, 967, 968-969, 975, 978, 979, 988, 1005, 1010, 1013, 1037, 1059, 1069, 1085, 1087, 1144, 1166, 1169, 1204, 1207, 1278, 1291, 1349, 1436, 1486, 1511, 1548, 1549, 1555, 1557, 1563, 1603, 1610, 1619, 1633, 1637, 1645, 1649, 1685, 1686, 1709.

<sup>4</sup> Parallels are pointed out in the notes to the following lines: 8, 25, 31, 88, 89, 105, 113, 116, 140, 164, 167, 190, 228-229, 233, 294-295, 300, 335, 387, 395, 463, 544, 558, 568, 569, 594, 602, 626, 642, 654, 721, 776, 781, 808, 810, 818, 824, 836, 837, 887, 910, 938, 970, 991, 1001, 1010, 1072-1074, 1107, 1112, 1144, 1210, 1227, 1239, 1243, 1254, 1266, 1278, 1284-1286, 1294, 1296, 1334-1335, 1361, 1476, 1481-1482, 1549, 1579, 1581, 1618, 1637, 1645, 1685, 1696, 1699, 1709.

<sup>5</sup> Parallels are pointed out in the notes to the following lines: 52, 53, 57-58, 82, 92-93, 140, 179, 184, 195, 217, 237, 327, 470, 493-495, 524, 528, 556, 605, 611,

parallels to *Andreas*, but the parallels to the other poems prove that they must all have been very familiar to the author of *Andreas*. The parallels between *Andreas* and *Juliana*, though fewer in number than the parallels between *Andreas* and any of the other three poems, are particularly interesting, since the evidences of borrowing on the part of *Andreas* are clearer there than in the case of any other poem except *Beowulf*. Besides the Cynewulfian poems and *Beowulf*, almost every other Anglo-Saxon poem of any length contains a number of phrases which are also found in *Andreas*; but these parallels are sporadic, and, though they indicate the wide acquaintanceship of the author of *Andreas* with the traditions of Anglo-Saxon poetry, they do not prove any special dependence of *Andreas* upon other poems, nor any closer relationship than is perhaps usual and normal.

Besides these amplifying passages and reminiscences taken from the literary traditions of Anglo-Saxon poetry, there are also in *Andreas* numerous additions of passages of religious color, chiefly recollections from the Bible or homiletic literature. References to the Deity are amplified by allusions to his attributes and powers and to the creation;<sup>1</sup> and the mention of heaven naturally suggests the description of the joys of heaven,<sup>2</sup> or of hell, the tortures of hell.<sup>3</sup> Occasional passages of hymnic character are also developed.<sup>4</sup> Most frequently, however, the additions consist of illustrative quotations from the Bible, the explanation of a proper name,<sup>5</sup> the amplification of an allusion already contained in the original,<sup>6</sup> as, for example, an allusion to the resurrection,<sup>7</sup> to the temple,<sup>8</sup> or to the crucifixion.<sup>9</sup> The allusion to idols and the heathen temple in ll. 1687-1694 is all the addition of the poet. The story of the fall of Satan and his imprisonment in hell was familiar to the poet.<sup>10</sup> Other references derived from ecclesiastical tradition are

605, 734, 746, 755, 792, 805, 806, 807, 845, 861, 873, 887, 932, 978, 979, 994, 1071, 1075-1077, 1086, 1127, 1144, 1166, 1180, 1197, 1223, 1238, 1242, 1288, 1310, 1313, 1315, 1319, 1326-1327, 1328-1329, 1342, 1355, 1415, 1436, 1461, 1462-1463, 1469-1477, 1470, 1486, 1548, 1558-1559, 1579, 1618, 1619, 1629, 1684, 1690.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ll. 161-162, 324-329, 518-525, 535-536, 541-548, 747-750, 996-999, 1680 ff.; and see Fritzsche, p. 24; Ramhorst, pp. 12-13.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 102-106, 225-229, 507-600, 807-810, 869-874, 977-980, 1152-1156.

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 1190-1194, 1377-1385.

<sup>7</sup> Ll. 640-643.

<sup>4</sup> Ll. 540-548, 1284-1295.

<sup>8</sup> Ll. 666 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Ll. 12-13, 757, note; 879, note.

<sup>9</sup> Ll. 960 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. 332-339, note; 1418-1424, note.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. ll. 1190 ff., 1377 ff., 1701 ff.

those to the Cherubim and Seraphim,<sup>1</sup> and to Ethiopia as the seat of Matthew's labors.<sup>2</sup>

Some of the passages of this nature are remarkable for an apparent ignorance or misunderstanding of Biblical allusions. Thus in ll. 165-166, an addition of the poem, the three synonymous words *Ebrēum*, *Israhēlum*, and *Iūdēa* are apparently understood by the poet as meaning three different peoples. The statement of ll. 582-584 is not literally in accord with the New Testament narrative, as Christ raised only Lazarus, the son of the widow of Nain, and Jairus' daughter from the dead; perhaps the poet may have had the *Evangelium Nicodemi* in mind. The statement of l. 1324, that Christ was put to death by Herod, shows an astonishing ignorance of the story of the crucifixion. Herod is not mentioned in the corresponding passage of the prose;<sup>3</sup> but in the Greek version<sup>4</sup> the manuscripts vary, some reading as *Andreas*, others adding the name of John as the one put to death by Herod; and still others read Pilate for Herod. But for the introduction of the names Joshua and Tobias,<sup>5</sup> in connection with the story of the Commandments, there is no authority either in the Anglo-Saxon prose version or in any of the manuscripts of the Greek version of the legend. The names appear to be inserted arbitrarily from the chance recollection of the poet. On the other hand, in l. 778 ff. the poem appears to correct its source. In the Greek version<sup>6</sup> the twelve patriarchs are said to be buried in Machpelah, although the Old Testament does not state that any of them was buried there, and one, Joseph,<sup>7</sup> was certainly buried elsewhere. The poet speaks only of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, all of whom were buried in Machpelah.

With the exception of one brief, colorless passage,<sup>8</sup> the poet nowhere in the poem alludes to himself or to his own experiences.

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 717-726, and notes.

<sup>2</sup> L. 432, note.

<sup>3</sup> Bright, *Reader*, p. 123.

<sup>4</sup> Bonnet, p. 105, l. 3.

<sup>5</sup> L. 1516.

<sup>6</sup> Bonnet, p. 83, l. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Josh.* XXIV, 32.

<sup>8</sup> 1478-1479.

## VI

## THE LEGEND OF ST. ANDREW

The story of the Twelve Apostles, as it is presented in the New Testament, offered a peculiarly inviting field to the imagination of the apocryphal elaborator. The Apostles, who during the lifetime of their Lord were his immediate personal followers, were commissioned after his death to go as witnesses "unto the uttermost parts of the earth."<sup>1</sup> Of these various missions, however, little further is said. Some of the acts of Peter, Paul, John, and James son of Zebedee, are briefly narrated; but concerning Andrew, Philip, Thomas, Simon Zelotes, Judas brother of James, Matthew, Bartholomew, James son of Alpheus, and Matthias, aside from a few general allusions to the Apostles as a whole, the New Testament records are almost completely silent.<sup>2</sup>

But since the command had been given to the Apostles to go and teach all nations,<sup>3</sup> what more natural than the attempt to discover the country to which each apostle was sent? Thus as early as the second century<sup>4</sup> arose the legend of the *Lots of the Apostles*, the *Sortes Apostolorum*. According to this legend the Apostles cast lots among themselves that each might know the country into which he was to go and teach, and in accordance with these lots they set out on their various ways. This legend is frequently found as the opening passage of the apocryphal acts of the Apostles.<sup>5</sup> In course of time it became an unquestioned part of church tradition, acquiring, like the Apostles' Creed, almost the same reverence as that accorded to the true canon.<sup>6</sup> To this account of the dispersion of the Apostles to all lands brief notices were later added concerning their activity and death in their respective countries, and thus arose the type of narrative represented by the Anglo-Saxon *Fates of the Apostles*.

This legend of the dispersion of the Apostles was only the beginning of a great cycle of romantic, apocryphal tradition, which, taking up the

<sup>1</sup> *Acts* I, 8.

<sup>2</sup> See Newman, *Parochial Sermons* I, 209-215 (New York, 1843), for a connected survey of all the allusions to Andrew in the New Testament.

<sup>3</sup> *Matt.* XXVIII, 19.

<sup>4</sup> Lipsius, I, 11.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the opening lines of *Andreas*; and see Lipsius, I, 11-13, for other examples.

<sup>6</sup> Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* III, 1, cites the legend as authority for the various lands in which the Apostles labored.

life of each Apostle in turn, made it the center of a comprehensive history, much as in later times certain of Charlemagne's *doze per* became heroes of special separate narratives. The materials for these apocryphal lives, which passed under the name of the acts (Ἡράξεις), or the journeys (Περίοδοι), or the miracles (Θαύματα), or the martyrdom (Μαρτύριον, Τελείωσις), of the respective Apostles, were sometimes derived from local tradition — usually the attempt to trace back some foundation to apostolic times, as e.g. the foundation of the church at Constantinople, ascribed to St. Andrew, or of the church at Rome, ascribed to St. Peter. Often old tales were used to carry certain doctrinal and partisan views; and doubtless often the stories were merely the expression of the romantic imagination of the faithful. In general the tone of all these compositions is extremely popular.<sup>1</sup>

Most of these lives were not originally intended, however, to be merely entertaining. More or less heretical in their origins, they were devised to spread heretical (chiefly Gnostic) beliefs and customs within the boundaries of the church. Their composition came gradually to be ascribed to one Leucius Charinus, *discipulus diaboli* as he is called in the *Decretal* of Gelasius,<sup>2</sup> a name which is frequently met with in the writings of the fathers from the fifth century on, always accompanied by the accusation of heretical teaching.<sup>3</sup> But the composition of the lives themselves must have been a slow and cumulative process, and the name Leucius Charinus was merely the peg on which a number of unattached histories were hung. The book of which Leucius Charinus thus became the traditional author appears to have grown until it finally included the acts of all Twelve Apostles. Photius (patriarch of Constantinople, ca. 981) criticises in detail a collection containing acts of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, and Paul, and mentions as current among heretics a collection of the acts of all Twelve Apostles.<sup>4</sup> Acts of all the five Apostles mentioned by Photius have been preserved to the present day, and fragments of acts of Philip and of Matthew have been found; but of the acts of the remaining Apostles nothing can be determined with certainty.

<sup>1</sup> See Lipsius, I, 7-8; von Dobschütz, "Der Roman in der altchristlichen Literatur," in *Deutsche Rundschau* CXI, 87-106 (April, 1902), for a general summary of the characteristics of these legends.

<sup>2</sup> Migne, *Patrolog. Lat.* LIX, 162.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lipsius, I, 44 ff., for a detailed, and Harnack, p. 116 ff., for a briefer, discussion of this character.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Lipsius, I, 73.

The earliest trace of special acts of Andrew is contained in a passage of Eusebius (ca. 265-340),<sup>1</sup> who characterizes them, among various other apocryphal writings, as the fictions (*ἀναπλάσματα*) of heretics. From this time on there are frequent allusions to acts of Andrew, proving beyond question that well-known acts of Andrew, which bore originally a strong heretical coloring, must have been in existence as early as the beginning of the fourth century. Of these acts, however, only the later Catholic revisions have been preserved, as is the case with all the other apocryphal acts of the Apostles that have come down to us. These later redactions fall into two distinct groups, one relating the acts of Andrew in the lands about the Black Sea, the other his acts in Greece. Without attempting to reconstruct the earlier comprehensive narrative of the acts of Andrew of which these later versions are probably the fragmentary survivals,<sup>2</sup> or to recount the numerous documents in the various languages in which these survivals have been preserved, we shall endeavor to show the connection between the two groups of acts, and, at the same time, to point out the probable ultimate origin of the legend of Andrew in the story of his activity in the regions about the Black Sea.

The first group of acts, those which relate Andrew's adventures in the lands about the Black Sea, consists of two parts. The first part, the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew in the city of the Anthropophagi*,<sup>3</sup> tells the story of the imprisonment of Matthew by the *anthropophagi*, the freeing of Matthew by Andrew, and the conversion of the *anthropophagi* by Andrew. The second part, the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*,<sup>4</sup> is a continuation of the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew*. In the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew* (Πράξεις, chap. 21), after Matthew has been released from prison he and his two disciples are taken up in a cloud and are conveyed to the mountain where Peter is then teaching, where they remain. When the time comes for him to leave the city of the *anthropophagi*, Andrew declares his intention of going to his disciples (chap. 32), and the Lord, in rebuking Andrew (chap. 33), tells him

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Eccles.*, ed. Dindorf, III, 25; Fabricius, II, 747 ff., quotes in full all the early allusions to acts of Andrew.

<sup>2</sup> See Lipsius, I, 545 ff., for such an attempt.

<sup>3</sup> For bibliographical references, see above, p. xxi, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Printed fragmentarily by Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, p. 161 ff., more fully by Bonnet, Part 2, Vol. I, pp. 117-127. Cf. Lipsius, I, 553 ff., for an abstract of the contents of the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*.

that after seven days Andrew shall seek his disciples and go away with them to the city of the barbarians (εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν βαρβάρων, Bonnet, p. 116, l. 1). At the opening of the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*, we are told that after Andrew left the city of the *anthropophagi* he was taken up in a cloud and carried to the mountain where were Peter, Matthew, and Matthew's two disciples, here named Alexander and Rufus. The land in which this meeting takes place is no longer the land of the *anthropophagi*, but the land of the barbarians, to the inhabitants of which Andrew is commissioned to preach. After Andrew has related his experiences in the city of the *anthropophagi* Christ appears to the Apostles in the form of a boy and commands them to go to the city of the barbarians. They set out and on their way meet with a man plowing beside the road. They ask him for bread, with the intention of reading in his willingness or unwillingness to comply with their request an omen, good or evil, of their activity in the city of the barbarians. The man declares himself willing to give them bread; but, as he has none at hand, he entrusts his field and oxen to their care while he goes to the city to procure it. During his absence the apostles plow and sow the field with seed, which immediately springs up and ripens into an abundant harvest. When the plowman returns and sees what has been done in his absence he falls at the feet of the Apostles and is converted. He carries the wonderful news to the city, bearing a sheaf of the miraculous grain with him, and prepares his house for the reception of the Apostles. But Satan enters the hearts of the elders of the city and they determine to forbid entrance to the Apostles. Having heard of the Apostles' abhorrence of immodesty, they disrobe a harlot and place her before the gates of the city. When the Apostles reach the city, at the prayer of Andrew the harlot is carried up into the air by the Archangel Michael, where she remains hovering above the heads of the people. As a result of this miracle many are converted; the Apostles enter the city, preach, work miracles, and establish churches. The concluding episode of the *Acts* tells how Onesiphoros, a rich citizen of the city of the barbarians, is converted through receiving the power of making a camel pass through the eye of a needle. The Apostles then continue their travels, bearing with them the blessings of the newly converted.

There can be no doubt that in these *Acts of Peter and Andrew* we have a fragment of the older *Περίοδοι Ἀνδρέου* connecting immediately with the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew in the city of the Anthropophagi*.



The two combined, however, must have constituted only part of a larger life of Andrew, since the narrative is manifestly unfinished at the conclusion of the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*. For a complete synthetic survey of the life and acts of Andrew, we must turn to the narrative of the acts of Andrew in Greece.

For this second group of the acts of Andrew we are dependent upon more thoroughgoing Catholic revisions of material taken from the older *Heptádoxoi*. The narrative is preserved in various versions in Greek,<sup>1</sup> and in a Latin version,<sup>2</sup> entitled *De gestis beati Andreae Apostoli*, which forms part of the so-called Abdias collection.<sup>3</sup> The narrative in these versions gives a connected survey of the whole life of St. Andrew. After a brief summary of the passages in which Andrew is mentioned in the New Testament, the Abdias text begins with an account of the acts of Andrew in the country of the *anthropophagi*. Having received Achaia as his province, Andrew sets sail from his country, Achaia, for the city of the *anthropophagi*, here named Mermedonia, in order to free his brother Matthew from prison. The journey to Mermedonia and Andrew's acts among the *anthropophagi* are narrated very briefly, and nothing whatever is said about the continuation of the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew* in the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*. Andrew's return journey to Achaia, however, is given in great detail. The places through which he passes are Amaseia, Sinope, Nicæa, Nicomedia; then, crossing the Hellespont, he reaches Byzantium, passes through Thrace and the city Perinthus, through Macedonia and the cities Philippi and Thessalonica, at all of which places he performs numerous miracles.

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Tischendorf, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, p. 105 ff., and by Bonnet, Part 2, Vol. I, p. 1 ff. For a description of these versions, see Lipsius, I, 140, 545-6, and Bonnet, *Præfatio*, xi ff.

<sup>2</sup> Fabricius, II, 456-515. A somewhat compressed version of the narrative as it is given in Fabricius is found in the work of Gregory of Tours entitled *De miraculis beati Andreae* (Migne, *Patrolog. Lat.* LXXI, Col. 1099). Gregory announces in a prologue to his narrative that he has revised an earlier work on St. Andrew because of its verbosity; Lipsius, I, 138, thinks it probable that the Fabricius text was the one which Gregory revised.

<sup>3</sup> This work, which purports to have been written first in Hebrew by Abdias, first bishop of Babylon, to have been then translated into Greek by Abdias' disciple Eutropius, and then into Latin by one Africanus, was most certainly (according to Lipsius, in Smith and Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, s.v. Abdias) written in Latin and originally in Western Europe. Sometime after 524 A.D. is assigned as the date of its composition.

He finally reaches Patras in Achaia, the scene of his last labors. Maximilla, the wife of the proconsul Aegeates, lies sick of a fever, and her servant Ephidama, one of the faithful, calls upon the Apostle for help. Andrew restores Maximilla to health but refuses Aegeates' offer of money in payment of his services. Soon after this the brother of the proconsul, Stratocles, arrives from Italy, and Andrew relieves his favorite attendant, a boy named Alcman, from the torments of demons that afflict him. As a result of these miracles Maximilla is converted and, during the absence of Aegeates, grants the Apostle permission to preach in the praetorium. Aegeates, unexpectedly returning, is prevented through the prayer of Andrew from appearing in the praetorium until after Andrew has blessed and dismissed his audience. Maximilla more and more frequently comes to the Apostle in order to hear his words of instruction, and in the end takes upon herself the vow of chastity. Angered at this, Aegeates seizes Andrew and casts him into prison. On the following day he ascends the judgment-seat and, having summoned Andrew before him, commands him to cease from his foolish and superstitious<sup>1</sup> teachings. Upon Andrew's refusal Aegeates sentences him to three times seven strokes, and delivers him over to be bound, but not nailed,<sup>2</sup> hand and foot to the cross. The people, enraged at the action of Aegeates, are restrained by Andrew from injuring the proconsul. Andrew, after addressing the cross as the goal of his expectations, is bound upon it by the servants of Aegeates. For a day and a night he preached uninterruptedly from the cross. On the following day Aegeates yields to the request of the people and prepares to release his victim. Aegeates himself comes to the cross, but Andrew is willing to die, and, after prayer, rejoicing and glorifying the Lord, he gives up the spirit.

The body of the saint, which remained uncorrupted, is buried by Maximilla. Aegeates, seized by a demon, precipitates himself from a high place and is killed. Stratocles, his brother, who had embraced the true faith, refuses the succession to his brother's riches, declaring that all things that were his should perish with him. The 30th of November is given as the day on which Andrew died.

The redaction of Gregory of Tours<sup>3</sup> adds, at the conclusion of the narrative, an account of the miracle which occurs at the grave of the

<sup>1</sup> *Vana et superstitiosa*, Fabricius, II, 510.

<sup>2</sup> *Legatus manibus et pedibus et non clavibus affligens*, Fabricius, II, 511.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. lxiii, note 2.

Apostle: manna and fragrant oil flow from the grave, and the greater or less abundance of the manna and the oil foretell the prosperity of the year to come. In some years there is such an abundance of oil that it flows to the middle of the church, which is dedicated to the Apostle.<sup>1</sup>

The question of the relation of these two groups of acts to each other must next engage our attention. The narrative preserved in the pseudo-Abdias reveals a larger general plan and a completer unification of material than the two sections of the acts of Andrew constituting the first group. Are the two fragmentary narratives therefore to be regarded as dissociated parts of a more completely unified and larger whole, represented by the version of the pseudo-Abdias? Or is the Abdias version, made up chiefly of the story of Andrew's activity in Greece, which is relatively of late date and is decidedly more conventional and literary in tone than the story of Andrew among the *anthropophagi* and the barbarians, a development of an earlier form represented in part by the two fragments? The question is of interest, because, in answering it, it will be necessary to go back to the first elements of the legend of Andrew and to determine from what germ the whole great series of his acts sprang.

The earliest traditions agree in assigning Scythia (instead of Achaia) to Andrew as his special province. Thus Eusebius<sup>2</sup> mentions only Scythia (Ἀνδρέας δὲ τὴν Σκυθίαν) as the scene of Andrew's labors. It is only in the later accounts (as the relatively late Abdias) that Achaia is mentioned as Andrew's province, sometimes alone, sometimes in connection with Scythia. Now Scythia was in ancient times a term of very wide application; it meant no single group of people usually, but was the general name for the country of the numerous tribes that occupied the lands about the Black Sea. To the Greek the word was a synonym for all that was wild and barbarous. Certain Scythian tribes

<sup>1</sup> Two other synthetic lives of Andrew, although in the progress of the events narrated they resemble the Abdias text, in detail are frequently fuller and occasionally appear to preserve more original passages than the Abdias. These lives are (1) the work of Epiphanius, the monk, *Περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν πράξεων καὶ τέλους Ἀνδρέου*, most accessible in Migne, *Patrolog. Graeca* CXX, 216 ff.; Migne adds a Latin translation of the Greek; (2) a work by an unknown author, *Πράξεις καὶ περιόδοι τοῦ Ἀνδρέου ἐγκωμίῳ συμπελεγμέναι*, edited by Bonnet, *Acta Andreæ cum laudatione contexta*, pp. 3-44.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Eccles.*, ed. Dindorf, III, 1.

were known as cannibals, Aristotle<sup>1</sup> mentioning in particular the Achaei and the Heniochi. Strabo,<sup>2</sup> though he does not speak of them as cannibals, describes these tribes as pirates and robbers. The three tribes, the Achaei, Zygi, and Heniochi, he says, subsist by piracy. Their boats are slender, narrow, light, and capable of holding about twenty-five men, rarely thirty. He mentions the tradition that at the time of the expedition of Jason, the Achaei Phthiotae founded the Achaia in Scythia, and the Lacedaemonians Heniochia. Their leaders are said to have been Rhecas and Amphistratus, the charioteers (ἡνίοχοι) of the Dioseuri; and the Heniochi are supposed to have derived their name from these persons. Strabo also describes the manner of warfare of these tribes: they were accustomed to make swift descents in their light boats upon the neighboring countries for the purpose of capturing the inhabitants and reducing them to slavery.<sup>3</sup>

It is in some such country as this described by Aristotle and Strabo that we must suppose the action of at least the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew* and the *Acts of Peter and Andrew* to have taken place. The assigning of these acts to Scythia is strikingly confirmed by the identification of the city of the *anthropophagi*. This city, which is not specifically named in the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew* or the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*, appears in the Anglo-Saxon versions as Mermedonia (Marmadonia), in the Abdias text as Myrmidon or Myrmidona, in the *Martyrium Matthaei*<sup>4</sup> as Μύρην τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἀνθρωποφάγων, in the *Martyrium Andreae*<sup>5</sup> as τὴν Μυρμηγίδα πόλιν, and in the *Legenda Aurca*<sup>6</sup> in the corrupt form Margundia. This city has been plausibly identified by Gutschmid<sup>7</sup> with the city of the Tauric Chersonese<sup>8</sup> mentioned in Strabo<sup>9</sup> as πολίχμιον Μυρμήκιον, "a small city, 20 stadia

<sup>1</sup> *Politica* VIII, iv.

<sup>2</sup> *Geographica*, ed. Meineke, II, 696.

<sup>3</sup> Gutschmid, p. 382, calls attention to the similarity between this account of the custom of these tribes and the resolution of the *anthropophagi*, Ἠράξεις, chap. 22 (Bonnet, pp. 94-97), to send out their young men in boats in order to secure victims to replace those that had been taken from them by Andrew.

<sup>4</sup> Bonnet, part 2, I, 220.

<sup>5</sup> Bonnet, part 2, I, 47.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. Graesse, p. 13.

<sup>7</sup> P. 383.

<sup>8</sup> More exactly, the Trachean Chersonese. Cf. Kiepert, *Neuer Atlas von Hellas und den hellenischen Colonien*, plate X. The city is indicated here on the special map of the Kimmerian Bosphorus.

<sup>9</sup> Ed. Meineke, II, 426, l. 18. For other forms of the name, see Gutschmid, p. 383.

from Panticapaeum and 40 stadia from Parthenium." From a form of this name *Μυρμήκων* or *Μυρμηκίων*, through a probable Myrmiciana, was undoubtedly derived the later form Myrmidona, which appears in the Anglo-Saxon version as Mermedonia.<sup>1</sup>

If, then, the *Acts of Andrew and Matthew* and the *Acts of Peter and Andrew* are to be placed in Scythia, Andrew's province, and if these acts are to be regarded as parts of the older comprehensive life of the Apostle, it becomes necessary to explain the connection between these acts and the acts and martyrdom of Andrew in Greece. According to the plausible theory of Lipsius<sup>2</sup> the whole series of the acts of Andrew in Greece is due to a traditional confusion of the Achaïans of the east coast of the Black Sea with the Achaïans of the northern part of the Peloponnesus in Greece. That the confusion was a natural and probable one is evident from Strabo's attempt to account for the presence of a tribe bearing the name of Achaïans in Scythia on the assumption of a colony from the well known Achaia of his own country. The less-known country being thus replaced by the better known, the martyrdom of Andrew was readily placed at Patras, the chief seaport of the Greek Achaia.<sup>3</sup> This confusion probably took place in popular tradition before the writer of the synthetic life of Andrew (of which the pseudo-Abdias is one representative) gathered together the materials for his work. In order to connect the two widely separated scenes of action, Myrmecium in the Tauric Chersonese and Patras in Achaia, it became necessary to develop the journey of Andrew from the one place to the other. It is noteworthy that the episodes of the acts of Andrew in Greece and the story of his martyrdom at Patras betray a much more conventional and literary tone than the episodes of the two earlier narratives. The former are such as might be drawn from the inexhaustible supply of ecclesiastical legends and fitted to any character. On the other hand, the story of Andrew among the *anthropophagi*, and that of Andrew and Peter among the barbarians, are distinctly

<sup>1</sup> It is probable that the analogy of Greek *Μυρμιδόνες* aided in the change from *Μυρμήκων* to Myrmidona.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. I, p. 609.

<sup>3</sup> Across the straits of the Bosphorus and not far from Myrmecium, according to Strabo, II, 694, l. 8, was the town Patraios (modern Ada); cf. Kiepert, *Neuer Atlas*, plate X. Perhaps the similarity of this name to the name of the city in the Greek Achaia may have aided in the confusion of the two countries; the martyrdom of Andrew in the older narratives may even have been placed at the Scythian Patraios.

in the tone of the popular legend, and it is probably to these traditional acts of Andrew in the cannibal city that we must look to find the origin and the center of the whole great cycle of his acts. The ultimate source from which the story of Andrew among the *anthropophagi* sprang Gutschmid<sup>1</sup> regards as twofold: (1) traditions derived from the first Greek colonists of the lands about the Black Sea, which told of their struggles with the barbarous natives; (2) sailor stories, as e.g. reminiscences of the *Odyssey* and the fourth journey of Sindbad the Sailor, in the *Arabian Nights*, where also the *anthropophagi* place strange herbs before their prisoners in order to take away their reason, and pasture them like animals until they are fat enough to be eaten.<sup>2</sup>

The later development in western Europe of the Oriental story of Andrew among the *anthropophagi* and among the barbarians was, in general, in the direction of repression in order to bring it more into harmony with western taste. The story was thus gradually revised and pruned until practically the whole of the adventure in the land of the *anthropophagi* was eliminated. This tendency is already plainly visible in the pseudo-Abdias and in Gregory of Tours, where the more conventional miracles of Andrew in Greece are elaborated at the expense of the original, more fantastic elements of the story. This process of conventionalization was continued until in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus a Voragine, the work which above all others served as a source to the later mediæval writers of legendaries, the acts of Andrew among the *anthropophagi* are passed over with a few bare, general allusions. So successful were the fathers in their endeavors to destroy or to conventionalize their inheritance of extravagant apocryphal literature that neither in Latin, the common language of western Europe, nor in any of the vernacular dialects except English, has a single copy of the early form of the legend of Andrew, his acts among the *anthropophagi*, escaped their vigilance. And in England also, when in the Middle English period the legend of St. Andrew again supplies the poet with matter for the exercise of his art,<sup>3</sup> the old romantic version is forgotten,

<sup>1</sup> P. 385. Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* I, 409, thinks the story may have taken form at Alexandria.

<sup>2</sup> Payne, *The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night* V, 180-192. London, 1884.

<sup>3</sup> For example, Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge, pp. 3-10; Metcalfe, *Legends of the Saints in the Scottish Dialect* I, 63-96; *Cursor Mundi* III, 1200-1201. See also Förster, *Über die Quellen von Ælfrics Homilias Catholice*, p. 21.

and in its place appears the simplified and conventionalized Latin version in the form in which it is fixed in the *Legenda Aurea* and common to the whole of western Europe.<sup>1</sup>

A few words may be added concerning the cult of St. Andrew in Great Britain. As the favorite saint of Gregory, St. Andrew must have made a particular appeal to the veneration of the English. Gregory, it will be remembered, when he withdrew from the world, gave all his wealth for the purpose of endowing six new monasteries in Sicily, and in his own palace on the Coelian hill in Rome, he established a seventh, dedicated to St. Andrew, in which he himself became a monk.<sup>2</sup> This monastery he is said to have enriched with certain relics of St. Andrew, presented to him by the Emperor Tiberius at the close of his term of office as *apocrisiarius*, or papal nuncio, at the Byzantine court.<sup>3</sup> When, after his elevation to the papacy, he seriously undertook the task of converting the English, it was from this monastery that he chose Augustine and his followers as directors of the mission.<sup>4</sup> Augustine's first church was appropriately dedicated to Christ, the Savior,<sup>5</sup> but one of the earliest churches founded as a result of Augustine's teaching was the church at Rochester, of which Justus became first bishop in 604. This church was built by King Æthelbert, and was dedicated, most likely in honor of the Roman missionaries, to St. Andrew.<sup>6</sup> Together with St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Andrew was also chosen as patron saint of the church at Medeshamsted, the later Peterborough, founded in 656.<sup>7</sup>

More important, however, is the position accorded to St. Andrew in the Northern church. At Hexham, Wilfrid, the famous bishop of York,

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the conservatism of the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon church in preserving apocryphal literature after it had been generally given up by the western church, see Förster, *Herrig's Archiv* CVIII, 27-28.

<sup>2</sup> Montalembert, *The Monks of the West* II, 14; according to Montalembert this monastery now bears the name of St. Gregory; Bright, *Chapters of Early English Church History* (3d ed.), pp. 44-45.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Alban Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, March 12; and John, Third Marquess of Bute, *Essays on Foreign Subjects*, "The Last Resting Place of St. Andrew," p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hunt, *The English Church from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hunt, *ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Bede, Vol. I, p. 85, ed. Plummer, II, 3. Bede also tells us that in the sacristy of this church Paulinus was buried (III, 14, Plummer, I, 154). It is uncertain whether Rochester or London may claim the distinction of being the second oldest of English bishoprics; cf. Palmer, *The Cathedral Church of Rochester*, p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Chronicle*, Laud MS., for 656.

built a church which was one of the marvels of his time : none like it, men said, was to be seen on this side of the Alps.<sup>1</sup> This church was dedicated to St. Andrew, and, as we learn from the following account of its foundation in *Prior Richard's History of the Church at Hexham*, cap. 3,<sup>2</sup> the dedication was in recognition of help received by Wilfrid from the saint :

Sanctus igitur Wilfridus, circa Dominicæ Incarnationis annum DCLXXIII<sup>m</sup>, et ætatis suæ quasi quadragesimum, et episcopatus sui quasi decimum, et regni Ecfridi quasi quartum, in prædicta villa ecclesiam in honorem Dei et Sancti Andreae Apostoli, ad rependendum beneficium quod ejus intercessione consecutus est, artificiosissima structura construxit. Nam cum primo Romam venisset, ejus ecclesiam frequentans, de remissione peccatorum suorum, pro qua instantius orabat, per hoc certificari postulabat, si de ingenii sui tarditate, et linguae suæ rusticitate, ipsius interventu, absolvi mereretur. Nec mora : precibus dilecti Apostoli sui, tantam gratiam fidei suo contulit propitia Dei bonitas, ut ad quaelibet discenda promtissimam ingenii vivacitatem, et ad quaelibet intellecta explicanda congruam sermonis facunditatem se habere sentiret, ut postea per innumerabilium animarum salutem, quas Deo lucratus est, efficacissime in sancta ecclesia claruit.

This church, built between the years 672 and 678,<sup>3</sup> was under the control of Wilfrid until his death in 700, with occasional interruptions, however, incident to the storminess of his career. At his death Wilfrid was succeeded by Acca, his friend and the companion of his many wanderings. Acca continued Wilfrid's efforts towards beautifying and enriching the church of St. Andrew at Hexham. Living at Hexham he was of course a near neighbor of Bede's, and the close friendship existing between the two is attested by frequent allusions to Acca in Bede's writings.<sup>4</sup> In his *Ecclesiastical History* Bede gives the following interesting account of the nature of Acca's labors at Hexham :

Suscepit vero pro Wilfrido episcopatum Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ Acca presbyter eius, vir et ipse strenuissimus, et coram Deo et hominibus magnificus ; qui et ipsius ecclesiæ suæ, quæ in beati Andreae apostoli honorem consecrata est, ædificium multifario decore ac mirificis ampliavit operibus. Dedit namque operam, quod et hodie facit,<sup>5</sup> ut adquisitis undecumque reliquiis beatorum apostolorum et martyrum Christi, in venerationem illorum

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hunt, *ibid.*, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> Plummer's *Bede* II, xxv.

<sup>2</sup> In Raine, *The Priory of Hexham* I, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Plummer's *Bede* II, 329.

<sup>5</sup> Acca was bishop of Hexham in 731, the year Bede finished his history.



poneret altaria, distinctis porticibus in hoc ipsum intra muros eiusdem ecclesiae, sed et historias passionis eorum, una cum ceteris ecclesiasticis voluminibus, summa industria congregans, amplissimam ibi ac nobilissimam bibliothecam fecit, nec non et vasa sancta, et luminaria, aliaque huiusmodi, quae ad ornatum domus Dei pertinent, studiosissime paravit.<sup>1</sup>

Wilfrid and Acca in their wide journeyings must have had frequent opportunity for collecting relics, manuscripts, and vestments, treasures which the early church set great store by. Among these relics were sure to be relics of St. Andrew; and among the "historias" mentioned by Bede the legend of St. Andrew would surely occupy an important place. May it not have been some monk of Hexham who was inspired by his reading of the story of St. Andrew in one of the manuscripts of the episcopal library to the composition of the Anglo-Saxon poem in honor of the patron saint of his church? There was ample time for this to have happened, and for the completed poem to be copied and to be transmitted to some safe retreat in southern England, before the coming of the Danes. When the Danes did come to Hexham in the year 875<sup>2</sup> the devastation which they wrought was complete. Ailred of Rivaux gives the following account of the destruction of Hexham:

Quidquid de lignis fuerat, ignis absumpsit. Bibliotheca illa nobilissima, quam praesul sanctus condiderat, tota deperiit. In qua denique devastatione monimenta, quae de vita et miraculis Sanctorum sancti patres ad posteritatis notitiam stilo transmiserant, constat esse consumpta.<sup>3</sup>

Whatever manuscript life or lives of St. Andrew were stored in Acca's library probably perished in this conflagration.

According to the very plausible theory of Skene, the historian of Celtic Scotland, the position of St. Andrew as the patron saint of Scotland is an immediate outgrowth of the cultivation of that saint at Hexham. It is known that Acca was expelled from his bishopric in the year 731,<sup>4</sup> but nothing is known of his later years. The foundation of St. Andrews, or Kilriment, in Scotland, which was the beginning of the

<sup>1</sup> V, 20, Plummer's ed. I, 331. *Prior Richard's History*, in Raine, *The Priory of Hexham* I, 31, gives an account of Acca's gifts to the church of St. Andrew at Hexham which almost verbally repeats Bede and adds nothing to his statements. Raine, I, 10, says that five Northumbrian parish churches are dedicated to St. Andrew: Corbridge and Bywell, near Hexham, Bolan, Shotley, and one at Newcastle.

<sup>3</sup> Raine, I, 190.

<sup>2</sup> Raine, *The Priory of Hexham* I, xliii.

<sup>4</sup> Plummer's *Bede* II, 330.

special respect shown to that saint in Scotland, dates from the reign of Angus, son of Fergus, who died in 761, after a reign of thirty years.<sup>1</sup> According to the legends which center about the foundation of St. Andrews, the church was founded in reverence of relics of St. Andrew which were brought from Constantinople by a pilgrim monk, named Regulus. But Skene has shown<sup>2</sup> that this name is merely borrowed from an early Celtic saint of the church of Columba, and that in many respects the story of the foundation of St. Andrews in Scotland resembles that of the foundation of the church of St. Andrew at Hexham. It is, therefore, a reasonable inference that the relics of St. Andrew, in honor of which St. Andrews was founded, were brought from Hexham, perhaps by Acca and his followers, and that the reverence accorded them was but part of a general movement to replace the Columban monks and their custom of dedicating churches to their local founders<sup>3</sup> by the authority and usage of the Roman church of Northumbria. St. Andrew thus became the patron saint of St. Andrews, and finally, as this church grew in popularity, the patron saint of the Pictish nation.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Skene, *Celtic Scotland* I, 296.

<sup>2</sup> II, 268.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Skene, I, 299.

<sup>4</sup> Skene's account is accepted by Lang, *A History of Scotland* I, 44.

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## TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS<sup>1</sup>

- An. Andreas.  
 Angl. Anglia.  
 Ap. The Fates of the Apostles.  
 Archiv. Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen.  
 AS. Anglo-Saxon.  
 Az. Azarias, Bibl. II, 491-520.
- B., Baskervill. Baskervill, Andreas, A Legend of St. Andrew (II, 8).  
 B<sup>2</sup>. Baskervill, Amer. Journal of Phil., VIII, 95-97 (II, 9).  
 Barnouw. Textkritische Untersuchungen (IV, 1).  
 Beibl. Beiblatt.  
 Beow. Beowulf, Bibl. I, 149-277.  
 Bibl. Grein-Wülker, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie.  
 Blount. The Phonetic and Grammatical Peculiarities of the Andreas (IV, 4).  
 Bonn. Beit. Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik.  
 Bonnet. Acta Andreae et Matthiae, in Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, II, 1, 65-116 (VI, 3).  
 Bourauel. Zur Quellen- und Verfasserfrage von Andreas, etc. (V, 4).  
 Brooke. The History of Early English Literature (V, 6).  
 Brun. Battle of Brunanburh, Bibl. I, 374-379.  
 B.-T. Bosworth-Toller, Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.  
 Buttenwieser. Studien über die Verfasserschaft des Andreas (V, 8).
- C., Cook. Cook, A First Book in Old English (II, 10).  
 Chr. Christ, Bibl. III, 1-54.  
 Cleas.-Vig. Cleasby-Vigfusson, Icelandic-English Dictionary.  
 Cod. Ver. Wulker, Codex Vercellensis (I, 7).  
 Cos. Cosijn.  
 Craft. Bi Monna Craftum, Bibl. III, 140-143.  
 Cremer. Metrische und sprachliche Untersuchung (IV, 9).  
 Cross. Vision of the Cross, Bibl. II, 116-125.
- Dan. Daniel, Bibl. II, 476-515.  
 Deor. Deor's Lament, Bibl. I, 278-280.  
 Dicht. Grein, Dichtungen der Angelsachsen (III, 2).  
 Dict. Sweet, Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon.
- Edd. Editors.  
 Edg. Edgar, Bibl. I, 381-384.  
 E.E.T.S. Early English Text Society.  
 El. Elene, Bibl. II, 126-201.  
 Eng. Stud. Englische Studien.  
 Etm. Ettmüller, Engla and Seaxna Scopas (II, 5).  
 Ex. Exodus, Bibl. II, 445-475.  
 Ex. Gn. Exeter Gnomes, Bibl. I, 341-352.
- Fabricius. Codex Apocryphus (VI, 8).  
 Fæd. Fæder Iarewidas, Bibl. I, 353-357.

<sup>1</sup> The numerals in parentheses following certain incomplete titles refer to the full titles given in the classified Bibliography.

- Finnesb. The Fight at Finnesburi, Bibl. I, 14-17.  
 Fritzsche Das angelsächsische Gedicht Andrews (V, 13).  
 Gen. Genesis, Bibl. II, 348-441.  
 Grm. Grimm, Andreas und Elene (II, 9).  
 Gr. Grein, Bibliothek (II, 7).  
 Gr<sup>2</sup>. Grein, Germania, X (IV, 11).  
 Gr. C. Cotton Gnomes, Bibl. I, 338-344.  
 Goll. Gollancz, Cynewulf's Christ (IV, 10).  
 Gram. Sievers, Angelsächsische Grammatik.  
 Grundriss. Wulker, Grundriss zur Geschichte der angelsächsischen Literatur (I, 6).  
 Gu. Guthlac, Bibl. III, 84-94.  
 Gutschmid Die Königsnamen, etc. (VI, 9).  
 Hall. Judith, Phoenix and other Anglo-Saxon Poems (III, 3).  
 Harnack Die Überlieferung und der Bestand, etc. (VI, 10).  
 Haupt's Zs. Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum.  
 Hel. Holfentfahrt Christi, Bibl. III, 175-180.  
 Hy. Hymns, Bibl. II, 241-284.  
 Icel. Icelandic.  
 Inelmann Das altenglische Menologium (VI, 12).  
 Indo-Ger. Indo-Germanic.  
 Ind. Judith, Bibl. II, 294-314.  
 Iul. Iuliana, Bibl. III, 117-130.  
 K. Kemble The Poetry of the Codex Vercellensis (II, 3, III, 1).  
 Kluge Zur Geschichte des Reimes (IV, 10).  
 Legend. The Legend of St. Andrew. In Bight's Anglo-Saxon Reader (VI, 5).  
 Lipsius Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten, etc. (VI, 16).  
 M. Müller, Angelsächsisches Lesebuch (II, 6).  
 Mald. The Battle of Maldon, Bibl. I, 358-373.  
 ME. Middle English.  
 Men. Menologium, Bibl. II, 282-293.  
 Metr. Metrical passages of Boethius, Bibl. III, 1-57.  
 M. L. A. Modern Language Association.  
 M. L. N. Modern Language Notes.  
 M. E. Modern English.  
 Mod. B. Mamma Mode, Bibl. III, 141-147.  
 Nachtr. Nachträge.  
 Nap. Napier, Collation der altenglischen Gedichte im Vercellibuch (IV, 19).  
 N. E. D. New English Dictionary.  
 N. H. G. New High German.  
 O. H. G. Old High German.  
 O. S. Old Saxon.  
 Pan. Panther, Bibl. III, 161-166.  
 PBB. Paul and Braune's Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur.  
 Ph. Phoenix, Bibl. III, 95-110.  
 Πραξις Πραξις Ἀνδρον καὶ Μαρθίας, in Bonnet, Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha (VI, 3).  
 Ps. Psalm, Bibl. III, 83-230.  
 Ramhorst Das altenglische Gedicht vom heiligen Andreas (V, 24).  
 Rid. Riddles, Bibl. III, 183-238.  
 Rim. Poem. Riming Poem, Bibl. III, 100-103.  
 Root. The Legend of St. Andrew (III, 4).

- Sal. and Sat. Salomon and Saturn, Bibl. III, 58-82.
- Sat. Christ and Satan, Bibl. II, 521-562.
- Sc. Scotch.
- Seaf. Seafarer, Bibl. I, 290-295.
- Shipley. The Genitive Case in Anglo-Saxon Poetry (IV, 23).
- Siev., Sievers. Zu Cynewulf, *Anglia* XIII, 1-25 (V, 30); so unless other specific reference is given.
- Simons. Cynewulfs Wortschatz (IV, 24).
- Soul. Soul and Body, Bibl. II, 92-107.
- Spr. Grein, *Sprachschatz*.
- Th., Thorpe. Appendix B (II, 1).
- Tr., Trautmann. Zu Cynewulfs Runenstellen (V, 34); so unless other specific reference is given.
- W., Wülker. Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie, II, 1-91, 563-568 (II, 9).
- Wald. Waldere, Bibl. I, 11-13.
- Walker. Acts of Andrew and Matthias (VI, 26).
- Wand. Wanderer, Bibl. I, 284-289.
- Wid. Widsið, Bibl. I, 1-6.
- Wülfing. Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen.
- Wulfstan. Wulfstan, Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien, ed. Napier. Berlin, 1883.
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# ANDREAS

## [I]

Hwæt ! wē gefrūnan      on fyrndagum  
 twelfe under tunglum      tirēadige hæleð,  
 þeodnes þegnas.      Nō hira þrym ālæg  
 camprædenne      þonne cumbol hneotan,  
 syððan hīc gedæclon,      swā him Dryhten sylf,      5  
 heofona hēahcýning,      hl̥ȳt getæhte.  
 Þæt wæron mære      men ofer eorðan,  
 frome folctogan      ond fyrdhwate,

1 *Gm.*, *K.* gefrunon. *Gm.* regularly changes -an preterits to -on, usually, but not always, citing the *MS.* reading; *K.*, *Ettm.* follow *Gm.* without remark. *K.* at no time gives variant readings, either from the *MS.* or the *Edd.* Except in cases of doubtful interpretation, variants of *Edd.* in the preterit endings will not be recorded hereafter. — 4 *MS.* camrædenne. *Gm.* hnēotan, not changed to hneoton because taken as infinitive; but *Gm.* note 'hneotan = hneoton = hniton, *pret. pl. of hnitan?*' *K.* hneoton; *Gn.* hneotan, repeating *Gm.*'s note; so also *Bright (MLN. ii, 80).* *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> and *Spr. ii, 90* hnēotan, from *inf. hnātan*, *B.* hnēotan; *W.* in his text never, in his notes rarely, indicates the quantities of vowels. — 5 *Gm.* siððan, and so regularly. *Gm.* generally allows *y* to stand only as representative of an original *u*, *i* as representative of an original *i*; *K.* and *Ettm.* follow *Gm.* *Gn.* neither emends nor follows the *MS.* readings consistently. Thus he changes cining regularly to cýning (*ll.* 171, 416, 880, etc.) but follows the *MS.* in the spellings drihten and dryhten; he retains syððan at times (*ll.* 5, 33, 706, 1193, etc.) but also frequently changes to siððan (*ll.* 43, 180, 1106, etc.). Hereafter variants of *i* and *y* will not be recorded except from the texts of those *Edd.* who endeavor to follow the usage of the *MS.* — 6 *MS.*, *Th. lýt.* — 8 In the *MS.* ond as conj. and in composition is usually represented by the abbreviation *ȝ*. It is written out as ond, conj., in *ll.* 945, 1001, 1203, 1307, 1395, 1400, 719. In composition ond- is written out in *ll.* 202, 285, 290, 313, 401, 508, 510, 818, 857, 925, 1148, 1224, 1254, 1521. As conj. and does not occur in the *MS.*; *W.*'s *MS.* reading and for l. 754 is wrong, as the *MS.* has here, plainly, the usual abbreviation. In composition and- is written out in *ll.* 189, 509, 572, 783, 925. *Gm.*, *Gn.*, *K.*, though they usually preserve the *MS.* reading where the word is written out, regularly expand the abbreviation into and. *B.* prints usually ond, sometimes and; thus l. 8 and, l. 9 ond. *W.* does not expand the abbreviations. Inasmuch as ond is

rôfe rincas, þonne rond ond hand  
 on herefelda helm ealgodon, 10  
 on meotudwange. Wæs hira Mátheus sum,  
 sē mid Iūdēum ongan godspell ærest  
 wordum writan wundorcraefte;  
 þām hālig God hlȳt getēode  
 ūt on þæt igland, þær ænig þā git 15  
 ellpēodigra ēðles ne mihte  
 blādes brūcan; oft him bonena hand  
 on herefelda hearde gescēode.  
 Eal wæs þæt meareland morðre bewunden,  
 fēondes fācne, folestede gumena, 20  
 hæleða ēðel. Næs þær hlāfes wist  
 werum on þām wonge, nē wāteres drync  
 tō brūconne, ah hie blōd ond fel,  
 fira flāschoman, feorrancumenra,  
 ðegon geond þā pēode. Swelc wæs þeaw hira, 25  
 þæt hie æghwylcne ellðeodigra  
 dydan him tō mōse meteþearfendum,  
 þāra þe þæt ēaland ūtan sōhte.  
 Swyle wæs þæs folces freoðolēas tācen,  
 unhlādra eafod, þæt hie ēagena gesihð, 30  
 hettend heorogrimme, hēafodgimmas,  
 āgēttan gealgmōde gāra ordum.  
 Sýððan him geblēndan bitere tōsomne,

*the only form of the word written out as conj., and ond- the more usual form in composition, the abbreviation is regularly expanded, in the present text, into ond. Variants of Edd. in the reading of ond and and will not be recorded hereafter.*

18 *Gm., K.* gescēod. — 23 *Th., Gm., K., Gn.* brucanne. — 24 *MS., Edd.* feorran cumenra. — 25 *MS., W.* ðegon: *W.* alone endeavors to follow the usage of the *MS.* in printing ð and þ; the other *Edd.* print, without remark, þ in initial and ð in medial and final position. — 30 *Th.* eafod. — 31 *MS., Th.* hettend. *MS., Edd.* heafodgimme; *Cos. (PBB. xvi. 8)* heafodgimmas. — 32 *MS., Edd.* ageton, except *Gm., K.* aguton. — 33 *MS., Th.* geblondan, *Gm.* geblēndon, *K.* geblendon, *Gn.* geblēondan.

drȳas purh dwolcraeft,      drync unhȳorne,  
 sē onwende gewit,      wera ingeþanc,      35  
 heortan [on] hreðre;      hyge wæs oncyrrled,  
 þæt hie ne murndan      æfter mandrēame,  
 hæleþ heorogrædige,      ac hie hig ond gærs  
 for meteleaste      mēðe gedrehte.  
     þā wæs Māthēus      to þære mæran byrig      40  
 cumen in þā ceastre.      þær wæs cirm micel  
 geond Mermedlonia,      mānfulra hlōð,  
 fordēnera gedræg,      syþþan dēofles þegnas  
 |geāscodon      æðelinges sið.      [f. 30<sup>a</sup>]  
 Eodon him þā tōgēnes,      gārūm gehyrsted,      45  
 lungre under linde;      nālas late wæron,  
 eorre æscherend,      tō þām orlege.  
 Hie þām hālgan þær      handa gebundon  
 ond fæstnodon      fēondes cræfte,  
 hæleð hellfise,      ond his hēafdes segl      50  
 ābrēoton mid billes ecge.      Hwæðre hē in brēostum þā gīt  
 herede in heortan      heofonrices weard,  
 þēah ðe hē ātres drync      atulne onfēnge;  
 ēadlig ond onmōl      hē mid elne forð  
 wyrðode wordum      wuldres aldor,      55  
 heofonrices weard,      hālgan stefne,  
 of carcerne;      him wæs Cristes lof  
 on fyrhðlocan      fæste bewunden.

36 *MS.*, *Edd.* heortan hreðre. — 37 *B.* murndon, *B.*<sup>2</sup> murndan. — 38 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) -grædige. — 39 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* gedrēhte, *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> gedrehte. — 43 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* (note, 'unflektierter plural'), *B.* þegn; *Trautmann* (*Kynewulf*, p. 82) þewu; *W.* þegnas. In the *MS.*, þegn, followed by a period, stands the last word on f. 29<sup>b</sup>. Between f. 29 and f. 30 there is a narrow strip of parchment. *Th.* says, 'a leaf of the *MS.* has been cut out here,' and indicates an omission in his text; *Gm.*, *K.* as *Th.* *Gn.*, *B.*, *W.* state that a leaf of the *MS.* has been cut out but see no interruption in the narrative and print the text without break. *Nap.* thinks the *MS.* is here intact. — 46 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* nalæs. — 51 *Gm.*, *K.* abruton. — 54 *Gm.*, *K.* ānmōd.

Hē þa wēpende      wēregum tēarum  
 his sigedryhten      sārgan reorde      60  
 grētte, gumena brego,      gēomran stefne,  
 weoruda wilgeofan,      ond þus wordum cwæð :  
 “ Hū me elpeodige      inwitwāsne,  
 searonet, sēowað !      Ā ic symles wæs  
 on wega gehwām      willan þines      65  
 georn on mode ;      nu ðurh geohða sceal  
 dæde fremman      swā þa dumban neāt !  
 Þū āna canst      ealra gehygdo,  
 Meotud mancynnes,      mod in hreðre.  
 Gif þu willa sie,      wuldres aldor,      70  
 þæt me wærlogan      wæpna eegum,  
 sweordum, aswebban,      ic beo sōna gearu  
 to ādrēcoganne      þæt ðu, Drihten min,  
 engla eadgifa,      eðellecasum,  
 dūgeða dædfruma,      deman wille.      75  
 Forgif me to are,      ælmihtig God,  
 leoht on þissum life,      þȳ lāes ic lungre scyle,  
 āblended in burgum,      æfter billhete  
 purh hearmewide      heorugrædigra,  
 lāðra lēodsceaðena,      leng þrowian      80  
 edwitspræce.      Ic to ānum þē,  
 middangeardes weard,      mod stapolige,  
 fæste fyrhðlufan,      ond þē, fæder engla,  
 beorht blædgifa,      biddan wille,  
 ðæt ðu mē ne gescyrige      mid scyldhetum,      85  
 wērigum wrōhtsmiðum,      on þone wyrrestan,  
 dūgeða demend,      dēað ofer eorðan.”      [f. 30<sup>b</sup>]

63 *Sier.* (*PBB.* x, 460) *ƿēodige*. — 64 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr.* ii, 437 (*but* *seowað*, *seowiað?* *as second reading*), *B.*, *H.*, *seodað*; *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gm.*, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 8) *seowað*. — 66 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 8) *gēohða* = *gēahða*. — 67 *Gm.*, *K.* *dæda*. — 71 *Th.*, *Gm.* *wæfna*. — 80 *Th.*, *Gm.*, and *Spr.* ii, 601 *þrowian*. — 85 *Gm.* *note*, *Gm.* *note* *scyldhatum?*; *B.* *scild*, *B.*<sup>2</sup> *scyld*.



Aft̃er þyssum wordum      cōm wuldres t̃acen  
 h̃alig of heofenum,      swylce h̃adre segl,  
 tō þam carcerne ;      ȝær gecȳðed wearð,      90  
 þæt h̃alig God      helpe gefremede.  
 Ðā wearð gehȳred      heofoncyninges stefn  
 wr̃ætlic under wolcnum,      wordhl̃eoðres sw̃eg  
 m̃æres þ̃eodnes ;      h̃e his maguþegne  
 under hearmlocan      h̃ælo ond fr̃ofre      95  
 beadur̃ofum āb̃ead      beorhtan stefne :  
 “ Ic þ̃e, M̃ath̃eus,      m̃ine sylle  
 sybbe under swegle.      Ne b̃eo ðū on sefan tō forht,  
 ñe on m̃ode ne murn ;      ic þ̃e mid wunige  
 ond þ̃e ālȳse      of þyssum leoðubendum      100  
 ond ealle þā menigo      þe þ̃e mid wuniað  
 on nearoñedum.      Þ̃e is neorxnawang,  
 bl̃æda beorhtost,      boldwela fægrost,  
 h̃ama hyhtlicost,      h̃alegum mihtum  
 torht ontȳned ;      ȝær ðū tȳres m̃ost      105  
 tō wīdan f̃eore      willan br̃ucan.  
 Gepola þ̃eoda þ̃r̃ea ;      nis s̃eo þ̃r̃ah micel,  
 þæt þ̃e w̃ærlogan      witebendum,  
 synnige ðurh searocr̃æft,      swencan m̃otan.  
 Ic þ̃e Andr̃eas      ædre onsende      110  
 tō hl̃eo ond tō hr̃ōðre      in þās h̃æðenan burg ;  
 h̃e ð̃e ālȳseð      of þyssum l̃eodhete.  
 Is tō ȝære tīde      t̃ælnet hwile  
 emne mid s̃ōðe      seofon ond tw̃ēntig  
 nihtgerimes,      þæt ðū of ñede m̃ost,      115  
 sorgum geswenced,      sigore gewyrðod,

89 *MS.* segl ; *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *W.* sægl. — 93 *Th.*, *Gm.* word hleoðres ; *Gm.* places sweg in l. 94<sup>a</sup>. — 99 *MS.* ne ne murn. — 101 *MS.* the second þe written in above the line. — 102 *MS.*, *Edd.* neorxna wang. — 105 *B.* tires, *B.*<sup>2</sup> tyres. — 109 *MS.*, *Edd.* synne. — 112 *Gm.* alysed.

hweorfan of hendum    in gehyld Godes.”  
 Gewat him þā se hālgā    helm ælwihta,  
 engla scyppend,    to þam uphean  
 ēðelrice.    He is on riht cyning,    120  
 stadolfæst stýrend,    in stowa gehwām.

## [II]

Dā wæs Māthēus    miclum onbryrded  
 niwan stefne.    Nihthelm tōglād,  
 lungre lēorde;    lēoht æfter com,  
 dægredwōma.    Dugudð sammade,    125  
 hāðne hildfrecan,    heapum þrunon  
 (gudsearo gullon,    garas hrysedon),  
 bolgenmōde,    under bordhreoðan.  
 Woldon cunnian,    hwæder cwise lifdon  
 þa þe on carcerne    clomnum fæste    130  
 hlcōleasan wic    hwile | wunedon,    [f. 31<sup>a</sup>]  
 hwylcne hie to æte    ærest mihton  
 æfter fyrstmeorce    feores berædan.  
 Hæfdon hīe on rune    ond on rimcræfte  
 awriten, wælgrædige,    wera endestæf,    135  
 hwænne hie to mose    metepearfendum

117 *MS.*, *Edd* hweorfest; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 8) hweorfan. — 118 *MS.* ge him, with no indication of omission; all *Edd.* gewat. — 120 *MS.* riceꝥ, the lower part of the s erased; so *Nap.*; *W.* after e of rice, a heavy period followed by a semicolon. But the *MS.* has plainly s, the comma beneath the partly erased letter indicating that it is to be removed. All *Edd.* eðelrice; *Gn.* note. *MS.* eðel riceꝥ, eðel unflexierter dative? — 120 *Gn.* onriht. — 121 The first section of the narrative in the *MS.* ends with gehwām. Space for one line is left vacant and the second section begins with a large capital D, followed by a smaller capital A. Hereafter, since the method of dividing the narrative into sections varies only in insignificant details, these divisions will not be described, but will be indicated by spacing and numbering in the text. — 125 *Th.* dægred woma. — 134 *Gn.* hi. — 134 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 8) omits on before rimcræfte. — 135 *Saw.* (*PBB.* a, 400) grædige. — 136 *MS.*, *Th.* hwæne; *B.* hwænne as *MS.* reading, *B.2* hwæne. *Th.*, *Gn.* mete þearfendum.

on þære werþeode      weorðan sceoldon.  
 Cirmdon caldheorte,      cordor oðrum getang;  
 reðe ræsboran      rihtes ne gimdon,  
 Meotudes mildse;      oft hira mod onwōd      140  
 under dimscuan      deofles larum,  
 þonne hie unlædra      eafeðum gelȳfdon.  
 Hie ðā gemetton      mōdes glawne,  
 hāligne hæle,      under heolstorlocan  
 bidan beadurōfne      þæs him beorht cyning,      145  
 engla ordfruma,      unnan wolde.  
 Ðā wæs first āgān      frumrædenne  
 þinggemearces      būtan þrim nihtum,  
 swā hit wælwulfas      āwriten hæfdon,  
 þæt hie bānhringas      ābrecan pohton,      150  
 lungre tōlȳsan      he ond sāwle,  
 ond þonne todælan      duguðe ond geogoðe,  
 werum tō wiste      ond to wilþege,  
 fāges flāschoman.      Feorh ne bemurndan,  
 grædige gūðrincas,      hū þæs gāstes sið      155  
 æfter swyltwale      geseted wurde!  
 Swā hie symble ymb þritig      þing gehēdon  
 nihtgerimes;      wæs him nēod micel,  
 þæt hie tōbrugdon      blōdigum ceaflum  
 fira flāschoman      him to fōldorþege.      160  
 Þā wæs gemyndig,      sē ðe middangeard  
 gestaðelode      strangum mihtum,  
 hū hē in ellpēodigum      yrmðum wunode,  
 belocen leoðubendum,      þe oft his lufan ādræg  
 for Ebrēum      ond Israhēlum;      165

138 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* corðer. — 142 *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.* eafeðum. — 143 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.* gleawne; *B.*<sup>2</sup> glawne. — 145 *MS.* wæs, *Edd.* hwæs; *Bright (MLA. ii, 80)* þæs. — 157 *K.* gehegdon. — 158 *Nap.* after nihtgerimes an erasure of one or two letters in the *MS.* — 163 *Sier.* (*PBB.* x, 460) þeodgum. *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* wunade. — 164 *MS.*, *Edd.* of; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 9) oft. *Gm.*, *K.* adreag.



sealte sǣstrēamas    ond swanrāde,  
 waroðfaruða gewinn    ond wæterbrōgan,  
 wegas ofer widland.    Ne synt me winas cuðe,  
 eorlas elpeodige,    ne þær æniges wāt  
 hæleða gehygdlo,    ne me herestræta    200  
 ofer cald wæter    cuðe sindon."

Him ðā ondswaruðe    ece Dryhten :  
 "Eala, Andreas !    þæt du ā woldest  
 þæs siðfætes    sǣne weorþan !  
 Nis þæt uncāðe    eallwealdan Gode    205  
 tō gefremmanne    on foldwege,  
 ðæt sio ceaster hider    on þæs enċorisse  
 under swegles gang    āseted wyrðe,  
 breogostol brēme,    mid þām burgwarum,  
 gif hit worde becwið    wuldres āgend.    210  
 Ne meaht du þæs siðfætes    sǣne weorðan,  
 nē on gewitte tō wāc,    gif ðū wel pencest  
 wið þinne waldend    wære geheaklan,  
 trēowe tācen.    Beo du on tid gearu ;  
 ne mæg þæs ærendes    ykling wyrðan.    215  
 Ðū scealt þā fore gefēran    ond þīn feorh beran  
 in gramra gripe,    ðær þe gūðgewinn  
 purh hāðenra    hildewōman,  
 beorna beaducræft,    geboden wyrðeð.  
 Scealtu æninga    mid ærdæge,    220  
 emne tō morgene,    æt meres ende  
 cēol ge|stigan    ond on cald wæter    [f. 32<sup>a</sup>]  
 breccan ofer bæðweg.    Hafa bletsunge  
 ofer middangeard    mīne, þær ðū fēre."

106 After the s of sealte, a blank space in the MS. caused by the erasure of one letter. MS. stearmas. — 198 MS., Edd. wegas and wid land, Gn.<sup>2</sup> widland. Cox. (PBB. xxi, 9) weras for winas. — 199 Siev. (PBB. x, 460) þeodige. — 203 Gn. Ea la. — 205 K. ealwealdan. — 213 Gn., K., M. wealdend. — 219 MS., Th., Gn. wyrdeð. — 221 Siev. (PBB. x, 459) morgne.

Gewat him þa se halga      healdend ond wealdend,      225  
 upengla fruma,      eðel secan,  
 middlengcades weard,      þone mǣran ham,  
 þær soðfastra      sawla moton  
 æfter hees hýre      lifes brucan.

## [III]

Þa was arende      æðelum cempa      230  
 aboden in burgum;      ne was him bleað hyge,  
 ah he was aurræd      ellenweorces,  
 heard ond higerof,      alas hildlata,  
 gearo, gude fram,      to Godes campe.  
 Gewat him þa on uhtan      mid ærdæge      235  
 ofer sandhleodu      to sæs *waruðe*,  
 priste on gepance,      ond his pegnas mid,  
 gangan on greote;      garsecg hlynede,  
 beoton brimstreamas.      Se beorn was on hyhte,  
 syðþan he on waruðe      wulfæðme scip      240  
 modig gemette.      Þa com morgenorht  
 bearna beorhtost      ofer breomo sneowan,  
 halig of heolstre;      heofonandel blac  
 ofer lagotlodeas.      He ðær lidweardas,  
 prymlice prȳ,      pegnas [gemette,]      245  
 modiglice menn,      on merebate  
 sittan siðfröme,      swylce hie ofer sæ comon.  
 Þæt was Drihten sylf,      dūgeða wealdend,  
 ece ælmihtig,      mid his englum twam.

227 *MS.* weald; *B.* note, incorrectly as *MS.* weard. — 230 *Gm.* campum, *Gm.*<sup>2</sup> cempa. — 233 *K.*, *Gm.* nalas. — 234 *K.* compe. — 236 *MS.* *Fidd.* faruðe. — 240 *Gm.* mǣrgent fæðme. — 241 *MS.* *Fidd.* morgen toht; *Spr.* ii, 20*f.* *Cos.* (*PBB.* xvi, 9) morgenorht. — 242 *K.* beorhtost. — 245 Though there is no indication of an omission in the *MS.*, a word has evidently dropped out after *pegnas*. *Th.* notes the omission but supplies no word to fill it. *K.* gescēawode, *Gm.*, *Gm.*, *W.*, *B.* geseah; *Spr.* (*PBB.* vi, 317) rejects both readings for metrical reasons and proposes *gemette*.

Wæron hie on gescirplan    scipferendum,    250  
 corlas onlice    calhdendum,

ponne hie on flodes fædm    ofer feorne weg  
 on cald wæter    ecolum lacað.

Hie ða gegrette,    se ðe on greote stod,  
 fuis on faroðe,    fægn reordade :    255

“ Hwanon comon ge    ecolum hðan,  
 macraeftige menn,    on mereþissan,  
 ane ægilotan?    hwanon egorstream  
 ofer yða geweale    eowie brohte? ”

Him ða ondswarode    ælmihti God,    260  
 swa þæt ne wiste,    se ðe þæs wordes bad,

hwæt se manna was    medelhegendra,  
 þe he þær on waroðe    [wiðþingode :    {f. 32<sup>b</sup>}

“ We of Marmedonia    mægðe syndon  
 feorran geferede :    us mid flode bær    265

on hranrade    heahstefn naca,  
 snelle sāmearh,    snude bewunden,  
 oðþæt we þissa leoda    land gesohton,  
 were bewrecene,    swa us wind fordraf.”

Him þa Andreas    eaðmod onwað :    270

“ Wolde ic þe biddan,    þe ic þe beaga lýt,  
 sineweorðunga,    syllan meahte,

þæt ðu us gebrohte    brante eole,  
 hea hornscipe,    ofer hwaðes eðel

on þære mægðe ;    bið ðe meorð wið God,    275  
 þæt þu is on lade    hðe weorðe.”

251 *Th.* corlun. *Gn.* anlice. 255 *MS.* *Edd.* frægn; *Gn.* note 'frægn = *interrogationem*?' *Spr.* i. 337 'Frage? oder ist hier Frage Parenthese (so einfuhr ich)?' *Cov.* (*PRB.* vii, 9) fægn. — 257 *Th.* ma craeftige, note mere-craeftige? *Sweet* (*Dict.* p. 111) mægen? 260 *MS.* ælmihti, standing at end of a line; *Th.* *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* ælmihtig. 261 *Gm.*, *K.*, *M.* se þæs. 262 *M.* medel hegendra. 263 *K.* þa (*trans.*, 'whom he there,' etc.). *Gn.* wið þingode. = 267 *Cov.* (*PRB.* vii, 9), *Simons* p. 130 sunde. 268 *MS.* þiss; *Gn.* incorrectly as *MS.* þis. = 271 *MS.* biddan inserted above the line. *Gm.*, *K.* þeah.

Eft him ondswarede æðelinga helm  
of yðlide, engla scippend :

“ Ne magon þar gewunian widferende,  
ne þar elþeodige eandes brucað,  
280 ah in þære ceastre cwealm þrowað,  
þa ðe feorran fyder feoþ geladap;  
ond þu wilnast nu ofer widne mete,  
þæt ðu on þa tægðe þine feore spilde? ”

Him þa Andreas agef ondsware :  
285 “ U sic lust hweteð on þa leodmearce,  
mycel modes hilit, to þære maran byrig,  
þeoden leofesta, gif ðu us þine wilt  
on merelafode miltse gecyðan.”

Him ondswarede engla þeoden,  
290 neregend fira, of nacan stefne :  
“ We ðe esthce mid us willað  
ferigan treolice ofer fises hæð  
etne to þam lunde þæt þe lust myneð  
to geseccanne, swyððan ge cower  
295 gafuhtænne agilen habbað,  
sceattas geseclene, swa eow scipweardas,  
aras ofer yðbord, unnan willað.”

Him þa oðsthee Andreas wið,  
300 winepeartende, wordum mælde :  
“ Næbbe ic tated gold ne teohgestreon,  
welan ne wiste ne wita gespann,  
landes ne locenta beaga, þæt ic þe mæge lust ahwettan,  
willan in worulde, swa ðu worde becwist.”

280 *Ss*. (*PRB*. v, 300) þeodige. 282 *A*. þiðer. 285 *U*. manuscript ages.

280 *A*. hweteð. 287 *A*. þære. 288 *MS*. ðus, *Ull*. ðu us. 293 *M*. bað.

298 *MS*. *Ull*. aras, except *c* & *c* ara. 300 *MS*. *U*. *Ull*. *Ull*. *Ull*. wine  
leutende. 301 *U*. *Ull*. *MS*. tated, *but* *Ull*. *Ull*. tated; *Ull*. *Ull*. tated. *Ull*.  
3 tated, *Ull*. *A*. *U*. tatedgold; *Ull*. *U*. *c*. *Ull*. *Ull*. *Ull*. *Ull*. *Ull*. tated gold.

303 *Ss*. *Ull*. (*Ull*. *Ss*. v, 322) and *Ss*. (*PRB*. v, 322) would omit landes ne.



Him þā beorna breogo,    | ær he on boleān sæt,    305  
ofer waroða geweorp    wiðþingode :  
| “ Hū gewearð þe þæs,    wine leofesta,    [f. 33<sup>a</sup>]  
ðæt ðu sǣþeorgas    secan woldest,  
merestreama gemet,    mǣðmum bedǣled,  
ofer cald cleofu    cceoles nēosan?    310  
Nafast þe to frofre    on faroðstrǣte  
hlafes wiste    nē hlutterne  
drync to dugoðe?    Is se drohtað strang  
þām þe lagolade    lange cunnap.”

Ðā him Andreas    þurh ondsware,    315  
wis on gewitte,    wordhord onlēac :  
“ Ne gedafenað þe,    nu þē Dryhten geat  
welan ond wiste    ond woruldspēde,  
ðæt ðu ondsware    mid oferhygdum,  
sēce sārwide ;    sēle bið æghwām,    320  
þæt hē cǣðmēdum    ellorfūsne  
oncnāwe cūðlice,    swā þæt Crīst bebēad,  
þēoden prymfaest.    Wē his pegnas synd  
gecoren tō cempum.    Hē is cyning on riht,  
wealdend ond wyrhta    wuldorprymmes,    325  
ān ēce God    callra gesceafta,  
swā he ealle befehð    ānes cræfte,  
hefon ond eorðan,    hālgum mihtum,  
sigora sēlost.    Hē ðæt sylfa cwæð,  
fæder folca gehwas,    ond us fēran hēt    330  
geond ginne grund    gāsta strēonan :  
‘ Farað nū geond ealle    eorðan scēatas  
emne swā wide    swā wæter bebūgeð,

306 *Gn.* wið þingode. — 309 *MS.* bedeleð. — 310 *M.* ealde. — 312 *MS.* the first t of hlutterne written in above the line. — 319 *Gm.*, *M.* oferhygdum. — 323 *MS.*, *Gm.* We is. — 328 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* heofon. — 329 *C.* note suggests sellend for sēlost. — 332 *MS.* plainly sceatas, the e corrected from a t; so also *Nap.*; *B.*, *W.* as *MS.* and in text sceattas, *W. Nachtr.* sceatas; *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *C.* sceatas.

oððe stedewangas    stræte gelicgaþ ;  
 bodiað æfter burgum    beorhtne gelcāfan    335  
 ofer foldan fæðm ;    ic ēow freoðo healde.  
 Ne ðurfan gē on þā fore    frætwe lædan,  
 gold nē seolfor ;    ic ēow gōða gehwæs  
 on cowerne āgenne dōm    ēst āhwette.  
 Nu ðū scolfa miht    sið userne    340  
 gehȳran hygeþancol ;    ic sceal hraðe cunnan,  
 hwæt [ðu us tō dugudum    gedōn wille.]    [f. 33<sup>b</sup>]  
      Him þa ondswarode    ēce Dryhten :  
 “ Gif gē syndon þegnas    þæs þe þrym āhof  
 ofer middangeard,    swā gē mē seegaþ,    345  
 ond gē gehēoldon þæt ēow    se hālga bēad,  
 þonne ic ēow mid gefēan    ferialan wille  
 ofer brimstrēamas,    swā gē bēnan sint.”  
 Þā in cēol stigon    collenfyrhðe,  
 ellenrofe ;    æghwylcum wearð    350  
 on merefaroðe    moð geblissod.

## [IV]

Ðā ofer ȳða geswing    Andrēas ongann  
 merehðendum    miltsa biddan  
 wuldres aldor,    ond þus wordum cwæð :  
 “ Forgife þe Dryhten    domweorðunga,    355  
 willan in worulde    ond in wuldre blæd,  
 Meotud manncynnes,    swā ðū mē hafast  
 on þyssum siðfæte    sybbe gecȳðed ! ”

334 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xvi, 9) stedewanga. — 337 *Gm.*, *K.*, *M.* durfon, *Gm.* as *MS.* durfan; *M.* note þurfon. — 340 *Gn.* meht. — 342 *MS.* dugudum. — 343 *MS.* ēce; *W.* æce. — 346 *K.* places the hemistich after gehēoldon. — 354 *Th.* cwæd. — 356 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* on worulde. — 358 *B.* sibbe, *B.*<sup>2</sup> sybbe.

Gesæt him þā se hālga    helmwearde nēah,  
 æðele be æðelum.    Æfre ic ne hȳrde    360  
 þon cȳmlicor    cēol gehladenne  
 hēahgestrēonum.    Hæleð in sǣton,  
 þēodnas prymfulle,    þegnas wlitige.  
 Ðā reordode    rice þēoden,  
 ēce ælmihtig,    heht his engel gān,    365  
 mǣrne maguþegn,    ond mete syllan,  
 frēfran fēasceafte    ofer flodes wylm,  
 þæt hīc þē ēað mihton    ofer ȳða geþring  
 drohtaþ ādrēogan.    Þā gedrēfed wearð,  
 onhrēred hwælmere;    hornfisc plegode,    370  
 glād geond gārsecg,    ond se grǣga mǣw  
 wælgifre wand;    wedercandel swearc,  
 windas wēoxon,    wǣgas grundon,  
 |strēamas styredon,    strengas gurron,    [f. 34<sup>a</sup>]  
 wādo gewætte.    Wætereḡsa stōd    375  
 þrēata þrȳðum;    þegnas wurdon  
 ācolmōde;    ænig ne wēnde,  
 þæt hē lifgende    land begēte,  
 þāra þe mid Andrēas    on ēagorstrēam  
 cēol gesōhte.    Næs him cūð þā gȳt,    380  
 hwā þām sǣflotan    sund wisode.  
 Him þā se hālga    on holnwege  
 ofer ārgeblond    Andrēas þā gīt,  
 þegn þēodenhold,    þanc gesæḡde,  
 ricum rǣsboran,    þā hē gereordod wæs:    385

359 *MS.*, *Edd.* holm-; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 9) holm = helm, as in 396<sup>a</sup>. 'Wol zu ändern.' — 360 *W.* after hȳrde a letter, probably g, has been erased in the *MS.* — 362 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.* insæton. — 367 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *W.*, *B.* feasceafne; *Gn.*, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 9) feasceafte. — 368 *Gn.* hī. *Gm.* misprint ead. — 375 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 9) wada geweaice? *Simons* (p. 148) wādo = wāda. — 382 *Th.* wa for þa. — 384 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gn.* þeoden hold; *Gm.*, *K.*, *M.* þeodne hold; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr.* ii, 586, *W.*, *B.*, *C.* þeodenhold.

" De pissa swāsenda      soðfast Meotud,  
 lifes leohtfruma,      lēan forgilde,  
 weoruda waldend,      ond pē wist gife,  
 heofonlicne hlaf,      swa ðu hyldo wið mē  
 ofer firigendstrēam      frēode gecyðdest !      390  
 Nu synt geprēade      þegnas mine,  
 geonge guðrincas :      garsecg hlymmeð,  
 geofon gēotende :      grund is onhrēred,  
 deope gedrēfed :      duguð is geswenced,  
 modigra māgen      myclum gebysgod."      395

Him of helman oncwæð      haeleða Scyppend :  
 " Læt nu gefērian      flotan userne,  
 lid to lande      ofer lagufasten,  
 ond þonne gebidan      beornas þine,  
 aras on earde,      hwænne ðu eft cyme."      400

Eðre him þa eorlas      agēfan ondsware,  
 þegnas prohtearde :      þafigan ne woldon,  
 ðæt hie forlēton      æt lides stefnan  
 lēofne larcow      ond him land curon :  
 " Hwider hweorfað wē      hlaforðlēase,      405  
 gēomormode,      gode ordeorme,  
 synnum wunde,      gif wē swicað pē?  
 Wē bioð laðe      on landa gehwām,  
 foleum fracode,      þonne fira [bearn,      [f. 34<sup>b</sup>]  
 ellenrofe,      æht besittap,      410  
 hwyle hira sēlost      symle gelæste  
 hlaforde æt hilde,      þonne hand ond rond

389 *Th.* as *MS.* lice, *text* licne; so *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* — 390 *Gm.*, *K.*, *M.* firigen-  
 stream. — 393 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *W.* heofon; *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.*, *C.*, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xvi, 9)  
 geofon; cf. 1508<sup>b</sup>, 1585. — 394 *W.* as *MS.* duguð. — 395 *B.* miclum. — 396 *MS.*,  
*F.d.* holme; *Gn.* note of helme; *Spr.* u, 94 holm, 'der Helm des Schiffes, am  
 Steuerruder?' *C.* note 'Perhaps mistaken for helman, the helm of the ship'; *Simons*  
*f.* 70 holm = helm, 'steuerruder'; cf. 350<sup>b</sup>. — 401 *B.* agefon, *B.*<sup>2</sup> agefan. — 405  
*Gm.* hlaforleaze. — 406 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xvi, 9) gōde; *Gn.*, *B.* gode, *C.* Gode.  
 — 411 *K.* selast.

on beaduwanġe billum forgrunden  
 æt mīðpleġan nearu prowedon."  
 þā reordade rice þēoden, 415  
 wærfæst cining, word stunde ahof :  
 "Gif ðū þegn sie þrymsittendes,  
 wuldorcyninges, swā ðū worde becwist,  
 rece þā gerȳnu, hū hē reordberend  
 lārde under lyfte. Lang is þēs sīðfæt 420  
 ofer fealuwne flōd ; frēfra þine  
 mæcgas on mōde. Mycel is nu gēna  
 lād ofer lagustrēam, land swiðe feorr  
 tō gesēcanne ; sund is geblonden,  
 grund wið grēote. God ēade mæg 425  
 heaðoliðendum helpe gefremman."  
 Ongan þā glēawlice gingran sme,  
 wuldorspēdige weras, wordum trymman :  
 "Gē þæt gehogodon, þā gē on holm stigon,  
 þæt gē on fāra folc feorh gelæddon, 430  
 ond for Dryhtnes lufan deað prōwodon,  
 on Ælmyrena ēðelrice  
 sāwle gescaldon. Ic þæt sylfa wāt,  
 þæt ūs gescyldēð scyppend engla,  
 weoruda Dryhten. Wætereġesa sceal, 435  
 geðȳd ond geðrēatod þurh prȳðcining,  
 lagu lācende, hīðra wyrðan.  
 Swā gesækle m, þæt wē on sēbate  
 ofer waruðġewinn wæda cunnedan,  
 faroðridende. Frēcne þuhton 440

413 *MS.* fore grunden ; *Th.*, *W.* foregrunden. — 420 *Gm.*, *K.*, *M.* þeos. — 423  
*Th.*, *Gm.*, *M.* lað. *K.* feor. — 424 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *M.*, *B.*, *W.*, *C.* sand ; *Gm.*,  
*Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 10) sund. — 425 *Gm.* note grand? for grund. — 426 *Gm.* misprint,  
*M.* heado- ; *C.* hēaðo-, 'perhaps for heahðo.' — 433 *W.* after sylfa a letter erased  
 in the *MS.* — 438 *K.* þat. — 439 *K.*, *Gm.* wada. — *W.* as *MS.* cunedan, *Nachtr.*  
 cunnedan. — 440 *Gm.*, *M.* riðende.

egle ēalāda : ēagorstrēamas  
 bēoton bordstæðu : brim oft oncwæð,  
 ȝð oðerre. Hwylum upp āstōd  
 of brimes bosme þon bātes fæðm [f. 35<sup>a</sup>]  
 egesa ofer ȝðlid. Ælmihtig þær, 445  
 Meotud mancynnes, on mereþyssan  
 beorht basnode. Beornas wurdon  
 forhte on mōde : friðes wilnedon,  
 miltsa to mærum. Þā sēo menigo ongan  
 clypian on cēole : cýning sōna arās, 450  
 engla ēadgifa, ȝðum stilde,  
 wæteres wælmum, windas þrēade :  
 sē sessade, smylte wurdon  
 merestreama gemeotu. Ðā ūre mōd ahlōh  
 syððan wē gesēgon under swegles gang 455  
 windas ond wāgas ond wæterbrōgan  
 forhte gewordne for Frēan egesan.  
 Forþan ic ēow to sōðe secgan wille,  
 þæt nāfre forlæteð lifgende Gōd  
 eorl on eorðan, gif his ellen dēah." 460  
 Swā hlēoðrode halig cempa,  
 ðēawum gepancul : þegnas lēarde  
 ēadlig oreta, eorlas trymede,  
 oððæt hie semninga slæp oferēode,  
 mēde be mæste. Mere sweoðerade, 465  
 ȝða ongin eft oncyrde,  
 hrēoh holmþracu. Þā þām hālgan wearð  
 æfter gryrehwile gast geblissod.

442 *Gu.*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr.* i. 145. *Simons* (p. 18) brūn for brim. *K.* eft. — 445 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *M.* yðlīð. — 452 *Th.*, *Gm.* windes, *Gm.* note windes þreate, or (note to l. 453) windas þreade. — 453 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.* sæs essade; *Gm.* note (1) sæs essadon, (2) sæ essade (3) sæ sessade. — 458 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gm.* omit to. — 459 *Gm.* misprint forlæted.

## [V]

Ongan ðā reordigan    rædum snottor,  
 wis on gewitte,    wordlocan onspēonn :    470  
 “ Næfre ic sælidan    sēlran mētte,  
 mǣcraftigran,    þæs ðe mē þynceð,  
 rōwend rofran,    rædsnotterran,  
 wordes wisran.    Ic wille þē,  
 eorl unforcūð,    ānre nū gēna    475  
 bēne biddan,    þēah ic þe bēaga lȳt,  
 sincweorðunga,    syllan mihte,  
 fætedsinces :    wolde ic frēondscipe,  
 þēoden prym|fæst,    þinne, gif ic mehte,    [f. 35<sup>b</sup>]  
 begitan gōdne.    Þæs ðū gife hleotest,    480  
 hāligne hyht    on heofonþrymme,  
 gif ðū lidwerigum    lārna þīnra  
 ēste wyrðest.    Wolde ic ānes tō ðe,  
 cynerōf hæleð,    cræftes nēosan :  
 ðæt ðū mē getæhte,    nū þe tū cyning    485  
 ond miht forgef,    manna scyppend,  
 hū ðū wægflotan    wære bestemdon,  
 sæhengeste,    sund wisige.  
 Ic wæs on gifeðe    iu ond nū [þā]  
 syxtȳne siðum    on sēbāte,    490  
 mere hrērendum    mundum frēorig,

473 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* rorend (*K.* trans. 'rower'), *Gn. Spr.* ii, 384 rorend a scribal error for rowend? — 478 *W.* between freond and scipe, a letter erased in the *MS.* — 479 *MS.* þine; *Th.* as *MS.* þine, i.e. þinne. *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* mihte. — 482 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) -wergum. — 483 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.* est; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *Zupitza* (*Angl.* iii, 369), *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 517), *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 80), *W.*, *C.* este. — 485<sup>b</sup>–486<sup>a</sup> *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 10) nū þe tircyning || þa miht forgef. — 487 *Gm.*, *K.* bestemdan. — 489<sup>a</sup> *Gn.* note gifeð = geofon? *Spr.* i, 506 on gifeðe, ungefähr? — 489<sup>b</sup> *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 517) notes that the half-line is too short; *Holthausen* (*Angl.* xiii, 357) reads iu ond nuþa; *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 80) þa iu ond nu. — 491 *W.* an r erased between mere and hrerendum; *K.* merehrerendum.

ēagorstrēamas (is ðys āne mā),  
 swā ic æfre ne geseah    ænigne mann,  
 þrȳðbearn hæleða,    þe gelicne,  
 stēoran ofer stæfnan.    Strēamwelm hwileð,    495  
 beateþ brimstædo;    is þes bāt ful scrid,  
 færeð fāmigheals,    fugole gelicost  
 glideð on geofone.    Ic georne wāt,  
 þæt ic æfre ne geseah    ofer ȳðlāde  
 on sǣleodan    syllicran cræft.    500  
 Is þon gelicost    swā hē on landsceare  
 stille stande,    þær hine storm ne mæg,  
 wind āwecgan,    nē wæterflōdas  
 breccan brondstæfne:    hwæðere on brim snōweð  
 snel under segle.    Ðū eart seolfa geong,    505  
 wigendra hlōo,    nālas wintrum frōð,  
 hafast þēh on fyrhðe,    faroðlācende,  
 eorles ondsware;    æghwylces canst  
 worda for worulde    wislic andgit."  
 Him ondswarode    ēce Dryhten:    510  
 "Oft þæt gesǣleð,    þæt wē on sǣlāde,  
 scipum under scealcum,    |þonne scēor cymeð,    [f. 36<sup>a</sup>]

494 *MS.*, *Edd.* hæleð; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xvi, 10) hæleða. — 495 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* hwileð; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr.* ii, 117, *B.*, *C.* hwileð. — 496 *MS.*, *Edd.* beateþ; *Spr.* i, 106, *Holthausen* (*PBB.* xvi, 550) beateþ. *K.*, *B.* brim stædo (*W.* incorrectly ascribes also brimstædo to *B.*). *Gm.*, *K.* þeos. *MS.*, *Th.*, *W.*, *C.* ful scrid; *Gm.*, *K.* fulscrȳd; *Gm.* note, *Gn.*, *B.* fulscrid. — 497 *Gm.* fereð; *K.* fareð. — 498 *Gm.*, *K.* geofone. — 499 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.*, *W.* ȳðlāfe; *Gn.* Nachtr. and *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xvi, 11), *C.* ȳðlade. — 500 *MS.*, *Th.* sǣ leodan; *Gm.*, *K.* sǣ lēdan. — 501 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.* gelicost. *MS.* plainly lansceare; *Th.*, *W.* as *MS.* lansceape (but *W.* Nachtr. lansceare); *Th.* text, as *MS.*: *Gm.* (-seeape, misprint), *K.*, *Gn.*, *W.*, *B.*, *C.* land-sceape; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xvi, 11) landsceare. The syllable lan- stands at end of a line in the *MS.* Cf. 68<sup>f</sup>, 1229<sup>b</sup>. — 504 *Gn.* brontstæfne, *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr.* i, 136 brondstæfne; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xvi, 11) brontstæfn[n]e. *B.* as *MS.* sneoweð, *B.*<sup>2</sup> snoweð; *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.*, *C.* sneoweð. — 507 *MS.*, *Edd.* þe. *Gm.*, *K.* -lacendes. *Nap.*, on the left margin of the page in the *MS.*, the word leof. — 512 *Folio 35<sup>b</sup>* ends with scealcum. *Th.* thinks a leaf has been cut out; but the other *Edd.* print without interruption; cf. 43<sup>b</sup>.



brecað ofer bæðweg    brimhengestum.  
 Hwilum ūs on ȝðum    ƿearfoðlice  
 gesæleð on sēwe,    ƿēh wē sið nesan,    515  
 frēcne gefēran.    Flōdwylm ne mæg  
 manna ænigne    ofer Meotudes ēst  
 lungre gelettan;    āh him lifes geweald,  
 sē ðe brimu bindeð,    brūne ȝða  
 ðȝð ond ƿrēatað.    Hē ƿēodum sceal    520  
 racian mid rihte,    sē ðe rodor āhōf  
 ond gefæstnode    folmum sinum,  
 worhte ond wreðede,    wuldras fylde  
 beorhtne boldwelan;    swā gebledsod wearð  
 engla ēdel    ƿurh his ānes miht.    525  
 Forþan is gesȝne,    sōð orgete,  
 cūð oncnāwen,    ƿæt ðū cyninges eart  
 ƿegen geþungen,    ƿrymsittendes,  
 forþan ƿē sōna    sēholm oncnēow,  
 gārsecges begang,    ƿæt ðū gife hæfdes    530  
 hāliges gāstes.    Hærn eft onwand,  
 ārȝða geblond;    egesa gestilde,  
 wīdfæðme wæg;    wædu swæðorodon  
 seoðþan hīe ongēton    ƿæt ðē God hæfde  
 wære bewunden,    sē ðe wuldres blæd    535  
 gestaðolade    strangum mihtum.”  
 ƿā hlēoðrade    hālgan stefne  
 cempa collenferhð,    cyning wyrðude,  
 wuldres waklend,    ond ƿus wordum cwæð:  
 “Wes ðū gebledsod,    brego mancynnes,    540  
 Dryhten Hælend!    Ā ƿin dōm lyfað!

515 *Edd.* siðnesan, *except K.* sið nesen, and *B.* siðnesan (*W.* incorrectly ascribes siðnesan to *B.*). — 521 *Gm.*, *K.* rædan for racian. — 523 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* wuldres. — 526 *Th.* ongeten. — 531 *Th.* hæmeft. — 532 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.* ar ȝða. — 535 *MS.* bewunde. — 538 *Th.* wyrðude, ‘apparently an error for wer-ðeode.’ — 539 *Gm.*, *K.* wealdend.

Ge neh ge feor is þin nama hālig,  
 wuldre gewlitegad ofer werþeoda,  
 miltsum gemærsod. Nænig manna is  
 under heofonhwealfe, hæleða cynnes, 545  
 ðætte areccan mæg oððe rim wite  
 hu ðrymlice, þeoda baldor, [f. 36<sup>b</sup>]  
 gasta geocend, þine gife dæleost.  
 Huru is gesyne, sawla nergend,  
 þæt ðu þissum hysse hold gewurde 550  
 ond hine geongne geofum wyrðodest,  
 wis on gewitte ond wordewidum.  
 Ic æt efencaldum æfre ne mette  
 on modsefan maran snyttro."

Him ða of eole onewæð cyninga wuldor, 555  
 frægn fromlice fruma ond ende :  
 "Saga, þances gleaw þegn, gif ðu cunne,  
 hu ðæt gewurde be werum tveonum,  
 þæt ða arleasan inwidþancum,  
 Iudea cynn wið Godes bearne 560  
 ahof hearmcwide. Hæleð unsælige  
 no ðær gelyfdon in hira liffruman,  
 grome gealgmode, þæt he God wære,  
 þeah ðe he wundra feala weorodum gecyððe,  
 sweotlra ond gesynra ; synnige ne mihton 565  
 oncnawan þæt cynebearn, se ðe acenned wearð  
 to hleo ond to hroðre hæleða cynne,

540 *Gm.* note mæge? — 547 *Gm.* misprint nu. — 550 *W.* e of hysse written upon an erasure. — 552 *MS.* wis ongewitte. *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gm.*<sup>2</sup>, *B.*, *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 81) wis on gewitte; *Gm.* wisan gewitte; *W.* wison gewitte. — 553 *Th.* afen. — 550 *K.*, *B.* fruman; *B.*<sup>2</sup> fruma. — 557 *W.* a discoloration in the *MS.* partially covers seven lines, especially the words gif (557), tveonū (558), ar (559), wið, bearne (560). These words are only faintly legible in the reproduction. — 559 *Cos.* (*PBB.* aa7, 12) reads ðæt arleasan. — 561 *Slov.* (*PBB.* a, 460) unsælgē. — 562 *W.* *MS.* doubtfully no or ne; *Nap.* plainly no; the reproduction is not clearly legible; all *Fdd.* no, except *B.* ne. — 564 *Gm.*, *K.* fela. *K.* gecyððe.

eallum eorðwarum.    Æþelinge wēox  
 word ond wisdom,    ah he para wundra ā,  
 domagende,    dæl *ænigne* 570  
 frætre þeode    beforan cȳðde."

Him ða Andreas    agef andsware :  
 "Hu mihte þæt gewyrðan    in werþeode,  
 þæt ðu ne gehȳrde    Hælendes miht,  
 gumena leofost,    hū he his gif cȳðde 575  
 geond woruld wide,    wealdendes bearn?  
 Sealde he dumbum gesprec,    deafe gehȳrdon,  
 healtum ond hreofum    hyge blissode,  
 ða þe limscoce    lange wāron,  
 werige, wanhale,    witum gebundene, 580  
 æfter burhstedum    blinde geseon ;  
 swā | he on grundwæge    gumena cynnes [f.37<sup>a</sup>]  
 manige missenlice    men of deaðe  
 worde awehte.    Swylce he eac wundra feala  
 cynerof cȳðde    purh his cræftes miht. 585  
 He gehalgode    for heremægene  
 win of wætere    ond wendan het,  
 beornum to blisse,    on þa beteran gecynd.  
 Swylce he afedde    of fixum twam  
 ond of fif hlafulum    fira cynnes 590  
 fif ðusendo ;    fēðan sāt-on,  
 reonigmōde,    reste gefegon,  
 werige æfter wæðe,    wiste þegon,  
 menn on moldan,    swā him gemedost wæs.  
 Nū ðu miht gehȳran,    hyse leofesta, 595  
 hū ūs wuldres weard    wordum ond dāðum

560 *Gn.* and for ah. — 570 *MS.*, *Edd.* dom agende. *MS.*, *Edd.* ænigne. = 573 *Th.* as *MS.* gebyrðan. — 575 *Gn.* gife ; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr.* i, 505, gif. — 580 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 459) gebundne. — 582 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 12) wege. — 592 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.* (alternative reonig-), *K.*, *W.*, *B.* reonigmod ; *Gn.* note, *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 506) reonigmod. — 593 *Th.*, *K.* wæðe ; *Gm.*, *Gn.* wæðe.

lufode in life,    ond þurh lāre spēon  
 tō þām fægeran gefean,    þær frēo mōton,  
 ēadige mid englum,    eard weardigan,  
 þā ðe æfter dēaðe    Dryhten sēcað." 600

## [VI]

Ðā gēn wēges weard    wordhord onlēac,  
 beorn ofer bolcan,    beald reordade :  
 " Miht dū mē geseccan,    þæt ic sōð wite,  
 hwæðer wealdend þin    wundor on eorðan,  
 þā hē gefremede    nālas fcam siðum, 605  
 folcum tō frōfre    beforan cȳðde,  
 þær bisceopas    ond bōceras  
 ond eaklormenn    æht besæton,  
 mædelhægende?    Mē þæt þinceð,  
 ðæt hie for æfstum    inwit syredon 610  
 þurh dēopne gedwolan :    dēofles lānum  
 hæleð hynfise    hȳrdon tō georne,  
 wrāðum wærlogan.    Hie sēo wyrd beswāc,  
 forleolc ond forlærde.    Nū hie lungre sceolon,  
 wērige mid wērigum,    wræce þrōwian, 615  
 bitterne bryne    on þanan fæðme." [f. 37<sup>b</sup>]

Him ðā Andrēas    āgef ondsware :  
 " Secge ic ðē tō sōðe,    ðæt hē swiðe oft  
 beforan fremede    folces ræswum  
 wundor æfter wundre    on wera gesiehdē ; 620

599 *W.* a discoloration in the MS., covering -se leof- (595), -fode in life 7 þurh (597), þær (598). Plainly legible in the reproduction. — 601 *Edd.* weges (*K.* tr. 'ruler of the wave'); cf. 632<sup>a</sup>. — 607 *Gm.*, *K.* biscopas. — 608 *Gm.*, *K.* -men. *Gm.* æht. — 609 *Gm.*, *K.* *Gn.* -hegende; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> -hēgende. — 614 *K.*, *B.* incorrectly as *MS.* ferleolc; *B.*<sup>2</sup> forleolc. — 615 *Gm.* wræce; *K.* wrace. — 616 *Sivv.* (*PBB.* x, 496) bitterne. *W.* on f. 37<sup>b</sup> are numerous blots, probably caused by acids, but the text is nowhere illegible. — 618 *Gm.*, *K.* Sage for Secge.

swylce dēogollice      Dryhten gumena  
folcraēd fremede,      swā hē tō friðe hogode."

Him ondsvarode      æðelinga helm :  
"Miht ðū, wis haeleð,      wordum gesecgan,  
māga mōde rof,      mægen þā hē cȳðde,      625  
dēormōd on digle,      ðā mid Dryhten oft,  
rodera rædend,      rūne besæton?"

Him þā Andrēas      ondsware āgef :  
"Hwæt frīnest ðū mē,      frēa lēofesta,  
wordum wrætlicum,      ond þeh wyrda gehwære      630  
þurh snyttra cræft      sōð oncnāwest?"

Ðā git him wāges weard      wiðþingode :  
"Ne frīne ic ðē for tæle      nē ðurh tēoncwīde  
on hranrāde,      ac mīn hīge blissað,  
wynnum wrīdað,      þurh þīne wordlæde,      635  
æðelum ēcne.      Nē eom ic āna ðæt,  
ac manna gehwām      mōd bið on hyhte,  
fyrhð āfrēfred,      þām þe feor oððe nēah  
on mōde geman,      hū se māga fremede,  
godbearn on grundum.      Gāstas hweorfon,      640  
sōhton siðfrome      swegles drēamas,  
engla ēðel      þurh þā æðelan miht."

Ēdre him Andrēas      āgef ondsware :  
"Nū ic on þē sylfum      sōð oncnāwe  
wīsdōmes gewit,      wundorcræfte      645  
sigespēd geseald      (snyttrum blōweð  
beorhtre blisse      brēost innanweard),  
nū ic þē sylfum      secgan wille

622 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 12) suggests to friode hogde. — 630 *MS.*, *Edd.* þe (at end of a line in the *MS.*); *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 82) þeh = þeah. *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 485) gehwām, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 12) gehwæs, for gehwære. — 631 *Gm.*, *K.* snyttru. — 632 *Gn.* wið þingode. — 633 *Th. as MS.* frīne, text frīne. — 633<sup>b</sup> *MS.*, *Gn.*, *B.* nu for ne. — 634 *B.* hyge. — 635 *Gm.*, *K.* wordlæde. — 637 *MS.* gehwām; *Edd.* gehwam, except *B.* gehwām. — 640 *Gm.*, *K.* hwurfon. — 645 *K.* -crafte.

oor ond ende, swa ic þæs æðelinges  
 word ond wisdom on wera gemote 650  
 purh his sylfes muð symle gehy̅rde.  
 Ott gesammodon side herigeas, [f. 38<sup>a</sup>]  
 fole nima̅te, to Frean dome,  
 þær hie bytenodon haliges lare.  
 Ðonne eft gewat æðelinga helm, 655  
 beorht blædgifa, in bold oðer,  
 ðær him togenes, God herigende,  
 to ðam meðelstede manige comon,  
 snottre seclædend; symble gefegon,  
 beornas bliðheorte, burhweardes cyme. 660  
 Swa gesalde m, þæt se sigedema  
 feide, Frea mihtig; næs þær folces ma  
 on siðfate, smra leoda,  
 nemne ellefne orettmaegas,  
 geteled treadige; he was twelfta sylf. 665  
 Þa we becomon to þam cynestole,  
 þær getimbred was tempel Dryhtnes,  
 heah ond horngeap, hæleðum gefrege,  
 wuldre gewlitigod. Huseworde ongan  
 purh inwitðane ealdorsacerd 670  
 herme hyspan, hordlocan onspeon,  
 wroht webbade; he on gewitte onencow,

649 *Gm.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.* or. — 657 *Gm.* to genes. — 658 *K.* misprint comon. — 659  
*Th.*, *Gm.*, *Gm.*, *K.* snottre. *Th.*, *Gm.* seclædend. *Fdd.* symble (*adv.*), *ex. ept* *Gm.*<sup>2</sup>  
 symble (*inst.*)? *Our Glossar ist die Stelle unter symbel (testitas, etc.) nachzutragen*  
*und unter symble, adu. zu streichen?* — 660 *W.* the two letters after bl- illegible;  
*Var.* reads ið. In the reproduction a rectangular blot extends down the right side  
 of f. 38<sup>a</sup> from the tenth to the tenth line and across the ninth and tenth lines to the  
 middle of the page, all of which space is illegible. — 663 *K.*, *B.* fæte; *B.*<sup>2</sup> fæte.  
 664 *K.*, *B.* ellettne; *B.*<sup>2</sup> ellettne. — 665 *Var.* (*IFB.* v. 460) eadge. — 667 *W.* and  
*Var.* the first e of getimbred illegible in the MS.; *Var.* legibly but not clearly  
 atimbred (misprint for atimbred?) — 669 *Gm.* us worde, *Spt.* v. 112 huseworde;  
*Simons* (*Æ. Sax. litig. Prudentia*) usic worde — 672 *MS.* gewitfe.

þæt wē soðfaestes      swaðe folgodon,  
 læston larewide ;      he hingre ahof  
 woðe wiðerhydig      wean onblonden ;      675  
 ‘ Hwæt ! ge syndon earne      ofer ealle menn ;  
 wadað wiðlastas,      weorn geferað  
 earfoðsiða,      eallpeodiges nu  
 butan leodrihte      larum byrað,  
 eadiges orhlytte      ædeling cyðað,      680  
 secgað soðlice,      þæt mid suna meotudes  
 drohtigen daghwæmlice.      Þæt is duguðum cuð,  
 hwanon þam ordfruman      æðelu onwocon ;  
 he was afeted      on þysse folesceare,  
 ealdgeong acenned      mid his encomagum ;      685  
 þus syndon haten      hamsittende,  
 fæder ond modur,      þæs wē gefragen habbað  
 | þurh modgemynd,      Maria ond Ioseph.      [f. 38<sup>b</sup>]  
 Syndon him on æðelum      oðere twegen  
 beornas geborene,      broðorsybbum,      690  
 suna Iosephes,      Simon ond Iacob.  
 Swa hlcoðrodon      hælæða ræswan,  
 dugoð domgeorne,      dyrnan pohton  
 Meotudes mihte.      Man eft gehwearf,  
 yfel endeleas,      þær hit ær aras.      695

## [VII]

“ Þā se þcōden gewāt      þegna heape  
 fram þām meðelstede      mihtum geswiðed,  
 dugeða Dryhten,      secan digol land.

676 *B.* sindon. — 682 *MS.* drohtu<sup>1</sup>gen. *K.* hwaemlice. — 689 *B.* sindon. *K.* emils  
 on. — 690 *W.* the final *e* of geborene indistinct in the *MS.* — 693 *W.*'s statement,  
*Gm.* dugoðdomgeorne (also l. 878), applies only to *Gm.*'s note, not to his text. —  
 695 *W.* a letter erased in the *MS.* between yfel and ende. — 696 *Th.* heare for  
 heape; *Gm.*, *K.* hearra; *Gn.* as emendation heape.

Hē purh wundra feala    on þām wēstenne  
 cræfta gecyððe,    þæt hē wæs cyning on riht    700  
 ofer middangeard,    mægene geswiðed,  
 waldend ond wyrhta    wuldorþrymmes,  
 ān ēce God    eallra gesceafta.  
 Swylce hē ððerra    unrim cyððe  
 wundorworca    on wera gesyððe.    705  
     “ Syppan eft gewāt    ððre siððe  
 getrume mycle,    þæt hē in temple gestōð,  
 wuldres aldor.    Wordhlēoðor āstāg  
 geond hēahraeced :    hāliges lāre  
 synnige ne swulgon,    þeah hē sōðra swā feala    710  
 tacna gecyððe,    | ær hie tō sēgon.  
 Swylce hē wræthlice    wundor āgræfene,  
 anlicnesse    engla sinra  
 gesch, sigora Frea,    on seles wāge,  
 on twā healfe    torhte gefrætwed,    715  
 whitige geworhte.    Hē worde cwæð :  
 ‘ Ðis is anhenes    engele cynna  
 þæs brēmestan    [þe] mid þām burgwarum  
 in þære ceastre is :    Cheruphim et Seraphim  
 þa on swegeldreamum    syndon nemned :    720  
 fore onsýne    ecan Dryhtnes  
 standað | stiðferðe,    . stefnum herigað,    [f. 39<sup>a</sup>]  
 halgum hlcoðrum,    heofoncyniges þrym,  
 Meotudes mundbyrd.    Hēr āmearcod is  
 haligra hīw,    purh handmægen    725

700 *Gm.*, *K.*, -reced. — 710 *Nap. MS.* hie not he; so plainly in the reproduction; all *Edd.* he without remark. — 711 *Edd.* tosegon, except *Gm.*, *Gn.* to segon. — 712 *MS.* wundor agraefene; *Edd.* wundoragraefene; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xvi, 12) wundrum agræfene; *Gn.* Nachtr. wundor agræfene? but *Spr.* ii, 752, wundoragraefene. — 718<sup>b</sup> *Holthausen* (*PBB.* xvi, 550) supplies þe. — 719<sup>a</sup> *Root* (*p.* 57) omits is. — 719 *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.* ond; *B.* incorrectly as *MS.* 7; *B.*<sup>2</sup> et. — 722 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* ferððe.



āwriten on wealle    wuldres þegnas.  
 Ða gēn worde cwæð    weoruda Dryhten,  
 heofonhālig gāst,    fore þam heremægene :  
 ‘ Nū ic bebeode    beacen ætȳwan,  
 wundor geweorðan    on wera gemange,    730  
 ðæt þeos onlicnes    eorðan sece,  
 wlitig of wāge,    ond word sprece,  
 secge soðcwidum    (þȳ sceolon gelyfan  
 eorlas on cȳððe)    hwæt min æðelo sien.’  
 “ Ne dorste þā forhylman    Hærendes bebod    735  
 wundor fore weorodum,    ac of wealle āhlēop,  
 frōd fyrngeweorc,    þæt hē on foldan stōd,  
 stān fram stāne ;    stefn after cwōm,  
 hlūd þurh heardne,    hlcoðor dynede,  
 wordum wēmdre    (wrætlīc þūhte    740  
 stiðhycgendum    stānes ongin),  
 septe sācerdas    sweotolum tācnum,  
 wītig werede    ond worde cwæð :  
 ‘ Gē synd unklāde,    earmra gepohta  
 scarowum beswicene,    oððe sēl nyton,    745  
 mōde gemyrde :    gē mon cīgað  
 Godes ēce bearn,    þone þe grund ond sund,  
 heofon ond eorðan    ond hrōo wāgas,  
 salte sǣstrēamas    ond swegl uppe  
 āmearcode    mundum sīnum.    750  
 Þis is se ilca    ealwalda God,

726 *Holthausen* (*PBB.* xvi, 550) þegna. — 733 *After* soðcwidum *Gn.* supposes an omission in the narrative, and supplies as follows: secge soðcwidum, [þæt ic eom sunu godes]; þȳ sceolon gelyfan [leoda ræsran] etc. There is no indication of a break in the MS. — 736 *Th.*, *Gm.* ahleow; *Gm.* note ahleop. — 740 *Th.* as *MS.* þrætlīc, text wrætlīc. — 741 *Gn.* onginn. — 742 *MS.* plainly septe; *Th.* text septe, note ‘*MS.* septe or sewte, uncertain’; *Gm.* text septe, but note sewte or sewde; *Gn.* sewde; *K.* seyte saverdas (*tr.* ‘It taught the priests’). — 743 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xvi, 12) wenede. — 744 *K.* earma; *B.* incorrectly earma as *MS.* — 746 *MS.*, *Edd.* ge monetigað; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xvi, 12) ge mon cīgað. — 747 *MS.*, *Edd.* ond before þone.

ðone on fyrndagum    fæderas cūðon ;  
 hē Abrahāme    ond Isace  
 ond Iocōbe    gife bryttode,  
 welum weorðode,    wordum sægde 755  
 ærest Hābrahāme    æðeles gepingu,  
 þæt of his cynne    cenned sceolde  
 weorðan wuldres God.    Is sēo wyrd mid cōw  
 open, orgete ;    magan eagum nū  
 gescon sigores God,    swegles āgend. 760  
     “.Efter þyssum wordum    weorud hlosnode    [l. 39<sup>b</sup>]  
 geond þæt side sel,    swigodon calle.  
 Ða ða yldestan    eft ongunnon  
 secgan synfulle    (soð ne oncneowan),  
 þæt hit drȳcræftum    gedon wære, 765  
 scingelācum,    þæt se seȳna stān  
 mækle for mannum.    Man wrīdode  
 geond beorna breost,    brandhata nið  
 wēoll on gewitte,    weorm blædum fāg,  
 āttor ælfæle.    Þær orcnāwe [wearð] 770  
 purh teonewide    twēogende mōd,  
 mæga misgehygd    mordre bewunden.  
     “ Ða se peoden behead    prȳðweore faran,  
 stān [on] stræte    of stedewange,  
 ond forð gan    foldweg tredan, 775

754 *MS.* iocobe ; *Th.* iacobe ; *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* Jacobe ; *B.* Iacobe ; *W.* Iocobe. *Th.*,  
*Gn.* gyfe. — 756 *Gn.* Abrahame. — 758 *Aug.* as *MS.* ys ; but the reproduction reads  
 plainly is. — 759 *Gm.* note ongete. — 761 *K.* Æfer. — 769 *K.* fæg. — 770 *MS.*  
 ælfæle ; *B.* incorrectly as *MS.* alifæle ; *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Gn.* ælfæle ; *K.*, *B.* alfæle ; *B.*<sup>2</sup>  
 ælfæle ; *Gm.* note ælfæle ? ælealo ? ; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 13) citing Kern (*Tuulk. bijdr.*  
*i.* 206), ealfe[a]llo. *Th.*, *Gm.* note oncnawe. *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.* supply wearð after, *Gn.*,  
*W.* before, orcnawe ; *Th.* makes no addition to the text. In the *MS.* orcnawe stands  
 at the end of a line. — 772 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* misgehyd. — 774 *K.*, *Siev.* (*PBB.* x,  
 517). *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 13) stan [on] strate. In the *MS.* stan stands at the end of  
 a line. — 775 *MS.*, *Gm.*, *W.* forð gan ; *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.* forðgan ; *Siev.* (*PBB.* x,  
 477) would resolve the contraction.

grēne grundas,      Godes ærendu  
 larum lædan      on þa leodmeorce  
 to Channaneum,      cyninges worde  
 beodan Hābrahāme      mid his eaforum twām  
 of eorðscrafe      ærest fremman,      780  
 lætan landreste,      leoðo gadrigean,  
 gāste onfōn      ond geogodhade,  
 edniwinga      andweard cuman,  
 frole fyrnweotan,      folce gecyðan,  
 hwylene hie God mihtum      ongiten hæfdon.      785  
 Gewat hē þa feran,      swā him Frēa mihtig,  
 scyppend wera,      gescrifen hæfde,  
 ofer mearcwaðu,      þæt hē on Mambre becōm  
 beorhte blican,      swā him bebēad Meotud,  
 þær þā lichoman      lange prāge,      790  
 hēahfædera hrā,      beheled wæron.  
 Hēt þa ofstlice      ūp āstandan  
 Hābrahām ond Īsaac,      æðeling þridan  
 Iacōb of grēote      tō Godes geþinge,  
 snōcome of slāpe þām faestan;      hēt hīe tō þām sīðe gyrwan,      795  
 fāran tō Frēan dōme;      sceoldon hie þām folce gecyðan,  
 hwā æt frumsceaftē      furðum tēode  
 eorðan eallgrēne      ond ūpheofon,  
 hwær |se wealdend wære,      þe þæt weorc staðolade.      [f. 40<sup>a</sup>]  
 Ne dorston þā gelettan      leng ōwihte      800  
 wuldorcyniges word;      geweotan ðā ðā witigan prȳ

776 *Th.* incorrectly as *MS.* ærendu. — 779 *Gn.* Abrahame. — 780 *K.*, *Gn.* ærist.  
 — 782 *Trautmann* (*Kynewulf*, p. 29) would supply *ond before* gaste. *MS.*, *Edd.*  
*onfon*; *Sierr.* (*PBB.* v, 176) would give the uncontracted form. *K.* geogodhades;  
*Gn.* geogudhade. — 783 *K.* edniwinge. — 785 *Gn.* note god-mihtum? also *Spr.* ii,  
 802 without question. — 788 *Gn.* note, *K.* mearcwaðu; *Gn.* incorrectly ascribes -waðu  
 to *Gm.*, *K.* *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* Membre. — 790 *W.* after þær a second þær erased in  
 the *MS.* — 792 *K.* ofslīce. *Th.*, *K.*, *B.* upastandan. — 796 *Gm.* sceolden. — 798 *K.*  
 ealgrene. — 801 *K.* -ceyniges. *B.* geweoton, *B.*<sup>2</sup> geweotan.

mōdige mearcland tredan;    forlætan moldern wunigean  
 open eorðscrafu;    woldon hie ædre gecyðan  
 frumweorca fæder.    Þā þæt folc gewearð  
 egesan geaclod,    þær þā æðelingas    805  
 wordum weorðodon    wuldres aldor.  
 Hie ðā ricene hēt    rices hyrde  
 tō ceadwelan    oþre siðe  
 sēcan mid sybbe    swegles drēamas,  
 ond þæs tō wīdan fēore    willum nēotan.    810  
 “Nū ðū miht gehýran,    hyse lēofesta,  
 hū hē wundra worn    wordum cýðde,  
 swā þeah ne gelýfdon    lārum sinum  
 mōðblinde menn.    Ic wāt manig nū gýt  
 mycel mære spell,    ðe se māga fremede,    815  
 rodera rēdend,    ðā ðū āraefnan ne miht,  
 hreðre behabban,    hygeþances glēaw.”  
 Þus Andrēas    onðlangne dæg  
 herede hlēoðorewidum    hāliges lāre,  
 oððæt hine semninga    slæp ofercode    820  
 on hronrāde    heofoncynninge nēh.

## [VIII]

Ðā gelædan hēt    lifes brytta  
 ofer ýða geþræc    englās sīne,  
 fæðmum ferigean    on fæder wære  
 lēofne mid lissum    ofer lagufæsten,    825  
 oððæt sǣwērige    slæp ofercode.  
 Þurh lyftgelac    on land becwōm

802 *K.* forlæton, *Gn.* note forlēton. *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.* place wunigean in 803<sup>a</sup>; *Gn.*, *H.* in 802<sup>b</sup>. — 810 *MS.* plainly (so also *Nap.*) þæs; *Edd.* þær. — 814 *K.* men. — 819 *MS.* berede; so *Th.*, *H.*; *Nap.* as *MS.* herede; *Th.*, *B.*, *H.* berede; *Gm.*, *Gn.*, *C.* Bright (*MLN.* ii, 82), *Cos.* (*PBB.* xvi, 13) herede. — 826 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) -werge. — 827 *Gn.* lyft gelac, *Gm.*<sup>2</sup> lyftgelac.

to pære ceastre,	pe him cining engla	
. . . . .	. . . . .	
. . . . .	ða pa aras siðgean,	
eadige on upweg,	eðles neosan.	830
Leton pone halgan	be herestræte	
swefan on sybbe	under swegles hleo,	
hlðne hðan	burhwealle neh,	
his mðhetum,	nihtlangne fyrst,	
oðpæt Dryhten [forlet	ðagecandelle	[l. 40 <sup>b</sup> ] 835
scire seman.	Seeadu swederodon,	
wonn under wolenum.	Þa com wederes blæst,	
hador heofonleoma,	ofer hofu blican.	
Onwoc þa wiges heard,	wang secawode ;	
fore burggeatum	beorgas steape,	840
hleoðu hlfodon ;	ymbe harne stan	
tigelfagan trafu,	torras stodon,	
windige weallas.	Þa se wisa onencow,	
pæt he Marmedonia	mægðe hæfde	
siðe gesohte,	swa him sylf bebead,	845

828 *Th.*, after enclā, 'Some lines are wanting here, though there is no hiatus in the MS.' *Gm.*, *K.* leave space for one and a half lines after enclā. *Gm.* fills in as follows:

be him cyning engla  
[in Achaia      ær getacnode].  
[Gewiton] þa þa aras      [eft] siðigean, *etc.*

*W.* admits the break in the narrative but does not supply the omission. *C.* omits ll. 826–831, saying they 'are probably corrupt and are therefore omitted.' *B.*, alone sees no interruption of the narrative here; he arranges as follows:

be him cining engla þa þa  
aras siðigean eadige on upweg, eðles neosan.

*B.2 amends the second [a, l. 829<sup>b</sup>, to [per, and reads :*

engla þa þær            þe him cining  
                                 aras siðigean, *etc.*

*The hypothetical line following l. 828 is not counted in the line-numbering.*  
 838 MS. le<sup>a</sup>ma. — 841 MS. hleoðu, but Th. hleoðu; Gm., K., Gn., consequently,  
 hleoðum. — 843 MS. Edd. wis; Gm. note 'se vis fúr se visa?'

þa he him fore gescraf,    fæder mancyūnes.  
 Gesch he þa on greote    gingran sme,  
 beornas beaurofe,    bryhte him  
 swelan on sype.    He sona ongann  
 wigend weccan,    ond worde cwað :                      850  
 " Ic eow seegan mæg    soð orgete,  
 þæt us gystrandlage    on geofones stream  
 oter arwelan    ædeling ferede.  
 In þam eole was    cyninga wuldor,  
 waldend werðeode ;    ic his word onencow,                      855  
 þe he his mægwlite    bemiðen hæfde."  
 Him þa ædelingas    ondsweorodon,  
 geonge genewidum,    gastgerȳnum :  
 " We ðe, Andreas,    eade gecyðað  
 sið userne,    þæt ðu sylfa miht                      860  
 ongitan gleawlice    gastgehygdum.  
 Us sǣwerige    skǣp ofereode ;  
 þa comon earnas    ofer yða wylm  
 [ faran ] on flyhte,    feðerum hremige,  
 us ofskǣpendum    sawle abrugdon,                      865  
 mid gefean feredon    flyhte on lyfte,  
 brehtnum bliðe,    beorhte ond liðe ;  
 lissum lifodon    ond in lofe wunedon,  
 þær was singal smg    ond swegles gong,

840 *MS.*, *Aug.* þa he him; *T<sup>h</sup>*, þa him; *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.*, *W.* þam him; *Gm.* replaces þa þe and; *C.* changes þa (æa þam) to þa — when; *T<sup>h</sup>*, fore-gescraf; *Gm.*, *Gm.*, *C.* fore-gescraf; *Gm.<sup>2</sup>* (fore — *scraf*); *B.*, *W.* fore gescraf. — *Cos.* (*PRB.*, xxi, 13) supplies þa before fore. — 852 *MS.*, *T<sup>h</sup>*, *B.* gystrian; *Fid.* gystrian dæge, except *C.* gystrandlage. — 853 *MS.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.* weorðode; *T<sup>h</sup>*, suggests wei ðeode (*cf.* 538<sup>v</sup>), *Gm.*, weiþeoda, *W.*, *C.* weiðeode; *B<sup>2</sup>*, *W.* (*W.* V, ii, 82) weoroda. — 850 *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.* eade; *B<sup>2</sup>* eade. — 862 *Sav.* (*PRB.*, x, 400) sǣwerige. — 864 *MS.*, *T<sup>h</sup>*, *Gm.*, *B.*, *W.* wylm on flyhte, without break; *Gm.*, *C.* supply faran before on flyhte. — *Sav.* (*PRB.*, x, 450) hremige. — 865 *Fid.* of skǣpendum. — 867 *K.* brehtum. — 868 *T<sup>h</sup>*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gm.* hi for in. — 869 *C.* ond miswritten for geond?; but the *MS.* uses the customary abbreviation. — *Simons* (p. 131) suggests sweges for swegles.

wlitig weoroda heap      ond wuldres preat.      870  
 Utan ymbe æðelne      englas stodon,  
 þegnas ymb þeoden,      þusendmæðlum ;  
 heredon on hehðo      halgan stefne  
 dryhtna Dryhten ;      dream was on hyhte.  
 We ðær [heahfæderas      halige onencowon [f. 41<sup>v</sup>]      875  
 ond martyra      mægen unlytel ;  
 sungon sigedryhtne      soðfæstlic lof,  
 dugoð ðomgeorne.      Þær was Dauid mid,  
 eadig oretta,      Essages sumu,  
 for Crist cumen,      cining Israhēla ;      880  
 swylce we gesegon      for suna Meotudes,  
 æðelum eene,      eowic standan,  
 twelfe getealde,      tircadlige hæleð ;  
 eow þegnodon      þrymsittende,  
 hālige heahenglas ;      ðam bið hæleða well,      885  
 þe þāra blissa      brucan moton.  
 Þær was wuldres wynn,      wigendra þrym,  
 æðelic onginu ;      næs þær ænigum gewinn.  
 Þam bið wræcsið witod,      wite geopenad,  
 þe þāra [gefeana] sceal      fremde weorðan,      890  
 hean hwearfian,      þonne heonon gangap.”  
 Þa was modsefa      myclum geblissod  
 haliges on hreðre,      syðþan hleoðorewide  
 gingran gehyrdon,      þæt hie God wolde  
 onmunan swā mycles      ofer menn calle,      895  
 ond þæt word gecwæð      wigendra hleo :  
 “ Nū ic, God Dryhten,      ongiten hæbbe,  
 þæt ðu on faroðstræte      feor ne wære,  
 cyninga wuldur,      þa ic on ceol gestah,

871 *Th.* utan ymbe. - 874 *Simons* (*p.* 85) reads h̃yðe? - 889 *MS.* þe erased after  
 geopenad. - 890<sup>a</sup> *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *H.* insert gefeana after þāra, *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 82)  
 frean. *K.* seal. - 891 *Gn.* gangeð. - 894 *K.* gehyrde. - 899 *Gm.*, *K.* wuldor.

ðēh ic on ȳðfare, engla þcōden, 900  
gāsta gēocend, ongitan ne cūðe.

Weorð mē nū milde, Meotud ælmihtig,  
bliðe, beorht cyning! Ic on brimstrēame  
spræc worda worn, wāt æfter nū,  
hwā mē wyrðmyndum on wudubāte 905  
ferede ofer flōdas; þæt is frōfre gāst  
hæleða cynne. Þær is help gearu,  
milts æt mærum, manna gehwylcum,  
sigorspēd geseald, þām þe sēceð tō him."

Ðā him fore cagum onsȳne wearð 910  
æðeling oðȳwed in þā ilcan tid,  
cining cwicera gehwæs, þurh cnihtes hād;  
þā hē worde cwæð, wuldres aldor:  
"Wes ðū, Andrēas, hāl, mid þās willgedryht, [f. 41<sup>b</sup>]  
ferðgefeonde! Ic þē friðe healde, 915  
þæt þē ne mōton māngeniðlan,  
grame grynsmiðas, gāste gesceððan."

Fcōll þā tō foldan, frioðo wilnode  
wordum wīs hæleð, winedryhten frægn:  
"Hū geworhte ic þæt, waldend fira, 920  
synnig wið seolfne, sāwla nergend,  
þæt ic þē swā gōdne ongitan ne meahte  
on wægfare, þær ic worda gespræc,  
minra for Meotude, mā þonne ic sceolde?"

Him andswarode ealwaka God: 925  
"Nō ðū swā swiðe synne gefremedest,  
swā ðū in Achaia ondsæc dydest,  
ðæt ðū on feorwegas fēran ne cūðe

905 *Gn.* weorðmyndum. — 907 *MS.* þær<sup>is</sup> help. — 910 *Th.* on syne. *MS.*, *Th.* werð. — 915 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Gn.*, *W.* ferð gefeonde; but *W. l. 1584<sup>1</sup>* reads ferhðgefeonde. *Gn.* forð? for ferð. — 918 *K.* freoðo. — 925 *B.* ond-, *B.<sup>2</sup>* as *MS.* — 927 *MS.* ach<sup>a</sup>ia. — 928 *K.* feor wegas.



nē in þā ceastre    becuman mehte,  
 þing gehēgan    þrēora nihta    930  
 fyrstgemearces,    swā ic þē fēran hēt  
 ofer wēga gewinn.    Wāst nū þē gearwor,  
 þæt ic ēaðe mæg    ānra gehwylcne  
 fremman ond fyrþran    frēonda mīnra  
 on landa gehwyle,    þær mē lēofost bið.    935  
 Āris nū hrædlice,    ræd ædre ongit,  
 beorn gebledsod,    swā þē beorht fæder  
 geweorðað wuldorgifum    tō wīdan aldre,  
 cræfte ond mihte.    Ðū in þā ceastre gong  
 under burglocan,    þær þin brōðor is.    940  
 Wāt ic Māthēus    þurh mænra hand  
*hrincn* heorudolgum,    hēafodmāgan  
 searonettum beseted ;    þū hine sēcan scealt,  
 lēofne ālȳsan    of lādra hete  
 ond eal þæt mancynn,    þe him mid wunige,    945  
 elþeodigra    inwitwrasnum,  
 bealuwe gebundene.    Him sceal bōt hraðe  
 weorþan in worulde    ond in wuldre lēan,  
 swā ic him sylfum ær    secgende wæs.

## [IX]

“[Nū ðū, Andrēas, scealt    ēdre genēðan    [f. 42<sup>a</sup>] 950  
 in gramra gripe ;    is þē gūð weotod,  
 heardum heoruswengum    scel þin hrā dæled

929 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.* mehte ; *B.*<sup>2</sup> mehte. — 932 *Gm.*, *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> wega. — 942 *MS.*,  
*Edd.* hrinan. *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.* magū, *i.e.* magum ; *B.*, *W.* magu ; *Gm. note*, *K.*,  
*Gn.* magan. — 943 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.* mettum, *Gm. note*, *Edd.* nettum. — 945 *K.*  
*manegu for mancynn.* — 946 *K.* ælþeodigra. — 947 *Sicv.* (*PBB.* x, 459) gebundne ;  
*Holthausen* (*PBB.* xvii, 550) gebunden. — 949 *Nap.* at lower edge of f. 41<sup>b</sup> the  
 word eadgip, afterwards erased. — 952 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.* sceal. *MS.*, *Edd.* dælan ;  
*Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xvi, 13) dæled.

wundum weorðan,      wættre geliccost  
 faran flōde blōd.      Hie þin feorh ne magon  
 dēaðe gedælan,      þeh ðū drype ðolie,      955  
 synnigra slege.      Ðū þæt sār āber;  
 ne læt þē ahweorfan      hǣðenra þrym,  
 grim gārgewinn,      þæt ðū Gode swice,  
 Dryhtne þinum.      Wes ā dōmes georn;  
 læt ðē on gemyndum,      hū þæt manegum wearð      960  
 fira gefrēge      geond feala landa,  
 þæt mē bysmredon      bennum fæstne  
 weras wansælige; wordum tyrgdon,  
 slōgon ond swungon;      synnige ne mihton  
 purh sārwide      sōð gecyðan.      965  
 Þā ic mid lūdēum      gealgan þehte  
 (rōd wæs āræred),      þær rinca sum  
 of minre sidan      swāt üt forlēt,  
 drēor tō foldan.      Ic ādrēah feala  
 yrmþa ofer eorðan;      wolde ic ēow on ðon      970  
 purh bliðne hige      bysne onstellan,  
 swā on ellþode      ywed wyrðeð.  
 Manige syndon      in þysse mæran byrig,  
 þāra þe ðū gehweorfest      tō heofonlcohte  
 purh minne naman,      þeah hie morðres feala      975  
 in fyrndagum      gefremed habban."  
 Gewāt him þā se hālgā      heofonas sēcan,  
 eallra cyninga cining,      þone clænan hām,  
 ēaðmēdum upp;      þær is ār gelang  
 fira gehwylcūm,      þām þe hie findan cann.      980  
     Ðā wæs gemyndig      mōdgeþyldig,  
 beorn beaduwe heard;      ēode in burh hraðe

953 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.* gelicost. — 956 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr.* ii, 455 slage. —  
 962 *Gn.* hu me; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> þæt me. *Gn.*, *W.* bendum. — 963 *Siet.* (*PBB.* x, 460) sælge.  
 — 970 *Gm.* omits ic. — 971 *Gn.* bysen. — 972 *Gm.* yweð. — 976 *K.* habben.

anræd ðretta, elne gefyrðred,  
 mæga mōde rōf, Meotude getrēowe,  
 stōp on stræte (stig wisode), 985  
 swā him nænig gumena ongitan ne mihte,  
 [synfulra gesēon. Hæfde sigora weard [f. 42<sup>b</sup>]  
 on pām wangstede wære betolden  
 lēofne lēodfruman mid lofe sīnum.  
 Hæfde pā se æðeling in geþrunen, 990  
 Crīstes cempa, carcerne nēh.  
 Gesēh hē hāðenra hlōð ætgædere,  
 fore hlindura hyrdas standan,  
 seofone ætsomne. Ealle swyrt fornam,  
 druron dōmlēase; dēaðræs forfēng 995  
 hæleð *heorodrōrige*. Ðā se hālga gebæd  
 bilwyrtne fæder, brēostgehygdum  
 herede on hēhðo heofoncyniges [þrym],  
 Godes dryhtendōm. Duru sōna onarn  
 þurh handhrine hāliges gāstes, 1000  
 ond þær in cōde, elnes gemyndig,  
 hæle hildedēor; hāðene swāfon,  
 drēore druncne, dēaðwang rudon.  
 Gesēh hē Māthēus in pām morðorcofan,  
 hæleð higerōfne under heolstorlocan, 1005  
 secgan Dryhtne lof, dōmweorðinga

986 *Gn.* note hine for him. — 987 *B.* ond synfulra; *B.*<sup>2</sup> omits ond. — 990 *Edd.* ingeþrunen. — 996 *MS.*, *B.* deorig; *Edd.* dreorig. — 998 *MS.* heofoncyniges gōd dryhten dom with no indication of an omission. *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* god dryhten dom; *B.*, *H.* dryhtendom; *Gn. Nachtr.*, *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> godes dryhtendom? so also *Spr.* i, 208, adding 'weol kaum god-dryhten-dom.' *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 13) heofoncyniges þrym, dryhtendom godes; or heofonrices god, dryhtnes ecne dom? *Simons* (p. 28) for dryhtendom reads in dryhtnes domas (gōd evidently intended to follow heofoncyniges in 998<sup>a</sup>). *Buttenwieser* (p. 46) heofoncyniges þrym, dryhtlic dom godes. — 999 *K.* dura. — 1000 *MS.*, *Th.* hanhrine. — 1001 *Edd.*, except *K.*, ineode. — 1003 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 13) beore for dreore. *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.* deað wangrudon; *K.* deaðwang ridon.

engla ðeodne.    Hē ðær āna sæt  
 geohðum gēomor    in þām gnornhofe ;  
 geseh þā under swegle    swæsne gefēran,  
 hālig hāligne ;    hyht wæs genīwad. 1010  
 Arās þā tōgēnes,    Gode þancade,  
 þæs ðe hie onsunde    æfre mōston  
 gesēon under sunnan.    Syb wæs gemæne  
 bām þām gebrōðrum,    blis ednīwe ;  
 æghwæðer oðerne    earme beþehte, 1015  
 cyston hie ond clypton.    Criste wæron bēgen  
 lēofe on mōde ;    hie lēoht ymbscān  
 hālig ond heofontorht ;    hreðor innan wæs  
 wynnum āwelled.    Þā worde ongan  
 ærest Andrēas    æðelne gefēran 1020  
 on clustorcleofan    mid cwide sinum  
 grētan godfyrhtne ;    sǣde him gūðgeðingu,  
 feohtan fāra monna :    “ Nū is þin folc on luste,  
 hǣleð hyder on    .    .    .

\* \* \*

.    .    .    [gewyrht    eardes nēosan.” [f. 43<sup>a</sup>] 1025

After þyssum wordum    wuldres þegnas,  
 bēgen þā gebrōðor,    tō gebede hyklon,  
 sendon hira bēne    fore bearn Godes.  
 Swylce se hālga    in þām hearmlocan  
 his God grētte    ond him gēoce bǣd, 1030  
 Hǣlend helpe,    ær þan hrā crunge  
 fore hǣðenra    hildeþrymme,  
 ond þā gelǣdde    of leoðobendum

1008 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* geohðum ; *Gn.* note, *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 500) geohðum. *K.* im.  
 — 1009 *Gm.*, *K.* þær for þa. — 1012 *K.* þæt for þæs. — 1018 *K.* hreðer. — 1019 *B.*,  
*W.* winnum. — 1022 *Gm.* gedingu, corrected on f. 182. — 1023 *Edd.*, *Nap.* a folio  
 excised after f. 42. *K.* indicates a break in the sense both before and after gewyrht.  
 — 1030 *MS.* grete. — 1031 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* ærþon. *MS.* crung; *W.* as *MS.* crung,  
 corrected *Nachtr.* f. 504. — 1032 *Gm.* hilde þrymme.

fram þām fæstenne      on frið Dryhtnes  
 tū ond hundtēontig      geteled rime,      1035  
 swylce feowertig,  
 generede fram niðe      (þær hē nænigne forlēt  
 under burglocan      bennum fæstne),  
 ond þær wifa þā gýt,      weorodes tō ēacan,  
 ānes wana þe fiftig      1040  
 forhte gefreoðode.      Fægen wāron siðes,  
 lungre lēorlan,      nālās leng bidon  
 in þām gnornhofe      gūðgeþingo.  
 Gewāt þā Māthēus      menigo lēdan  
 on gehyld Godes,      swā him se hālga bebēad;      1045  
 weorod on wilsīð      wolcnum beþehte,

1036 *MS.* swylce feowertig generede *etc.* with no indication of omission. *Th.* after feowertig 'a line [*i.e.* a half-line, for which he leaves space] is wanting'; *Gm.*, *K.* as *Th.*; *Gn.* inserts eac feorcundra to complete the line. *B.* arranges:

swylce feowertig      generede fram niðe.  
 þær he nænige forlēt      under burglocan  
 bennum fæstne on,      þær wifa þa gyt  
 weorodes to-eacan,      anes wana fiftig  
 forhte gefreoðode.

*W.* reads:

swylce seofontig  
 generede fram niðe:      þær he nænigne forlēt  
 under burglocan      bendum fæstne,  
 ond þær wifa þa gyt      weorodes to eacan  
 anes wana . . .      þe fiftig  
 forhte gefreoðode.

*Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 13) swylce feowertig [eac feorrancumene]. See *Notes*.—1037 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.* nænige.—1038 *Th.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *W.* bendum.—1039 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *B.* on for ond; *Gm.* note ond; *K.* ne. *K.*, *B.* to-eacan.—1040 *MS.*, with no indication of omission, anes wana þe fiftig; anes ends a line, wana begins following line; *W.* incorrectly, 'wana þe fiftig mitten in der Zeile.' *Th.*, after wana, 'the want of connection in the sense and of alliteration shows that this part of the *MS.* is very defective'; *Gm.* and *K.* suppose that more than one line is wanting. *Gn.* omits þe and supplies ealra, reading anes wana ealra fiftig, *etc.* For *B.* and *W.* cf. above, l. 1036 ff.; *B.*2, changing þær to þæm, 1039<sup>1</sup>, reads anes wana orwyrþe fiftig *etc.* *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 14) anes wana efne fiftig, but considers the first half-line still defective.

þe læs him scyldhatan    scyððan comon  
 mid earhfare,    ealdgemðlan.  
 Þær þa modigan mid him    mædel gehedan,  
 treowgeþoftan,    ær hie on tu hweorfan ;    1050  
 ægðer þara eorla    oðrum trymede  
 heofonrices hyht,    helle witu  
 wordum werede.    Swa ða wigend mid him,  
 hæleð higerofe,    halgum stefnum  
 cempa coste    cyning weorðadon,    1055  
 wyrda waldend,    þæs wuldres ne bið  
 æfre mid eldum    ende befangen.

## [X]

Gewat him þa Andreas    inn on ceastre  
 glædmod gangan,    to þæs ðe he gramra gemōt,  
 fara fole mægen,    gefrægen hæfde,    [f. 43<sup>b</sup>] 1060  
 oððæt he gemette    be mearepæde  
 standan stræte neah    stapul ærenne.  
 Gesæt him þa be healfre,    hæfde hluttre lufan,  
 ece upgemynd    engla blisse ;  
 þanon basnode    under burhlocan,    1065  
 hwæt him gudweorca    gifeðe wurde.  
 Þa gesamnedon    side herigeas,  
 folces frumgaras ;    to þam fæstenne  
 wærleasra werod    wæpnum comon,  
 hāwne hildfrecan,    to þæs þa hæftas ær    1070  
 under blinseuwan    hearm þrowedon.  
 Wendan ond woldon,    wiðerhygende,  
 þæt hie on elpeodigum    æt geworhton,

1047 *Gn.* þy. — 1050 *Gn.* hi. — 1055 *K.* weorðodon. — 1058 *T.* inn-on. — 1059  
*T.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* as *MS.* gangen, *text* gangan. — 1064 *MS.* ece; cf. 637<sup>a</sup> ; *Edd.* ece.  
 — 1070 *K.* be for þa. — 1072 *T.* hygende. — 1073 *Siv.* (*PBB.* x, 400) -þeodgum.

weotude wiste;    him sēo wēn gelāh,  
 syððan mid corðre    carcernes duru    1075  
 eorre æscherend    opene fundon,  
 onhliden hamera geweorc,    hyrdas dēade.  
 Hie þā unhȳðige    eft gecyrdon,  
 luste belorene,    lāðspell beran;  
 sægdon þām folce,    þæt ðær feorrcundra,    1080  
 ellreordigra,    ænigne tō lāfe  
 in carcerne    cwicne ne gemetton,  
 ah þær heorodrēorige    hyrdas lāgan,  
 gāesne on grēote,    gāste berofene,  
 fægra flāschaman.    þā wearð forht manig    1085  
 for þām færspele    folces rāswa,  
 hēan, hygegeōmor,    hungres on wēnum,  
 blātes bēodgastes.    Nyston beteran rāð,  
 þonne hie þā belidenan    him to lifnere,  
 [dēade] gefeormedon;    duruþegnum wearð    1090  
 in āne tīd    eallum ætsomne  
 purh heard gelāc    hildbedd stȳred.  
       Ðā ic lungre gefrægn    lēode tōsomne  
 burgwaru bannan;    beornas cōmon,  
 wiggendra prēat,    wicgum gangan,    1095

1074 *Gm.*, *Ettm.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *B.*, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 14) geleah; *B.*<sup>2</sup> gelah. — 1075 *K.* dura. — 1078 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Ettm.*, *K.*, *Gn.* unhydige; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> hyðige; *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) -hyðge. — 1079 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Gn.*, *W.* lað spell; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> laðspell. — 1080 *Holthausen* (*PBB.* xvi, 550) supplies hie = eos before ðær. — 1081 *Ettm.* elreordigra. *W.* ænig ne to lafe; *Siev.* (*PBB.* xvi, 550) æn(i)ge to lafe, in carcerne, cwic ne gemetton. — 1082 *MS.* cwicne gemette, not as *W.* states cwic ne gemette; *Th.* as *MS.*; *Th.* note, *K.* cwicne ne metton; *Gm.*, *Ettm.*, *B.* cwicne ne gemetton; *Gn.* cwic ne gemetton; *Pegatscher* (*Anglia* xviii, 298) cwicne ne gemette; *W.* cwic ne gemette. — 1083 *K.* ac. *Gn.* omits þær; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> restores the word. *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) -dreorge. *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* lægon. — 1087 *Th.*, *Gm.* hyge geomor. — 1088 *K.* beodgāstes. — 1089 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.* behlidenan; *Gm.* note, *Ettm.*, *Gn.*, *W.*; *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 82) belidenan. — 1090 *Ettm.*, *Gn.*, *W.* supply deade before gefeormedon; *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 517) characterizes the line thus emended as metrically imperfect; *Holthausen* (*Anglia* xviii, 357) deade dryht gefeormedon. See Notes. — 1093 *Gm.* to somne. — 1095 *K.* wiggum. *Ettm.* gangan.

on mēarum mōdlice,    mæðelhēgende,  
 æscum dealle.    Þa was eall geador  
 to þam þingstede    þeod gesamnod ;  
 leton him þa betwconum    | tȃn wisian,    [f. 44<sup>a</sup>]  
 hwylene hira ærest    oðrum sceolde    1100  
 tō foddurpege    feores ongyldan ;  
 hluton helleraeftum,    hāðengildum  
 teledon betwimum.    Ða se tȃn gehwearf  
 efne ofer ænne    ealdgesiða,  
 sē was uðweota    eorla dugōðe,    1105  
 heriges on ore.    Hraðe siððan wearð  
 fetorwrasnum fæst,    feores orwena.  
 Cleopode þa collenferhð    cearegan reorde,  
 cwæð hē his sylfes sunu    syllan wolkle  
 on æhtgeweald,    eaforan geongne,    1110  
 lifes to lisse ;    hie ða læc hraðe  
 þegon to pance.    Þeod wæs oflysted,  
 metes modgeomre,    næs him tō mādme wynn,  
 hyht to hordgestrēonum ;    hungre wæron  
 þearle gepreatod,    swa se ðeodsceaða    1115  
 reow ricsode.    Þa was rinc manig,  
 guðfree guma,    ymb þæs geongan feorh  
 breostum onbryrdeð.    To þām beadulāce  
 was þæt weatacen    wide gefrēge,  
 geond þa burh bodad    beorne manegum,    1120  
 þæt hie þæs enihtes cwealm    corðre gesohton,  
 duguðe ond cogode,    dæl onfengon  
 lifes to leofne.    Hie lungre to þæs,  
 hāðene herigweardas,    here samnodan

1096 *T.*, *Gm.*, *Elfm.* mæðel hegende. — 1099 *Gn.* omits þa. *MS.* tȃ an, the first word on f. 44<sup>a</sup> ; *Edd.* tȃn, except *W.* tȃan. — 1100 *K.* suna. — 1110 *MS.* geone. — 1110 *MS.*, *Edd.* hreow, except *Gm.*, *Sicv.* (*PBB.* ix, 257) reow. *Gm.* ring. — 1110 *Elfm.* gefrage. — 1123 *Gn.* hi. — 1124 *K.* heargweardas.



ceastrewarena; cym upp astah. 1125

Da se geonga ongann geomran stefne,  
 gehæfted for herige, hearmleoð galan,  
 freonda feascraft, frīdes wilnian;  
 ne mihte earnsceapen are findan,  
 freoðe æt þam folce, þe him feores wolde, 1130  
 ealdres geunnan; hæfdon aglācan  
 sæcere gesohte; sceolde sweordes |eeg, [f. 44<sup>b</sup>]  
 scerp ond searheard, of sceaðan folme,  
 fyrmælum fag, feorh aesignan.

Da þæt Andrea earmlic puhte, 1135  
 þeodbealo þearlic to geðolianne,  
 þæt he swa unscyldig ealdre sceolde  
 lungre linnan. Was se leodhete  
 [prist ond] þrothheard; þrymman sceocan,  
 modige maguþegnas, morðres on luste; 1140  
 woldon æninga, ellenrofe,  
 on þam hysebeorðre heafolan gesecean,  
 garum agetan. Hine God forstod,  
 halig of helðo, hāðenum folce;  
 het wæpen wera wexe gehcost 1145  
 on þam orlege eall formeltan;  
 þȳ læs scyldhatan sceoððan mihton,  
 egle ondsacan, eega pryðum.  
 Swa wearð alȳsed of leodhete,  
 geong of gyrene. Gode ealles þanc, 1150

1125 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *B.* ceastre warena; *K.* ceasterwarena. — 1127 *K.* gehæfted.  
 1129 *Th.* miht. 1130 *Gm.* note freoðe? *Eltm.* note nolde? 1133 *Gm.* scearp.  
*Gm.* *Nachtr.* fæðme for folme? — 1134 *Gm.* fah. 1139 *MS.* þrothheard þrym  
 man with no indication of omission; *B.*, *W.* as *MS.*; *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.* indicate the  
 omission of one or more words after þrothheard; *Eltm.*, *Gm.* and þearlic after  
 þrothheard; *Gm.*<sup>2</sup>, *Cos.* (*PBB.* AAI, 15) þearl and before þrothheard. *W.* calls atten-  
 tion to 1261<sup>f</sup>. *Eltm.* þrymman. 1141 *Gm.* note hyse corðre? — 1143 *Gm.*, *K.*,  
*Eltm.* agetan. 1147 *Cos.* (*PBB.* AAI, 15) supplies him before scyldhatan. *MS.*  
*Edd.* sceaðan; *Siev.* (*PBB.* A, 517), *Cos.* (*PBB.* AAI, 15) sceoððan.

dyhtna Dyhtne,    þæs ðe he dōm gifeð  
 gūmena gehwyleum,    para þe geoce to him  
 seceð mid snytrum :    þær bið symle gearu  
 treod unhwilen,    þam þe he findan eann.

## [XI]

    Þa wæs wop hæfen    in wera burgum,                    1155  
 hlud heriges cyrum ;    hreopon friccan,  
 mændon meteleaste,    meðe stodon,  
 hungre gehafte.    Hornsalu wunedon,  
 weste winæced,    welan ne benohton  
 beornas to brucanne    on þa bitran tid ;                    1160  
 gesæton searwancle    sundor to rime  
 eorðu ealhtigan :    næs him to eðle wynn.

    Fregn þa gelome    freca oðerne :  
 " Ne hele se ðe hæbbe    holde lare,  
 on sefan snyttro !    Nu is sæl cūmen,                    1165  
 þrea ormete ;    is nu þearf mycel,  
 þæt we wislestra    wordum hyran."

    Þa for þære dugode    deoful atȳwde,                    [f. 45<sup>a</sup>]  
 wann ond witeleas,    hæfde weriges hwi.  
 Ongan þa meldigan    morþres brytta,                    1170  
 hellehinea,    þone halgan wer  
 widerhyegende,    ond þæt word gecwæð :  
 " Her is gefered    ofer feorne weg  
 æðelinga sum    innan eastre,  
 ellfeodigra,    þone ic Andreas                    1175

1151 *Gm.* gifeð. — 1154 *MS.*, *T.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ffms.*, *Gm.*, *B.* freond ; *Gm.* Nachtr., *Gm.*, *H.* treod. — *B.* hine to hie. *K.* eann. — 1156 *Gm.*, *Ffms.* hreopun. — 1159 *Gm.* ( *also in Ffms. p. 111 v. 11* ), *Ffms.*, *Gm.* winæced ; *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.* winæced.

1160 *MS.*, (*Ffms.*, v. 182) brucan. — 1163 *Ffms.* frægn. — 1165 *T.*, synttio. — 1166 *Ffms.* witeleas. — *Ffms.* weriges ; *Gm.* *Na. Tr.*, *Gm.* weriges ? — 1171 *T.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Gm.*, *B.* helle hinea ; *Gm.* *note*, *Ffms.*, *Gm.*, *H.* hellehinea. — 1173 *Gm.* ist. *Gm.*, *Gm.* getered. — 1175 *Ffms.* ellfeodigra.

nemnan heide ;    he cow nean geseccod,  
 ða he aferede    of fastenne  
 manneynes ma    þonne gemet wære.  
 Nu ge magon eadæ    oncyððæda  
 wrecan on gewyrhtum ;    lætað [wāpnæs] spor,    1180  
 iren ecgheard,    ealdorgeard sceoran,  
 fæges feorhhord ;    gað fromlice,  
 þæt ge wiðerfeohtend    wiges gehnægan.”  
      Him þā Andreas    agef ondsware :  
 “ Hwæt ! ðu þristlice    peode lærest,    1185  
 bældest to beadowe.    Wæst þe bæles cwealm,  
 hatne in helle,    ond þu here fysest,  
 feðan to gefeohte ;    eart ðu fag wið God,  
 dugoda demend.    Hwæt ! ðu deofles stræl,  
 icest þine yrnðo ;    ðe se ælmihtiga    1190  
 heanne gehnægde,    ond [on] heolstor besceaf,  
 þær þe cyninga cining    clamme belegde,  
 ond þe syððan a    Satan nemdon,  
 ða ðe Dryhtnes a    deman cuðon.”  
      Ðā gýt se wiðermedla    wordum lærde    1195  
 folc to gefeohte,    feondes cræfte :  
 “ Nu ge gehýrað    hæleða gewinnan,  
 sē dyssum herige mæst    hearma gefremede.  
 Ðæt is Andreas,    se me on fliteð  
 wordum wræthlicum    for wera menigo.”    1200

1177 *Gm.*, *K.* aferede. — 1178 *Gm.* manneynes. — 1180 *MS.* gwyrrhtum; *Edd.* gewyrhtum; *Holthausen* (*PBB.* xvi, 551), *Simons*, s. v. gewyrhtan. *MS.* lætað spor; *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.* indicate an omission before spor but do not attempt to supply it; *Eltm.* wigspere for spor; *Gm.* wapna spor; *B.* nu spor; *W.* wapnes spor.

1181 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Gm.*, *B.*, *W.* eadorgeard; *Eltm.* eodorgeard; *K.*, *Nap.* (*Anglia* iv, 411) independently ealdorgeard. — 1182 *Gm.* feorhhord. 1184 *Eltm.* ageaf. — 1186 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Eltm.* bealdest. *K.* wast. — 1190 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) ælmihtiga. — 1191 *Gm.*<sup>2</sup>, *Ces.* (*PBB.* xxi, 16) supply on before heolstor; *Gm.* *Spr.* i, 93 as *MS.* — 1192 *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.* se for þe; *Eltm.* þær þe se; *B.*<sup>2</sup> as *MS.* — 1193 *MS.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *B.* Sata. *Gm.*, *Eltm.*, *K.*, *B.* nemdon; *B.*<sup>2</sup> nemdon. — 1194 *K.* æ. — 1198 *Eltm.* þisum. — 1199 *Edd.* onfliteð, except *Gm.*, *W.* on fliteð.



Hēton þā lēðan ofer landsceare,  
 ðrāgmælum teon, torngeniðlan, 1230  
 swā hie hit frecnost findan meahton.  
 Drogon deormodne after dunscreafum,  
 ymb stānhleoðo stærcedferhþne,  
 efne swā wide swā wegas to lāgon,  
 enta ærgeweorc, innan burgum, 1235  
 stræte stānfāge. Storm upp arās  
 after ceasterhofum, eirm unlytel  
 hāðnes heriges. Wæs þæs hālgan līc  
 sārbennum soden, swāte bestemed,  
 bānhūs ābrocen; blod yðum wēoll, 1240  
 hātan heolfre. Hæfde him on innan [f. 46<sup>a</sup>]  
 ellen untwēonde; wæs þæt æðele mod  
 āsundrad fram synnum, þeah he sāres swā feala  
 dēopum dolgslegum drēogan sceolde.  
 Swā wæs ealne dæg, oððæt æfen cōm, 1245  
 sigetorht swungen; sār eft gewōd  
 ymb þæs beornes brēost, oððæt beorht gewāt  
 sunne swegeltorht tō sete glīðan.  
 Lēððan þā lēode lāðne gewinnan  
 tō carcerne; hē wæs Crīste swā þeah 1250  
 lēof on mōde; him wæs lēoht sefa  
 halig heortan nēh, hīge untyddre.

1229 *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 16) supplies line before þa. — 1230 *Gu.*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr.* u, 550 *tragmaelum*; *K.* þrægmaelum. — 1232 *MS.*, *Edd.* deormode; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 16) deormodne. — 1232 *Ettm.* dunscreafum. — 1233 *MS.* stærcedferhþe; *Th.*, *Gu.*, *B.*, *W.* stærcedferhþe; *Gm.*, *Ettm.* stærcedferhðe; *K.* stærcedferðe; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 16) stærcedferhþne. — 1234 *Th.*, *B.* tolagon; *K.* tolagon. — 1236 *Ettm.* up. — 1241 *MS.*, *Edd.* hat of heolfre, except *Gu.* hātan heolfre; *Gu.*<sup>2</sup> as *MS.*; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 16) hat of hreþre. *Th.* on innan. — 1242 *MS.*, *Edd.* untweodne, except *Gu.*, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 16) untweonde; *Gu.*<sup>2</sup> as *MS.* — 1243 *Ettm.* feola. — 1246 *MS.*, *Edd.* sigetorht, except *Ettm.*, *Gu.*, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 16) sigetorht. *Gu.* oft. — 1252 *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 82) would omit neh. *Gu.* untydre; *Gm.* nēh untedre.

## [XII]

Ða se halga was — under heofotorscuman,  
 eorl ellenheand, — ondlangne niht  
 searofancum beseted, — swa weorðan hand 1255  
 wintergeworpan, — weder coledon  
 heandum hagebennum, — swylce him ond forst,  
 hanc hildstapan, — hæleða eðel  
 heom, heora gesetu — Land waron freong  
 cealum cylegiclum, — clung wæteres fym 1260  
 ofer eastrummas, — e brycgade  
 blæce binnade, — Blisheort winode  
 eorl unfotcud, — elnes gemyndig,  
 prest ond prohtheand, — in premedum,  
 wintercealdan niht, — no on gewitte blen, 1265  
 acol for pyrgesam, — þas þe he ar ongann,  
 þæt he a domlicost — Drihten herede,  
 weorðade wordum, — eððæt wuldres gum  
 heofontorht enhlid — Ða com hæleða preat  
 to ðære dunnan clung, — clungð unlytel, 1270  
 wadan wælgitric — weorodes bichtme,  
 Heton ut hæðe — æðeling ladan  
 in wraðra gewæld, — wæstasne hæleð,  
 Ða was eft swa æt — ondlangne dag [1. 40<sup>b</sup>]  
 swungen saeslegum, — swat æðum weoll 1275  
 purh bancolan, — blodlitum swealg,  
 hatan heollre, — hita weorces ne sam,  
 winnum weng — Ða cwom wopes hring

1254. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*

1255. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1256. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1257. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1258. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1259. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1260. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1261. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1262. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1263. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1264. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1265. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1266. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1267. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1268. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1269. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1270. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1271. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1272. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1273. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1274. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1275. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1276. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1277. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1278. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1279. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1280. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1281. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1282. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1283. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1284. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1285. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1286. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1287. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1288. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1289. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1290. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1291. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1292. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1293. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1294. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1295. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1296. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1297. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1298. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1299. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*  
 1300. 1. S. A. *weorðan* 2. S. A. *weorðan* 3. S. A. *weorðan* 4. S. A. *weorðan*

purh þæt beornes breost,    blāt ut laran,  
 weoll waduman stream,    ond he worde cweð    1230  
 "Geseoh nu, Dryhten God,    drohtiað minne,  
 weoruda willgeola!"    þu wast ond const  
 ana gehwylces    eartleðaðas,  
 Ic gelyte to ðe,    min liftruma,  
 þæt ðu midheort me    for þinum margenapodum,    1235  
 neurgend lra,    nahtre wille,  
 ece schultig,    anforðetan,  
 swa ic þæt gehenne,    þenden feorh leolað,  
 min on moldan,    þæt ic, meotud, þinum  
 lrum leofwendum    lyt geawice.    1240  
 þu eart gecyðlend    wið secaðan warþum,  
 ece eadluma,    eallum þinum;  
 ne læt nu bysnum    banan mannesynes,  
 laenes trumbearn,    purh feondes craft  
 leahtum beleggum    þa þu lof beað."    1245  
 Ða ðær setywe    se atola gæd,  
 wiað wartloga,    wrgend leude  
 for þam heremægene    helle dloful  
 aweiged in witum,    ond þæt word gecwæð.  
 "Sleað synnigne    ofer scollas mūd,    1250  
 folces gewinnan,    nu to feala reordap!"  
 þa was ordege    eft onfured,  
 niwan stefne,    mō upp aras,  
 oþðæt sunne gewat    to sete glidan  
 under niðan næs,    niht helmaðe,    1255  
 brunwunn oferbræd    beorgas steape,

1239 *Th*, *B* utlran 1231 *K*, *Uth* waht 1236 *MS* wille, *Vaf* wæll  
 edited from *n*. 1239 *MS*, *B* gecyðed 1243 *Gm*, *K*, *Uth* man 1243  
*Uth* deoful 1244 *Uth* on þu in 1246 *Uth* sylle 1247 *Uth* beola  
*Gm* reordad, *Gm*? reordad 1248 *MS* þa *H* Ða 1249 *Uth* up 1250 *Th*,  
*Gm*, *K* brunwunn *Uth* oferbræd

ond se hālga wæs      tō hofe lāded,  
 dēor ond domgeorn,      in þæt dimme ræced :  
 sceal þonne in neadcofan      nihtlangne fyrst  
 wærfæst winian      wic unsyfre. 1310  
 Þā cōm seofona sum      tō sele geongan,  
 atol æglæca      yfela gemyndig, [f. 47<sup>A</sup>]  
 mōdres mǣnfrēa      myrce gescyrded,  
 dēoful deaðrēow      duguðum bereafod  
     Ongan þā þām halgan      hospword sprecan : 1315  
 “ Hwæt hogodest ðū, Andrēas,      hiderecyme þinne  
 on wraðra gewæld?      Hwær is wuldor þin,  
 þe ðū oferhigdum      upp ārærddest,  
 þā ðū goda ūssa      gild gehnægdest?  
 Hafast nū þē anum      eall getihhad 1320  
 land ond lēode,      swā dyde lārcow þin  
 (cyneþrym āhōf),      þām wæs Crist nama  
 ofer middangeard,      þynden hit meahte swā :  
 pone Hērōdes      ealdre besnyðede,  
 forcom æt campe      cyning Iudea, 1325  
 rices beræddle,      ond hine rode befealg,  
 þæt he on gealgan      his gāst onsende.  
 Swā ic nū belēode      bearnum minum,  
 pegnum prýðfullum,      ðæt hie ðe hnægen,  
 gingran æt gūðe.      I.ætað gāres ord, 1330

1308 *MS.* plainly deor; so *Th.*, *Nap.*, and *Edd.* except *W.*, *B.*, as *MS.* and in *text.* deop. — 1309 *Gn.* sceolde. — 1311 *Ettm.* gangan. — 1313 *Gn.*, *Spr.* 1, 449 gescryded, *vestitus?* or gescyrtd? *Trautmann (in Simons s. 75)* gescyrded = gescynded — gescended *confusus?* — 1315 *Gm.*, *K.* ongan to þam. *Ettm.* ongann to þam. — 1316 *Sacr.* (*PBB.* xii, 478) omits Andreas. — 1317 *MS.*, *Edd.* hwæt. *Gn.* note hwæt? *W.* incorrectly refers *Gn.*'s note to hwæt. 1310<sup>1</sup>. — 1318 *Ettm.* up. — 1319 *MS.*, *Edd.* gilp; *Gn.* note gild? *Bugge (PBB.* xii, 95), *Blount* gild. — 1320 *Gn.* *Nacht.* Hafast þu. not repeated in *Gn.*2. — 1323 *Ettm.*, *Gn.*, *W.* þenden. — 1324 *Gn.* Erodēs. — 1329 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.* hnægon; *Ettm.*, *Gn.* hnægan.



earh ættre gemæġ,     in gedūfan  
 in fāges ferð;     gād fromlice,  
 ðæt ge guðfrecan     gylp forbēgan."

Hie wāeron rēowe,     rāesdon on sōna  
 gifrum grāpum;     hine God forstōd,     1335  
 staðulfæst steorend,     þurh his strangan miht.  
 Syððan hie onencowon     Cristes rōde  
 on his mægwlite,     mære tacen,  
 wurdon hie ða æcle     on þām onfenge,  
 forhte, afærde,     ond on flēam numen.     1340  
 Ongan eft swā ær     ealdgeniðla,  
 helle hæftling,     hearmlēoð galan:  
 "Hwæt wearð ēow swā rōfum,     rincas mine,  
 lindgesteallan,     þæt ēow swā lýt gespēow?"  
 [Him þā] earmsceapen     āgef ondsware,     1345  
 fāh fyrensceapa,     ond his fæder oncwæð:  
 "Ne [magan wē him lungre     lāð ætfæstan,     [f. 47<sup>b</sup>]  
 swilt þurh scarwe;     gā þē sylfa tō!  
 Þær þū gegninga     gūde findest,  
 frēcne feohtan,     gif ðū furður dearst     1350  
 tō þām ānhagan     aldre genēðan.

1331 *K.* ættre. *Edd.*, except *Gn.*, *W.* ingedufan. — 1333 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.*, *Gn.* guðfrecan; *Gn.* note guðfrecan? — 1337 *MS.* rade; *Edd.* rode. — 1337 ff. *Gm.* without remark, *K.*, *Ettm.*:

Cristes rode  
 mære tacen,     wurdon hie þa æcle  
 on þām onfenge,     forhte, and on fleam numen.

*Gn.* mære tacen, on his mægwlite, etc.; *B.* as *Gm.*, except that he supplies afærde after forhte; *B.<sup>2</sup>* as *MS.* — 1341 *Ettm.* ongann. *Gn.* supplies þa after ongan. *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Gn.*, *B.* eald geniðla; *Gn.<sup>2</sup>* ealdgeniðla. — 1345 *MS.*, *B.* earmsceapen; *Edd.* earmsceapen; *Sicr.* (*PBB.* x, 517), *Cox.* (*PBB.* xxi, 17) him þa earmsceapen. *Ettm.* him ageaf.

## [XIII]

"We ðe magon eade,    eorla leofost,  
 æt þam seegplegan    selre gelæran,  
 ær ðu gegninga    guðe fremme,  
 wiges woman,    weald hu ðe sære    1355  
 æt þam gegnslege.    Utan gangan eft,  
 þæt we bysmrigen    bendum fæstne,  
 oðwitan him his wræcsið:    habbað word gearu  
 wið þam æglæcan    eall getrahtod! "  
 Þa hleoðrade    hludan stefne,    1360  
 witum bewæled,    ond þæt word gecwæð:  
 "Þu þe, Andreas,    aelæccraeftum  
 lange feredes.    Hwæt! ðu leoda feala  
 forleolee ond forlærdest.    Nu leng ne miht  
 gewealdan þy weorce;    þe synd witu þæs grim    1365  
 weotud be gewyrhtum.    Þu scealt wërigmod,  
 hean, hroðra leas,    hearn þrowigan,  
 sare swyltwale.    Seegas mine  
 to þam guðplegan    gearwe sindon,  
 þa þe æninga    ellenweorcum    1370  
 unfyrn faca    feorh ætpringan.  
 Hwyle is þæs mihtig    ofer middangeard,  
 þæt he þe alyse    of leoðubendum,  
 manna cynnes,    ofer mine est? "

1352 *Fttn.* we þe ne? — 1353 *Fttn.* seegplegan. — 1354 *K.* geninga. — 1355 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Fttn.* þu for hu. — 1356 *MS.*, *W.* Utan; *F.*, *Gm.*, *Fttn.* utan; *K.* Utan; *Gn.*, *B.* Utan. — 1361 *Fttn.* þe wealdod, bewealdod? and bewæled (*Gm.* bewæled). — 1362 *MS.*, *F.* aelæc craeftum; *Fdd.* aelæccraeftum, except *Gn.*, *W.* aglæccraeftum.

1363 *Fttn.* leola. — 1364 *W.* after leng, which ends a line in the *MS.*, a line is left vacant, for no apparent reason. It should be noted, however, that on other folios, e.g. ff. 46<sup>v</sup>, 51, 50, 51, 47, the same peculiarity occurs, always between the tenth and eleventh lines of the page, counting from the bottom. This wide spacing is evidently due to some irregularity in the measure by which the scribe ruled off his pages, and no omission in the text is to be supposed.

Him þā Andreas     āgef ondsware :     1375  
 “Hwæt ! me eade     ælmihtig God,  
 niða neregend,     sē ðe in medum in  
 gefæstnode     fýrnum clomnum,  
 |ær ðū syððan ā,     susle |gebunden,     [f. 48<sup>a</sup>]  
 in wræc wunne,     wuldres blunne,     1380  
 syððan ðū forhogedes     heofoncyniges word.  
 Þær wæs yfles or,     ende nāfre  
 þīnes wræces weorðeð.     Ðū scealt wīdan feorh  
 ēcan þīne yrmðu ;     þē bið ā symble  
 of dæge on dæg     drohtan strengra.”     1385  
 Ðā wearð on flāme,     sē ðe ðā fæhðo in  
 wið God gēara     grimme gefremede.  
 Cōm þā on uhtan     mid ærdæge  
 hāðenra hlōð     hāliges neosan  
 lēoda weorude ;     hēton lādan ūt     1390  
 þrohtheardne þegn     þriddan sīðe ;  
 woldon āninga     ellenrōfes  
 mōð gemyltan ;     hit ne mihte swā.  
 Ðā wæs niowinga     nið onhrēred,  
 heard ond hetegrim.     Wæs se hālga wer     1395  
 sāre geswungen,     searwum gebunden,  
 dolgbennum þurhdrifen,     ðendon dæg lihte.  
 Ongan þā gēomormōð     tō Gode cleopian,  
 heard of hæfte,     hālgan stefne

1375 *Ettm.* ageaf. — 1376 *After* eade *Gn.* supplies gescildeð (*not* gescyldeð as *W.* states) : *Ettm.* note Hwæt me eade] *scil.* mæg alysan ; *Root* (p. 58) mæg after eade, and generian for neregend 1377<sup>a</sup>. — 1377 *MS.*, *B.* in medum ; *Edd.*, except *B.*, in niedum ; *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 82) nedum. — 1380 *Ettm.* wræce ? *Gn.* wræce ? — 1381 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.*, *B.* forhogodes ; *B.*<sup>2</sup> as *MS.* *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Ettm.* heofen. — 1383 *K.* wiðan. — 1386 *K.* fæðo ; *Ettm.* fæhðe. — 1387 *Gn.* wid. — 1394 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.*, *Gn.* neowinga. — 1395 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.*, *Gn.* hete grim, with the hemistich after hete ; *K.* on for ond ; *Gn.* Nachtr., *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 517) hetegrim, in the first half-line. — 1396 *Simons* (p. 120) snearum ? — 1397 *K.*, *Ettm.* þenden. — 1398 *Ettm.* ongann.

wēop wērigferð,    ond þæt word gecwæð :    1400  
 “ Nāfre ic gefērde    mid Frēan willan  
 under heofonhwealfe    heardran drohtnoð,  
 þær ic Dryhtnes æ    dēman sceolde.  
 Sint mē leoðu tolocen,    ic sære gebrocen,  
 bānhūs blōdfāg,    benne weallað,    1405  
 seonodolg swātige.    Hwæt ! ðū sigora weard,  
 Dryhten Hælend,    on dæges tide  
 mid Iūdēum    gēomor wurde,  
 ðā ðū of gealgan,    God lifigende,  
 fyrnweorca Frēa,    tō fæder cleopodest,    1410  
 cininga wuldor,    ond cwæde ðus :  
 ‘ Ic ðe, fæder engla,    frignan wille,  
 lifes leohtfruma,    hwæt forlætest ðū mē ? ’  
 Ond ic nū prȳ dagas    polian sceolde  
 wælgrim witu.    Bidde ic, weoroda God,    1415  
 þæt ic gāst minne    āgifan mōte,    [f. 48<sup>b</sup>]  
 sāwla symbelgifa.    on þines sylfes hand.  
 Ðū ðæt gehēte    þurh þin hālig word.  
 þā ðū ūs twelfe    trymman ongunne,  
 þæt ūs heterofra    hild ne gescēode,    1420  
 nē lices dæl    lungre oððcōdeð,  
 nē synu nē bān    on swaðe lāgon,  
 nē loc of hēafde    tō forlore wurde,  
 gif wē þine lāre    læstan woldon.  
 Nū sint sionwe tōslopen,    is min swāt ādropen,    1425

1400 *MS.* ferð inserted above the line. — 1404 *MS.*, *Edd.* leoð, *Holthausen* (*PBR.* xvi, 551) leoðu. — 1405 *K.*, *B.* benna. — 1406 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* seono dolgswatige. *Sic.* (*PBR.* a, 459) swatige. — 1414 *Ettm.* þri. — 1420 *Th.* gescænde after heterofra? *Th.* gesceolde. — 1421 *Gm.* note oðeode = *cruderet, periret*; *Ettm.* text oðþeodde. — 1425 *MS.* toslopen and adropen; *Naf.* adropen, the d altered from ð; but the crossing is plainly visible in the reproduction; *W. Nachtr.* (p. 565) as *MS.*; *Edd.* toslowen and arowen; *Gm.* note suggests toslopen and adropen, and *Nachtr.* (p. 172) adropen for adropen; *Ettm.* adds ‘fortasse legendum est toslawen, aDRAWEN’; *Sic.* (*PBR.* a, 517), *Cw.* (*PBR.* xvi, 18) toslopen, adropen.

licgað æfter lande    loccas tōdrifene,  
fex on foldan.    Is mē feorhgedāl  
lēofre mycle    þonne þeos lifcearo."

Him þā stefn onewæð,    stiðhycgendum,  
wuldorcyninges    word blōðrode :    1430  
" Ne wēp þone wræcsið,    wine lēofesta ;  
nis þē tō frēcne.    Ic þē friðe healde,  
minre mundbyrde    mægene besette.  
Mē is miht ofer eall,    [geond middangeard]  
sigorspēd geseald.    Sōð þæt gecyðeð    1435  
mænig æt medle    on þām myclan dæge,  
þæt ðæt geweorðeð,    þæt ðeos wlitige gesceaft,  
heofon ond eorðe,    hrēosaþ tōgadore,  
ær āwæged sie    worda ænig,  
þe ic þurh minne mūd    meðlan onginne.    1440  
Gesēoh nū seolfes swæðe,    swā þin swāt āgēt  
purh bāngbrec    blōdige stige,  
lices lælan.    Nō þē lāðes mā  
purh daroða gedrep    gedōn mōtan,  
þā þe heardra mæst    hearma gefremedan."    1445  
Þā on lāst beseah    lēoflic cempa  
æfter wordcwidum    wuldorcyninges ;  
geseh hē geblōwene    bearwas standan  
blædum gehrodene,    swā hē ær his blōd āgēt.  
Ðā worde cwæð    wigendra hlēo :    1450  
" Sie ðē ðanc ond lof,    þēoda waldend,

1430 *K.* wuldor cyninges. *Edd.*, except *Th.*, *W.* hleoðrode. — 1434 *MS.* ofer eall sigor- with no indication of omission : *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.* indicate the omission of a half-line ; *Ettm.* supplies so as to read ofer eallne middangeard ; *Gn.* geond middangeard ; *B.*, *W.* indicate no omission. — 1435 *Gm.* gecyðed. — 1436 *Ettm.* manig. — 1438 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* to gadore. — 1441 *Ettm.* swaðe. *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* ageat. — 1443 *MS.* lic lælan ; *Edd.* liclælan ; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup>, *Spr.* ii, 162 lic lælan, lælan *inf.* = *licere* ; *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 517), *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 82, with alternative læla) lices lælan, lælan *acc. sg.* : *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 18) læla, *gen. pl.* — 1446 *Ettm.* geseah. — 1447 *K.* wuldor cyninges. — 1448 *Ettm.* geseah. *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) geblowne. — 1449 *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* ageat.

to widaŋ teore — wuldor on heoforum,  
 ðæs, ðu þine on sate, — sagedrihten min, [149<sup>a</sup>]  
 ellþeodigne, — an ne forlete.”

þwa se ðædfruma — Drihten herede 1455  
 halgan stæne, — oððæt hador sægð  
 wuldortorht gewat — under wadu scidan.

þa þa tolc togan — teorðan siðe,  
 egle ondsacan, — æðeling leddon  
 to þam canerne, — woldon cæfta gehygd, 1460  
 magotædendes — mod oncyttan

on þære deorcan miht. — þa com Drihten God  
 in þæt himæced, — hæleda wuldor,  
 ond þa wine sýnne — wordum grette  
 ond trothe geƿæð, — loder manncynnes, 1465  
 lites lufow, — heht his lichoman

hæles brucan — “Ne scealt ðu in hendum a leng  
 searohæbbendra — saƿrowian.”

Alas þa magene tof, — sægde Meotude þanc,  
 hal of hette — heardra wita, 1470  
 nes him gewenmed wite, — ne wloh of hragle  
 lungre alysed, — ne loc of healde,  
 ne ban gebroccn, — ne blodig wund  
 lreðe gelenge, — ne lreƿedel  
 þurh dolgsege — dreore bestemed, 1475  
 ac was eft swa æt — þurh þa æðelan miht  
 lot lædende, — ond on his hce trum.

[149<sup>a</sup>] *l. 1* *ellþeodigne*, *l. 2* *an ne forlete* = [148<sup>b</sup>] *K. omits* wadu; *C.* = *Q.* = *U.* wadum; *D.* = *E.* = *S.* = *U.* = *W.* wadu; [148<sup>b</sup>] *l. 1* *on* *teorðan*, *on* *teorðan* as *H.*; *l. 2* *canerne*, *canerne*; *l. 3* *cæfta*, *cæfta* = [149<sup>a</sup>] *K. omits* god; [149<sup>a</sup>] *l. 1* *an*, *an*; *l. 2* *an*, *an*; *H.* *sýnne* = [149<sup>a</sup>] *C.* = *U.* = *W.* *þæt* *hendum* = [149<sup>a</sup>] *U.* = *S.* = *W.* *saƿ*, *l. 1* *saƿ*.

[149<sup>a</sup>] [148<sup>b</sup>] *l. 1* *alysede* = [149<sup>a</sup>] [148<sup>b</sup>] *he ge lunge ne lædes dæf*, *l. 2* *lreðe*, *l. 1* *lreðe*, *he gelenge*, *l. 2* *lreðe*, *l. 3* *he lunge*, *C.* = *U.* *H.* *he lunge*, *C.* = *U.* = *W.* *lreðe*, *(S. 20. 4. 121)*, *C.* = *Q.* = *U.* = *W.* *he gelenge*.

## XIV

Hwæt! ic hwile nu      haliges lare,  
 leodgiddinga,      lot þæs þe worhte,  
 wordum wende,      wyrd undyrne,      1480  
 ofer min gemet.      Mycel is to seeganne,  
 langsum leorning,      þæt he in life adreag,  
 eall æfter orde.      Þæt secll ægleawra  
 mann on moldan      þonne ic me tælige  
 findan on ferðe,      þæt fram fruman cunne      1485  
 eall þa earfeðo,      þe he mid elne adreath,  
 grimra guda.      Hwæðre [gūt sceolon      [l. 49<sup>b</sup>]  
 lythum sticcum      leodworda dæl  
 furdur reccan.      Þæt is tyrnsagen,  
 hu he weorna fecla      wita geðolode,      1490  
 heardra hilda,      in þære hæðenan byrig.  
 He be wealle geseah      wundrum faste  
 under sælwage      sweras unlytle,  
 stapulas standan,      storme bedrifene,  
 eald enta geweorc.      He wið anne þarra,      1495  
 mihtig ond modrof,      mædel gehede,  
 wis, wundrum gleaw,      word stunde ahof:  
 "Geher ðu, marmanstan,      Meotudes radum,  
 fore þæs onsyne      ealle gesecefte  
 forhte geweorðað,      þonne he fæder geseoð      1500  
 heofonas ond eorðan      herigea maste  
 on middangeard      mancynn secan!

1478 *MS.* HÆT; *Th.* þæt, note hwæt?    1481 *Sw.* (*PRB.* v, 382) seegan.  
 1483 *Ættm.* secall — *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ættm.* ægleawra.    1487 *K.* secal on, ending the line  
 with secal.    1489 *Gm.*?, *B.* tyrnsagen; other *Fidd.* tyrn sagen.    1490 *Ættm.*  
 fecla. *MS.* geðolode.    1492 *MS.*, *Th.*, *B.* læstne.    1493 *MS.*, *Fidd.* sælwage,  
 except *Gm.* sælwage; *Gov.* (*PRB.* vii, 18), *Fool* (p. 58) as *Gm.* *MS.* sweras, not as  
*Th.*, *W.* stæte, speras; *W. Nichte.* (p. 565) sweras; *Th.*, *B.* text speras.    1495 *K.*  
 anne.    1496 *MS.*, *Th.* modrofe. *Ættm.* mædel.    1497 *Ættm.* wordum for wun-  
 drum.    1501 *Ættm.* heofones?

Læ̃t nū of þinum stapole      strēamas weallan,  
 ēa inlede,      nū ðe ælmihtig  
 hāteð, heofona cyning,      þæt ðū hrædlice      1505  
 on þis fræte folc      forð onsende  
 wæter wīdrynig      tō wera cwealme,  
 geofon gēotende.      Hwat! ðū golde eart,  
 sinegife, sýlla;      on ðe sylf cyning  
 wrāt, wuldres God,      wordum cýðde      1510  
 recene gerýno,      ond ryhte æ  
 getācnode      on tȳn wordum,  
 Meotud mihtum swið;      Moyse sealde,  
 swā hit sōðfæste      syðþan hēoldon,  
 mōdige magoþegnas,      māgas sine,      1515  
 godfyrhte guman,      Iosua ond Tobias.  
 Nū ðū miht gecnāwan,      þæt þe cyning engla  
 gefrætwoðe      furður mycle  
 giofum gēardagum      þonne call gimma cym.  
 Þurh his hālige hāes      þū scealt hræde cýðan,      1520  
 gif ðū his ondgitan      ænige hæbbe.”  
      Næs þā wordlatu      wihte þon mære,  
 þæt se stān tōgān;      strēam ūt |āwēoll,      [f. 50<sup>a</sup>]  
 fleow ofer foldan;      fāmige walcān  
 mid ærdæge      eorðan þehton,      1525  
 myclade mereflōd.      Meoduscerwen wearð  
 æfter symbekdæge;      slæpe tōbrugdon  
 searu-hæbbende.      Sund grunde onfēng,  
 dēope gedrēfed;      duguð wearð āfyrhted

1504 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.* in flede; *Ettm.* on flede. — 1505 *Ettm.* hræðlice. — 1507 *Th.*,  
*Gm.* wīdrynig; *K.* wīdrincg; *Gm. note* wīdryne or wīdrynig. — 1508 *MS.*, *Th.*, *Gm.*,  
*W.* heofon. — 1516 *MS.*, *Th.* Iosau. — 1518 *Ettm.* furðor. — 1520 *Ettm.* hræde. —  
 1522 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Ettm.* word latu. — 1526 *MS.* meodu scerwen; so *Naf.*, *W. Nachtr.*  
 (p. 565); *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.*, *Ettm.*, *B.* meodu scerpen; *Gm. note*, *Gm.* meodu scerwen;  
*Gm. note*, *W.*, *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi, 19) meoduscerwen. — 1527-8 *MS.* tobrōgdon;  
*searu*<sup>u</sup> hæbbende, not hæbbende as *W.* states; *Th.*, *Gm.*, *Ettm.* searu hæbbende.



þurh þæs flōdes fār ;      fæge swulton,      1530  
 geonge on geofene      guðræðs fornam  
 þurh sealtne weg.      Þæt wæs sorgbyrþen,  
 biter beorpegu ;      byrlas ne gældon,  
 ombehtpegnas ;      þær wæs ælcum genōg  
 fram dæges orde      drync sōna gearu.      1535  
 Wēox wæteres þrym ;      weras cwānedon,  
 ealde æscherend ;      wæs him ut myne  
 flēon fealone strēam,      woldon fēore beorgan,  
 tō dūnsærafum      drohtað sēcan,  
 eorðan ondwest.      Him þæt engel forstōð,      1540  
 sē ðā burh oferbrægd      blācan lige,  
 hātan heaðowælme ;      hrēoh wæs þær inne  
 bēatende brim ;      ne mihte beorna hlōð  
 of þām fæstenne      flēame spōwan.  
 Wægas wēoxon,      wadu hlynsodon,      1545  
 flugon fýrgnāstas,      flōd yðum wēoll.  
 Ðær wæs yðfynde      innan burgum  
 gēomorgidd wrecen ;      gehðo *māendan*  
 forhtferð manig,      fūslcōð *gōlon*.  
 Egeslic æled      ēagsýne wearð,      1550  
 heardlic heretēam,      hlēoðor gryrelic ;  
 þurh lyftgelāc      lūges blāestas  
 weallas ymbwurpon,      wæter mycladon.  
 Þær wæs wōp weras      wide gehýred,  
 earmlic ylða gedræg.      Þā þær ān ongann,      1555

1532 *MS., Th., Gm., K.* scealtes sweg (*K. tr. salt wave*); *Gm. note* sealtes or scealces? *Ettm. note* swealhes = *abyssi*; *Gn., B., W.* sealtes sweg; *Cos. (PBB. xvi, 19)* sealme. — 1533 *K.* beorþegn. — 1534 *K.* ombeht þegnas. — 1537 *K., Gn.*<sup>2</sup> utmyne. — 1539 *Ettm.* dunscafum. *K.* drohtoð. — 1540 *MS., Th., W.* eorðan ƿwist; *Gm., Ettm.* eorðan and wist; *Ettm. note* eorðan onwist; *K., Gn., B.* andwist. — 1542 *Gm., K., Ettm.* wealme. — 1545 *MS., Th., Gm., Ettm., W.* wudu. — 1547 *MS.* innan; *Th. as MS.* hinan, *text* innan. — 1548–9 *MS., Edd.* wrecen, mænan, galen; *Gm. note* mæned; *Ettm. note* wrecan, galan. *Edd., except K.* forht ferð. *Th., Gm., Ettm.* fus leoð. — 1551 *K.* grynelic. — 1553 *Gn. note* ymbhwurfon?

feasecaft hæled,      folc gadorigean,  
 hean, hygegeomor,      heofende spræc :  
 " Nu ge magon sylfe      soð geonawan,  
 þæt we mid unrihte      ellpeodigne  
 on carcerne      clonnum belegdon,                      1560  
 |witebendum :      us seo wyrd scyðeð,                      [f. 50<sup>b</sup>]  
 heard ond hetegrim :      þæt is [her] swa cuð.  
 Is hit mycle schre,      þæs þe ic soð talige,  
 þæt we hine alysan      of leoðobendum,  
 calle annode      (ofost is selost),                      1565  
 ond us þone halgan      helpe biddan,  
 geoce ond frofre.      Us bið gearu sona  
 sybb æfter sorge,      gif we secap to him."  
 Ða þær Andrea      orgete weard  
 on fyrhðlocan      folces gebæro,                      1570  
 þær was modigra      [mægen] forbeged,  
 wigendra prym.      Wæter fæðmedon,  
 fleow firgendstream,      flod was on huste,  
 oppæt breost oferstag,      brim weallende,  
 eorlum oð exle.      Ða se ædelling het                      1575  
 streamfare stillan,      stormas restan  
 ymbe stanbleoðu.      Stop ut hræde  
 eene collenferð,      carcern ageaf,  
 gleawmod, Gode leof :      him [wæs] gearu sōna  
 purh streamræce      stræt gerymed :                      1580  
 smeolt wæs se sigewang,      symbles wæs drýge  
 folde fram flode,      swa his fot gestop.

1557 *Th.*, *Gm.* hyge geomor. 1559 *Ettm.* ellpeodigne. 1562 *Th.*, *Gm.*, *K.* indicate an omission before þæt; *Gm.* note supplies hæledum, apparently before cuð; *Ettm.* here-cuð; *Gm.* her swa cuð; *B.*, *W.* as *MS.*, with no mark of omission. — 1569 *K.*, *Ettm.* note ongete. — 1571 *Gm.* þæt was? for þær was. *Th.* note, *Edd.* except *B.* supply mægen before forbeged. — 1573 *Ettm.* firigenstream; *Gm.* firigendstream. 1575 *Ettm.* eaxle. 1576 *Gm.*, *Ettm.*, *W.* stream fare. — 1577 *Edd.*, except *W.* ymb. — 1578 *Gm.*, *K.* carcerne; *Gm.* note carcern. — 1579 *Gm.*, *B.* supply wæs after him, other *Edd.* after stræt, 1580.

Wurdon burgware      blīde on mode,  
 ferhðgefeonde.      Þa was forð cumen  
 geoc æfter gyrne;      geofon swaðrode      1585  
 purh haliges hæls,      hlýst yst forgeaf,  
 brimrad gebad.      Þa se beorg tohlad,  
 eorðscraf egeslic,      ond þær in forlet  
 flod fædmian,      fealewe wāgas,  
 geotende gegrind      grund call forswalg.      1590  
 Nalas he þær yðe      ane bisenete,  
 ach þæs weorodes cæc      ða wyrrestan,  
 faa foleseccadan,      feowertýne  
 gewiton mid þý wāge      in forwyrd seeacan  
 under eorþan grund.      Þa wearð acolmod,      1595  
 forhtferð manig      folces on laste;  
 wendan hie [wifa]      ond wera cwealmes,  
 þearlra [geþinga      ðrage hnagan,      [f. 51<sup>a</sup>]  
 syððan mane faa,      mordorscyldige,  
 gūðgelācan      under grund hruron.      1600  
     Hie ða ānmode      calle cwædon:  
 “Nu is gesýne,      ðæt þe soð Meotud,  
 cyning callwihta,      craeftum wealdeð,  
 se ðisne ār      hider onsende  
 þeodum to helpe.      Is nu þearf mycel,      1605  
 þæt we gumcystum      georne hýran.”

1584 *Gm.*, *Ettm.*, *Gn.* ferhð gefeonde. *K.*, *B.* forðcumen. — 1585 *MS.*, *B.*, *W.* heofon. *Ettm.* sweðrode. — 1588 *Th.* (but not *K.* as *W.* states), in forlet. — 1592 *K.* ah. *Gm.*, *Gn.*, *K.*, *Ettm.* weorodes. — 1593 *MS.* fāā; *Edd.*, except *Th.*, *W.*, fa.  
 1595 *K.* eorðgrund. 1596 *Edd.* forht ferð. 1597 *MS.* hie 1 wera; *Th.*, *Gm.*, *B.*, as *MS.* with no indication of omission; *K.* indicates omission before wera; *Ettm.*, *Gn.*, *W.* wifa after hie. — 1598 After f. 50<sup>b</sup> *Th.* supposes a folio to have been cut out of the *MS.*, and indicates an omission in his text; other *Edd.* see no interruption of the narrative. *K.* þrage. — 1599 *MS.* fāā; *Edd.* fa, except *Ettm.* fah, *Th.*, *W.* faa. *Siev.* (*PBB.* 1, 150) scyldge. — 1601 *MS.* h<sup>le</sup>. — 1603 *Ettm.* callwihta. — 1604 *Ettm.* supplies us, *Gn.* este before onsende; *Gn.* note hider on sende? See *Notes*. — 1606 *Gn.* gym; *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> gum.

## [XV]

þa se hālga ongann      hæleð blissigea,  
 wigendra þreat      wordum retan :  
 " Ne beoð ge to forhte,      þe þe fell curen  
 synnigra cynn :      swylt þrowode,      1610  
 witu be gewyrhtum :      eow is wuldres leoht  
 torht ontȳned,      gif ge teala hycgað."  
 Sende þa his bene      fore bearn Godes,  
 bæd haligne      helpe gefremman  
 gūmena geogoðe,      þe on geofene ær      1615  
 purh flodes fædm      feorh gesealdon,  
 ðæt þa gastas,      gode orfeorme,  
 in wita forwyrd,      wuldre bescyrede,  
 in feonda geweald      gefered [ne] wurdan.  
 Þa ðæt ærende      ealwealdan Gode      1620  
 æfter hlcoðorewidum      haliges gastes  
 was on þanc sprecen,      ðeoda ræswan :  
 het þa onsunde      ealle āisan,  
 geonge of greote,      þa ær geofon cwealde.  
 Þa þær ofostlice      upp astodon      1625  
 manige on meðle,      mine gefrege,  
 eaforan unweaxne :      ða was eall eador  
 leoðolic ond gastlic,      þeah hie lungre ær  
 purh flodes fæw      feorh aleton :  
 onfengon fulwihite      ond freoðuwære,      1630  
 wuldres wedde      witum aspeðde,  
 |mundbyrd Meotudes.      Þa se mōdiga het,      [f. 51<sup>b</sup>]  
 cyninges craftega,      ciricean getimbran,

1611 *K.*, *B.* gewyrtum. — 1618 *Gn.* note ne in? — 1622 *MS.*, *Th.*, *B.* ræsum.  
 — 1625 *Th.*, *K.* uppastodon. — 1627 *K.* geador. — 1630 *Gn.* freoðo. — 1633  
*Gn.* note craftega? but *Spr.* i. 108 craftega; *K.* craftega; *Sic.* (*PBB.* v. 250)  
 craftega

gerwan Godes tempel,    þær sio geogod aras  
 þurh fæder fulwiht    ond se flod onsprang.    1635  
 Þa gesamnodon,    secga preate,  
 weras geond þa winburg    wide ond side,  
 eorlas annode,    ond hira idesa mid ;  
 cwædon holdlice    hȳran woldon,  
 onfon fromlice    fullwihtes bræð    1640  
 Dryhtne to willan,    ond diofolgild,  
 ealde eolhstedas,    ānforlætan.  
 Þa was mid þȳ folce    fulwiht hæfen,  
 æðele mid eorlum,    ond æ Godes  
 riht āræred,    ræd on lande    1645  
 mid þām ceasterwarum,    cirice gehālgod.  
 Þær se ār Godes    anne gesette,  
 wīsfæstne wer,    wordes gleawne,  
 in þære beorhtan byrig    biſceop þām leodum,  
 ond gehālgode    fore þām heremægene    1650  
 þurh apostolhād,    Platan nemned,  
 þeodum on pearfe,    ond þriste bebēad,  
 þæt hie his lare    læston georne,  
 feorhræd fremedon.    Sægde his fusne hige,  
 þæt he þa goldburg    ofgifan wolde,    1655  
 secga seledream    ond singestreon,  
 beorht beagselu,    ond him brimþisan  
 æt sæs farode    sēcan wolde.  
 Þæt was þam weorode    weorc to gepoligenne,  
 þæt hie se leodfruma    leng ne wolde    1660  
 wihte gewunian.    Þa him wuldres God  
 on þām siðfæte    sylfum ætȳwde,

1635 *Gn.*<sup>2</sup> þurh fæder fultum. — 1636 *K.* gesamnodon. — 1642 *Gm.* note, *K.* ealhstedas. — 1647 *MS.* sio. — 1653 *MS.* he. — 1658 *MS.*, *Th.* forðe. — 1659 *MS.*, *Edd.* weor, except *W.* weorce; *Kluge* (*Anglia* iv, 106), *Cos.* (*PBB.* xvi, 20) weorc. *Sieci.* (*PBB.* x, 482) would have uninflected infinitive for gepoligenne.



þær Fæder ond Sunu      ond frofre Gast  
 in prinnesse      þrymme wealdeð      1685  
 in woruld worulda      wuldorgestealda.  
 Swylce se halga      herigeas þreade,  
 deofulgild todraf      ond gedwolan fykle.  
 Þæt was Satane      sar to geþolienne,  
 mycel mōdes sorg,      þæt he ða menigeo geseah      1690  
 hweorfan higeblīde      fram helltrafum  
 þurh Andreas      este lare  
 to fægeran gefēan,      þær nāfre feondes ne bið,  
 gastes gramhȳdiges,      gang on lande.  
 Þā wāron gefykle      æfter Frean dome      1695  
 dagas on rime,      swa him Dryhten beþeod,  
 þæt hē þā wederburg      winian sceolde.  
 Ongan hine þā fȳsan      ond to flote gyrwan,  
 blissum hremig,      wolde on brimþisan  
 Achaie      oðre siðe      1700  
 sylfa gesēcan,      þær he sāwulgedāl,  
 beaduwealm gebād.      Þæt þam banan ne wearð  
 hleahtre behworfen,      ah in helle ceall  
 sið āsette,      ond syððan nō,  
 fah, freonda leas,      frōfre benohte.      1705  
 Ðā ic lādan gefrægn      lēoda weorode  
 leofne larcow      tō lides stefnan,  
 mæcgas |mōdgeomre ;      þær manegum was      [f. 52<sup>b</sup>]

1685 *Gm.* prinnesse. — 1689 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 482) would change geþolienne to the uninflected infinitive. — 1694 *Siev.* (*PBB.* x, 460) -hydges. — 1699 *B.* blyssum; *B.*<sup>2</sup> blissum. — 1700 *Bright* (*MLN.* ii, 82) supplies eft before Achaie. *MS.* āchaie; *Th.* āc hale, indicating the omission of a word before æ; *Gm.* text as *Th.*, note wolde achale æðelingas oðre siðe etc. (achale = unsund); *K.* Achaie; *Gm.* Achaia; *Gm.*<sup>2</sup> as *K.* — 1703 *K.* hleafre. — 1704 *MS.* asette 7 syð no; *W.* between syð and no, a small hole in the parchment, not large enough to have contained -ðan; *Th.* indicates omission before ond; *Gm.* and sið no, note and sið of geaf (or ne of geaf) no; *K.* and sið no (*tr.* 'never since'); *Gm.*, *B.* syððan; *W.* as *MS.* — 1705 *Gm.* feonda corrected (*p.* 182) to freonda.

hāt æt heortan    hyge weallende.  
 Hie ðā gebrōhton    æt brimes næsse 1710  
 on wægpele    wigan unsławne ;  
 stōdon him ðā on ōfre    æfter rēotan,  
 pendon hie on ȳðum    æðelinga wunn  
 ofer seolhpaðu    gescon mihton,  
 ond þā weorðedon    wuldres āgend, 1715  
 cleopodon on cordre,    ond cwædon þus :  
 “Ān is ēce God    eallra gesceafta !  
 Is his miht ond his æht    ofer middangeard  
 brēme gebledsod,    ond his blæd ofer eall  
 in heofonþrymme    hālgum scīneð, 1720  
 wlitige on wuldre,    tō wīdan ealdre.  
 ēce mid englum.    Þæt is æðele cyning ! ”

1713 *Gn.* wynn. — 1714 *MS.* plainly seolh paðu ; *Th.* *Edd.* seolhwaðu ; *Gn.* note paðu ? *Sic.* (*PBB.* i. 492) seolhpaðu ; *Cos.* (*PBB.* xxi. 21) seolhbaðu. — 1715 *Edd.*, except *B.*, *W.*, weorðodon. — 1716 *Th.* cwæðon ; *Gm.* cwæden, corrected (*p.* 182) to cwædon. — 1720 *Gn.* on for in.



## THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES

Hwæt ! ic þysne sang    siðgēomor fand  
 on sēocum sefan,    samnode wide,  
 hū þā æðelingas    ellen cȳðdon,  
 torhte ond tīrēadige.    Twelfe wæron,  
 dædum dōmfæste,    Dryhtne gecorene, 5  
 lēofe on life.    Lof wide sprang,  
 miht ond mærdō,    ofer middangeard,  
 pēodnes þegna,    þrym unlȳtel.  
 Hālgan hēape    hlȳt wisode,  
 þær hie Dryhtnes æ    dēman sceoldon, 10  
 reccan fore rincum.    Sume on Rōmebyrig,  
 frame, fyrdhwate,    feorh ofgēfon  
 þurg Nērōnes    nearwe searwe,  
 Petrus ond Paulus ;    is sē apostolhād  
 wīde geweorðod    ofer werpēoda. 15  
       Swylce Andrēas    in Achagia  
 for Ēgias    aldre genēðde ;  
 ne preodode hē    fore þrymme ðēodcyninges,  
 æniges on eorðan,    ac him ēce gecēas  
 langsumre lif,    lēoht unhwilen, 20  
 syþþan hildeheard,    heriges byrhtme,  
 æfter gūðplegan    | gealgan þehte. [f. 53<sup>a</sup>]  
       Hwæt ! wē ēac gehȳrdon    be Iōhanne  
 æglæawe menn    æðelo reccan ;

1 *MS.* wæt, with space left vacant for the omitted H. — 4 *MS.* woron ; *Gn.* note foron ? — 11 *Gn.* Rome byrig. — 13 *MS.*, *Th.*, *K.*, *Simons* (*p.* 104) neawe ; *Th.* note nearwe ? *Gn.* nearo-searwe. — 18 *MS.* preodode<sup>he</sup>fore. — 21 *MS.*, *Th.*, *K.*, *Gn.* hilde heard. — 24 *K.*, *Gn.* ægleawe.



hige onhyrdeð,     þurh his halig word ;  
 syððan collenteð     cynunges brōðor  
 awehte for weorodum,     wundorætte,     55  
 þurh Dryhtnes milt,     þæt he of deaðe aras,  
 geong ond guðhwæt,     ond him was Gad nama ;  
 ond ða þam folce     feor gescalde,  
 sin æt sæcce,     sweorð[es tornam     [1. 53<sup>b</sup>]  
 þurh hæðene hand,     þær se halga gecrang,     60  
 wund for weorodum ;     þonon wuldres leht  
 sawle gesohte     sigores to leane.

Hwæt ! we þæt gehyrdon     þurh halige bec,  
 þæt mid Sigelwarum     soð yppe wearð,  
 dryhtlic dom Godes ;     ðeges of onwoc,     65  
 leohtes geleafan,     land was gefelcōð  
 þurh Matheus     mare lare ;  
 þone het Irtacus     ðurh yme hyge,  
 wælcow cyning,     wæpnum aswebban.  
 Hýrde we þæt Iacob     in Ierusalem     70  
 fore sacerðum     swilt prowode ;  
 ðurg stenges sweng     stōðmod gecrang,  
 eadig for æfestum ;     hafað nu ece lif  
 mid wuldorcing,     wiges to leane.  
 Naron ða twegen     tohtan same,     75  
 lindgelases ;     land Persa  
 sohton siðfreme,     Simon ond Thaddens,  
 beornas beadorfe ;     him wearð þam samod  
 an endedæg ;     aðele secoldon  
 ðurh wæpenhete     weorc prowigan,     80  
 sigelean secan,     ond þone soðan gefean,  
 dream æfter deaðe,     þa gedæled wearð  
 lif wið lice,     ond þas leman gestreon,

63 *Cn.* þurh     70 *Cn.* hyrdon we?     77 *In the MS. h. of Thaddens is written in above the line.*

idle ahtwelan, ealle forhogodan.

Ðus ða æðelingas ende gesealdon, 85

XII. tilmōdige : tir unbræcne

wegan on gewitte, wuldres þegnas.

Nū ic þonne bidde beorn, se ðe lufige

þysses giddes begang, þæt hē gēomrum mē

þone hālgan hēap helpe bidde, 90

frīdes ond fultomes. Hū ! ic frēonda beþearf,

liðra on lāde, þonne ic sceal langne hām,

eardwic uncūð, āna *gesēcan*,

*lētan* mē on laste lic, eorðan dæl,

walcreaf wunigean weormum to hrōðre. 95

| Hēr mag findan foreþances glēaw, [f. 54<sup>a</sup>]

sē ðe hine lysted lēoðgiddunga,

hwā pās fitte fegde. ƿ þær on ende standeþ,

eorlas pās on eorðan brūcaþ : ne mōton hie āwa ætsomne,

woruldwunigende : Ʒ sceal gedrōosan, 100

Ʒ on ēðle, after tōhrōosan

læne lices frætewa, efne swā ƿ tōglideð.

Ðonne Ʒ ond Ʒ cræftes nēosað

nihtes nearowe : on him † ligeð,

cyninges pēodom. Nū dū cunnon miht, 105

hwā on þām wordum was werum oneƿðig.

84 *MS.*, *Th.*, *K.* ealne. — 85 *MS.* Dys; so also *Nap.*; *Th.*, *K.*, *W.* Dys; *Gn.* þus. — 87 *K.* wagon. — 90 *MS.* halga. — 91 *K.*, *Gn.*, *Siev.* nu for hu. — 92 *W.* omits sceal. — 93 *MS.*, *Th.*, *W.* geseve; *Siev.* gesecean. — 94 *MS.*, *Th.*, *K.*, *Gn.*, *W.* læt; *Siev.* late. — 96-122 For the *MS.* readings of this passage, see the literal transcript in the Notes. — 96 *Nap.*, *Siev.*, *Tr.* foreþances. — 98 *Nap.*, *Siev.*, *Tr.* fegde, standeþ. For *Nap.*'s line-division, see Notes. — 99 *Nap.*, *Siev.*, *Tr.*, *W.* brucaþ. — 100 *Nap.*, *Siev.*, *Tr.* supply the rune. — 101 *Nap.* tohreosaþ; *Siev.*, *Tr.* tohreosan. — 102 All read læne. — 103 *Nap.* does not restore ll. 103-104; he reads doubtfully, in 103<sup>l</sup>, swa, followed by faint traces of two runes. *Siev.*, *Tr.* as in text. *Nap.*, *Tr.* with *MS.* neotað; *Siev.* neosað. — 104 *Siev.* † ligeð; *Tr.* † legeð. For *Nap.*'s suggestions, see Notes. — 105 *Nap.*, *Siev.*, *Tr.* cyninges. *MS.* cunnon; *Nap.*, *Siev.*, *Tr.* cunnan. — 106 *Nap.*, *Siev.*, *Tr.* restore hwa on þam (*Siev.* þam) wor.

Sie þæs gemyndig,    mann sē ðe lufige  
 þisses galdres begang,    þæt hē gēoƿe mē  
 ond frofre friƿle.    Ic sceall feor heonan,  
 ān elles forð,    eardes nēosan, 110  
 sið āsettan,    nāt ic sylfa hwær,  
 of þisse worulde ;    wic sindon uncūð,  
 eard ond ēðel.    Swā bið ælcum menn,  
 nempe hē godcundes    gāstes brūce.

Ah utu wē þē geornor    tō Gode cleopigan, 115  
 sendan ūsse bēne    on þā beorhtan gesceaft,  
 þæt wē þæs botles    brūcan mōtan,  
 hāmes in hēhðo.    Þær is bihta mæst,  
 þær cyning engla    clænum gildeð  
 lēan unhwilen.    Nū ā his lof standeð, 120  
 mycel ond mære,    ond his miht seomaþ,  
 ēce ond edgiong,    ofer ealle gesceaft. Finit.

107 *Nap.* restores mann se þe lufige. — 108–109 *Nap.* me ond frof. — 110 *Nap.* forð ea. — 112 *Nap.* of þisse ; *W.* on þisse. — 113 *Nap.* bið. — 115 *Nap.* Ah utu, but suggests utun. — 116 *W.* beochtan, *misprint* ? — 119 *Nap.*, *Siev.*, *W.* gildeð. — 121 *Siev.* somaþ.



## NOTES ON ANDREAS

In the MS. the narrative is divided into sections of approximately equal length. There are in all fifteen, or with addition of *Ap.* sixteen, sections, varying from 11½ to 21½ fol. in length. Each section begins with a capital letter or a group of capital letters, and ends with a period or a more distinctive and frequent mark of a sectional ending, consisting of a semicolon followed by a hook-shaped symbol. Between the various sections a space is left blank, usually not more than sufficient for a single line. For further description, see *Introd.*, pp. xxxvi ff. In the present edition the divisions of the MS. are followed, and are further indicated by bracketed numerals. The earlier editions vary widely in their treatment of these sectional divisions of the MS. Thorpe follows the MS., except that he unites sections three and four. Grimm further reduces the number of sections to seven. Kemble prints his text without division into sections. Grein makes eleven sections, Baskervill thirty. Wulker prints his text as Kemble does, without division into sections. He inserts in the margin, however, the numerals which designate Grein's eleven sections, and indicates the division of the MS. in his notes.

1. The poem opens with the conventional epic formula, citing the authority of oral tradition for the story. For similar openings, compare the following:

Hwaet! we Gaðena — in geardagum  
 þeodcýninga — þrym gefrunon,  
 hu ða afeリングas — ellen fremedon.

*Beow.* 1-3.

Hwaet! we teon and neah — gefrunn habað  
 ofer middangeard — Moyses domas,  
 wæclicra wordriht — wera encorissum,  
 in uprodor — eadigra gehwam  
 æfter beahstæde — bote lites,  
 lifgendra gehwam — langsumne rad,  
 helesum segan: — gehyre se ðe wille!

*Rv.* 1-7.

Gefrægn ic Hebreow — eadge lifgean  
 in Hierusalem, — goldbord dalan,  
 cýninglorn habban, — swa him gecynde was, etc.

*Dan.* 1-3.

Hebbe ic gefrunnen — þæt te is feor heonan  
 eaddehum on — æfelet londa  
 frum gefræge.

*Ph.* 1-3.

Cf. also *Jul.* 1; *Mod.* 1; *Cross* 1; *Sat.* 179; *Ap.* 1-3. An interesting occurrence of the formula is that in *Beow.* 375, where it introduces an indirect report

of an episodic narrative. The citation of traditional authority is also frequently found in the body of a narrative when a new topic is introduced: with *gefrignan*, *Beow.* 74; *Chr.* 301; *Gen.* 2060; *Ex.* 98, 388, and elsewhere; with *gehýran*, *Mald.* 117; *El.* 364; *Ap.* 23, 63, 70, and elsewhere. *Hwæt* occurs, with or without the epic formula, in the body of a narrative when a new topic is introduced; it is used with less emphatic sense, also, as a weak interjection; for examples, see Glossary. Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik* IV, 448-450, points out that this use of the neuter of the interrogative pronoun as an exclamation is peculiar to Old Saxon and Anglo-Saxon. The use persists as late as Elizabethan English, frequently, as in Mod. Eng., in introducing interrogative sentences, but also as mild interjection in introducing declarative sentences; cf. *Taming of the Shrew* I, ii, 248: 'What, this gentleman will outtalk us all'; *Richard III* IV, iv, 320: 'What, we have many goodly days to see.' Cf. 63, note, and for the use of *hwæt* as interjection in prose, see Wülfing, II, 688-692. — **on fyrndagum**. The phrase limits, not *gefrūnan*, but the verbal idea implied in l. 23. Hall translates 'who lived in the yore-days.' The construction is similar to that of *in gēardagum*, *Beow.* 1; and cf. *Beow.* 575<sup>b</sup>-576: *nō ic on niht gefragn under heofones hwealf heardran feohtan*; *Wid.* 16<sup>b</sup>-17: *hē mæst gefāh þāra þe ic ofer foldan gefrægen hæbbe*. See also, among numerous examples, *Beow.* 74; 2752-2754.

2. **under tunglum**. The usual formula is *under heofonum*, or *weolenum*, changed here, Cosijn thinks (*PBB.* XXI, 8), chiefly for the sake of the alliteration. — **tirēadige hælēð**. Cf. *Ap.* 4, and note.

3. **þeodnes þegnas**. Cf. *Beow.* 1085: *þeodnes þegne*; *Ap.* 8: *þeodnes þegna*; *Beow.* 1081: *Finnes þegnas*; and similar uses frequently. The phrase, originally, as in *Beowulf*, used of the followers of a temporal prince, applies here to the followers of the Lord. *þegn*, literally 'servant,' has not therefore the color of that word in the Oriental phrase 'servant of the Lord.' The word in Anglo-Saxon verse is a dignified one, and its connotation is epic, heroic. This value it derives from the position of the *þegn* in the Anglo-Saxon social system. 'As the royal power and dignity grew, it came to be looked on as the highest honour to enter into the personal service of the King. Two results followed: service towards the King, a place, that is, in the King's *comitatus*, became the badge and standard of nobility. . . . It marks perhaps a decline from the first idea of the *comitatus* that the old word *Gesith*, "companion," answering exactly to the Latin *comes* used by Tacitus, was supplanted by the name *Thegn*, literally "servant." But when personal service was deemed honourable, the name of servant was no degradation, and the name *Thegn* became equivalent to the older *Eorl*.' Freeman, *Growth of the English Constitution*, pp. 51-52. For further discussion of the *comitatus*, see Kemble, *Saxons in England* I, 168-183; Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde* IV, 182-198; 255-280; Andrews, *Old English Manor*, passim; Larson, *The King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest* (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 100), pp. 76-103; 146-171; Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, pp. 308-333; 378-400. See also Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, pp. 261-269, for a description of the passages in Anglo-Saxon verse illustrative of the *comitatus*, and to these add the prose story of Cynewulf and Cyneheard, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 755; cf. also Caesar's interesting account of



the *soldurii*, *B. G.* III, 22. Cf. 405–414, note. — Grimm places ll. 3<sup>b</sup>–4<sup>a</sup> within parentheses, thus making the sentence a parenthetic exclamation like *Beow.* 18<sup>b</sup>: blāð wide sprang. See 761<sup>b</sup>, note. Cf. *Beow.* 1528: þæt his dōm ālæg.

4. **camprædenne.** *Dicht.*, 'in dem Kampf erlag . . . ihre Hochkraft nimmer'; Kemble, 'their glory failed not, of their warfare.' *Gn., Spr.* I, 155, glosses the form as gen. sg., but it seems best to take it as dative, 'in or at the battle.' The present is the only occurrence of the word, but cf. *wīgræden*, *Wald.* 22. — **hneotan.** The form *hneotan* < *hnioton* < *hnuton* is pret. pl. of the first ablaut-class, *eo* being a development of *o*-umlaut of *i*; cf. Bright, *MLN.* II, 80, and Bülbring, §§ 235 note, 239, and 241. Cf. also I. 802: *geweotan*. The unumlauted form is found in *Beow.* 1327, 2544: þonne hnuton feðan. Cf. *Icel.* (Cleas-Vig., p. 270) *hnitu reyrr saman*, 'the weapons clashed together.'

5. **gedældon.** The verb is best taken as intransitive. *Cos.* (*PBB.* XXI, 8) cites Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 204, l. 24: *ðær næfre lēofe ne gedælað*. Pogatscher (*Angl.* XXII, 263) considers the subject of **gedældon** as unexpressed after **syððan**; the **hīe** which precedes the verb he regards as the object; cf. *An.* 1012; *El.* 1285.

5–6. For the apocryphal legend of the division of the earth among the Apostles, see *Introd.*, p. lix.

6. **hlȳt.** Cf. Bonnet, p. 65: *καὶ ἐμέριζον ἑαυτοῖς τὰς χώρας, βάλλοντες κλήρους*. Cf. the election of Matthias, *Acts* I, 24–26; and see *Ap.* 9<sup>b</sup>. But the casting of lots was a custom familiar to the Anglo-Saxons through their own traditional inheritance. Tacitus, *Germania* 10, gives an account of the manner of casting lots among the Teutonic tribes on the continent: 'Auspicia sortesque, ut qui maxime, observant. Sortium consuetudo simplex: virgam, frugiferae arbori decisam, in surculos amputant, eosque, notis quibusdam discretos, super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt: mox, si publice consulatur, sacerdos civitatis, sin privatim, ipse paterfamiliae, precatus deos coelumque suspiciens, ter singulos tollit, sublato secundum impressam ante notam interpretatur.' The twigs with which the divination was performed were called *tānas* in Anglo-Saxon, hence the word *tān* came to mean 'lot,' as it does in *An.* 1103. Allusions to casting of lots are not frequent in Anglo-Saxon except in translations; an interesting example, however, is *Beow.* 3126, in the description of the partition of the dragon's treasure. The practice must have been a common one, as penalties were fixed for it, as well as for other heathen observances, in the *Poenitential Egberti* IV, 19 (ed. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, p. 380): 'Gif hwā hlȳtas oððe hwatunga begā, oððe his wæccan æt ænigum wylle hæbbe, oððe æt ænigre oððre gesceafte būton æt Godes cyricean, fæste hē III gēar, þæt ān on hlāfe ond on watere, ond þā II Wodnesdagum ond Frigedagum on hlāfe ond on watere, ond þā oððre dagas, brūce his metes būton flæsce ānum.' The ecclesiastical attitude towards the practice comes out also in the adjectives *hellcreftum*, *hæðengildum*, *An.* 1102. Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 27, in a catalogue of the wicked in hell, includes *wiccan*, 'wizards,' and *wigleras*, 'those who practice divination.' See further Kent, *Teutonic Antiquities in Andreas and Elene*, pp. 39–40.

7. For similar breaking of close syntactical agreement by the hemistich or the end of the line, cf. 118, 119–120, 163, 224, 225, 234, 312, 557; *Beow.* 758, 813, 2011, 2928, etc.

8. **frome folctogan.** CL *ibid.* 874; from folctoga (of Guthlac); *Pv.* 14; from folctoga (of Moses); *Bede* 1041, 1700; frome fyrdhwate.

9. **rofe rincas.** So *CL* 780, 1051, *idem* 2040; rincas wæton rofe. **round out land.** For other examples of similar riming phrases in Anglo-Saxon verse, see Kluge, *EBJ* IX, 125-130.

10. **on herefelda.** So *MS.*, *PL* 130.

11. **meotudwange.** The only occurrence of the compound; but cf. *meotud-gewinn*, *meotud-gara*, 'fate, decree of fate.'

12-13. The allusion, not contained in the Greek or the *Legend*, is evidently a scholium of the poet's.

15. **ut on þæt igland.** CL I, 28. On these two passages part of my note in *Monist. Zeits.* 11, 103, may be quoted: 'There is no equivalent for *igland* or *igra* in the Greek or the Anglo-Saxon prose versions of the legend. The corresponding passages are, *ἀς τῆς ἁγορᾶς τῶν ἀρθροπογῶν*, Bonnet, p. 65, and *ἐν τῇ πόλει αἰθῶν*, Bonnet, p. 60; se eadiga Mathews gehleat to Marmadonia hære ceastre, Bright, *Ælfric*, p. 113, æghwyle may be on hære ceastre com ælþeodisc, Bright, p. 113. A parallel situation is found in the *Phœnix*: the land in which the Phœnix dwells is twice referred to as an island, *andlæc se þæt igland*, *Pv.* 6, *on þæt igland*, *Pv.* 28; the second phrase being an elaboration of *andlæc æðelland*, *Pv.* 150. The corresponding passages in Lactantius, *De ave Phœnice*, are as follows:

Est locus in primo felix oriente remotus.

Oua paret ætemi maxima porta poli.

II, 1, 2.

Ast ubi primaeva coepit florere inventa.

Evolat ad patrias iam reditura domos.

II, 115, 116.

The word in the above passages is evidently not to be understood in the specific sense of "island," but rather in the literal sense of "water land," "land that is reached by water." To the insular Anglo-Saxon all foreign lands must have been "water lands"; perhaps in this poetical sense the word also carried with it the connotation of remoteness; in both the *Phœnix* and the *Andreas* it is used for the Orient. CL also *Sa. andlæc*, 111.

Hwat! Ic iglanda eallra hæbbe

boca onbyrged.

The elaboration of this passage makes *iglanda* refer to Lybia, Greece, and India, none of them islands.

18. **gesceode.** That the MS. reading, and not *geword* (as Grimm and Kemble propose), is right, is determined by the scansion of the half line. Grimm (in his notes) would derive *gesceode* from *gesceadiga*, 'sejungere' ('from joy' or 'happiness' to be supplied mentally). Kemble, deriving the form from the same verb, translates 'oft had the hand of the slaughterer . . . hardly decided for him'. Paul (*EBJ* VI, 94), Sievers (*ibid.* X, 300), and the dictionaries (*CL* 88, I, 148, II, 100; *BE* 130), all apparently going back to Dietrich (*Altengl.* 5, X, 350), suppose a contract verb *scenn*, *scennan*, 'happen,' 'betall' (88, I, 148 'accidere,' 'continere,' 'impetire'). Grein, *PL* 1, translates accordingly 'grimm ereilte sie oft

die Hand der Morder.' Grein, according to Wulker, takes the form as optative, and Wulker adds, 'da ein futuraler begriff in beziehung auf den vorhergehenden satz darin liegt, stimme ich Grein bei'; Wulker does not state from what verb he derives the form. But Grein neither in the *Sprachschat.* nor in his translation gives any indication that he takes the form as optative, and the syntax of the passage requires only the pret. ind., as e.g. l. 1420<sup>b</sup>. Trautmann (quoted by Simons, p. 60) evades the grammatical difficulty by emending the text, reading *hand geseodun* 'hande schadeten.'

The form *geseode*, in the sense demanded by the context, has, however, been satisfactorily accounted for by Professor Bright (*MLA*, XVII, p. 6) in a discussion of the reduplicating verb *geseodan*, 'separate,' 'decide,' 'deal out,' *Ev.* 504-506. By the side of the regular redup. pret. of this verb is found a weak pret. *geseode*, *Dun.* 620, *Seode*, *Ev.* 586; and a weak past part. *geseod*, *Ev.* 506. A parallel development is to be observed in the verb *geseoðþan*, *geseod*, *seod* (with weak pret. *seodeðe*, cf. *Gram.*, § 392, p. note 6); *geseode*, *An.* 18, is a new weak preterit formed on the old strong preterit. The verb has thus three preterit forms, *geseod* (*seod*), *geseodeðe*, and *geseode*. The hypothetical *seon* is therefore to be set aside and all the examples referred to *seodan* or *seoðþan*.

20. **feondes.** Cf. 1294; *Chr.* 1395; *Leornu feonde*; *Beow.* 2128; *feondes* *feð(mum)*; *Gen.* 153; *þuð feondes cræft*; *ibid.* 192; *þuð deoðes cræft*, etc. Note also *EL* 207: *se ealdra feond*; *Gospel of Nicodemus* (Bright's *Reader*, p. 131, l. 24): *þam ealdan deoðe*; and for the modern uses, see *AED*, s.v. *feud* and *enemy*, and Bradley's remarks, *Making of English*, pp. 197-198.

23-25. For this tradition of cannibalism see *Introd.*, p. lxxi. Cf. Bonnet, p. 65, ll. 7-8: οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι τῆς πόλεως ἐκίνησ ὅτι ἄρτον ἤσθον ὅτι ὀτρυν ἔαινον, ἅλλ' ἤσαν ἐσθίοντες σάρκας ἀνθρώπων καὶ πίνοντες αὐτῶν τὸ αἷμα. Six of the ten MSS. read ὅδωρ, however, instead of ὀτρυν. *Legend*, p. 113, ll. 6-8: hlaf ne æton, ne water ne druncon, æ æton manna hehaman and heora blod druncon.

Aside from the *Andreas*, no other allusions to the practice of cannibalism are made in the extant literature of the Anglo-Saxon period, and there is no reason to suppose that any native traditions concerning cannibalism were current among the Anglo-Saxons. A few early allusions in Continental literature to a belief in the existence of cannibalism among the Finns and other peoples of northeastern Europe are mentioned by Mullenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde* II, 49, 354; III, 17-18. See also Andree, *Die Anthropophagie*, pp. 6-15. The nearest approach to cannibalism in Anglo-Saxon literature is in the story of Grendel and his dam in the *Beowulf*. These creatures devour the bodies of men and drink their blood. They are, however, only half human, being possessed of more than human strength and distinguished by monstrous characteristics both of figure and of mind. The story of Grendel has been explained as a survival of early stories of cannibalism, dating back perhaps to the period of the cave dwellers; see Brooke, *History of Early English Literature* I, 118-119, and *English Literature from the Beginning*, p. 66; for the theory that cannibalism was practised by the cave dwellers, see Andree, *ibid.*, pp. 1-6. Perhaps further connection between the race of the giants and cannibalism may be seen in the word *etan*, 'giant,' *Teot. jētunn*, which has been explained as derived from the root which appears in

*etan*, 'eat,' 'devour.' See Mullenhoff, II, 351; Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* II, 518-520, IV, 1137; Golther, *Handbuch d. German. Myth.*, p. 101. It is possible that an Anglo-Saxon might have drawn a parallel between the story of Beowulf's fight with the man-eating Grendel and St. Andrew's conflict with the man-eating Mermedonians.

23. *ah*. Normally *ae*, but also *ah* (eight times) and *aeh* (once) in *Andreas*; see Glossary for citations, and *Gram.*, § 210, 3.

24. *feorranuncmenra*. So also in *Gen.* 1836<sup>a</sup>, *feorranuncmenra*, appositive to *deorhaga*, 1835<sup>a</sup>; and *Beow.* 301, *feorranuncmen*, appositive to *Geata Eode*, 302<sup>b</sup>; cf. also *Beow.* 1810. Kluge's comment (*PBR.* IX, 188) on the passage in *Beowulf*, to the effect that *feorranuncmen* as substantive compound = 'stranger' is better stylistically than *feorran cumen*, applies with equal force to the other two passages.

25<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 178: Swyle was beaw hyra (in a passage referring to the Danes as heathen); *Beow.* 1240: was beaw hyra (of the followers of Beowulf). Note also l. 177, with which cf. *Gen.* 300: swa bið geoguðe beaw; *Gen.* 538: swā bið feonda beaw; *Wald.* 31: swa bið seinna beaw, deofla wise. Cf. 177-179.

28. *ealand*. See 15, note. *söhte*. The verb is singular, as is usual after *fara þu* preceded by *u*, e.g. *ā*, *āghæwle*, *manig*, etc. See 380, 1153; and cf. *Beow.* 1400-1401: næfre hit æt hilde ne swac manna ængum þāra þe hit mid mundum bewand; *Beow.* 1405-1407: magoþegna þær þone selestan sǣwolleasne þāra þe mid Hroðgare ham ealode. Numerous other instances are cited, Wulfing, I, 110-116, and by Grimm, p. 64. Grimm points out that a similar idiom is found in Old Saxon. A plural verb is also occasionally used after *fara þu*, e.g. *FL.* 907-970: Ða was . . . leded mære moigenspel manigum on andan þāra þe dyhtnes ær dýman woldon; *FL.* 1286-1287: anta gehwyle þāra þe gewurdon on wídan feore.

31<sup>a</sup>. So *FL.* 110. 31<sup>b</sup>. *heofodgimmas*. Sievers (*PBR.* I, 503) supposes a plural form *gimmas*, as approximate imitation of the Latin plural, the form *gimme* being supported by the rhyme with *grimmes*. Cosijn, in emending to the usual plural form, adduces *Gen.* 1276<sup>a</sup>: *heriles gimmas*, and Sievers, in a remark appended to Cosijn's note, accepts the emendation, explaining *gimme* as an unconscious echo of *gimmas*. For the metaphor cf. *Chr.* 1330; *Ea. Gen.* 44; *FL.* 301 ff.; and see 50, note.

32. *agetton*. Gm. and K., reading *ageton*, derive the form from *āgēotan*, 'to pour out'; K. translates 'the eye sight . . . the gem of the head gallows minded poured out with javelin points'. *Gen.* 89, I, 22, reads *āgēton*, and derives the form from *agitan*, 'destruere, extinguere, subvertere': *Drüht.*, 'grausam zerstören mit der Geere Spitzen'. As weak verb, however, the word is found in this phrase in *Beow.* 18: garum āgeted (variant, forgrunden); and cf. *An.* 1143; *Notes et M.* 10: sumne secal gār agetan, sumne gūð ābrēotan. Simons, p. 5, also reads *āget*, 10n. The quantity of the radical vowel of *āgētan* is discussed by Sievers, *PBR.* X, 313.

33-34. Cf. *Chr.* 1137 S: Swylec hī me geblēndon bittre tōsomne unswētnes dýrne, 'a paraphrase of *Matt.* XXVII, 34.

34. *dryas*. The word is of Celtic origin. Holder, *Alt-Celt. Sprachschatz*, col. 1321, derives it from the intensive prefix *drum* + *uid-s*, from the root meaning

'know.' The whole compound would mean therefore primarily 'the very wise,' by extension 'priests.' The word was probably acquired by the Anglo-Saxons from the Irish missionaries in Northumbria, and, as the designation of the priests of a non-Christian religion, it was given an evil signification. As we should expect, the word and its compound appear in Anglo-Saxon only in the later Christian literature. Cf. 6, note; 765-766, note; and see *A.E.D.* s.v. *druid*.

35-39. Cf. the similar situation in *Dan.* 569-574:

ond ðec wineleasne    on wræc sendeð  
ond þonne onhweorleð    heortan þīne,  
þæt þū ne gemyndgast    after manðcāme  
ne gewittes wast    bītan wildēora jēaw,  
æc þū lifgende    linge þrage  
heorta hlȳpum    geond holt wunast.

36. **heortan on hreðre.** Reading *heortan hreðre* (*hreðre* inst. sg.), Grein, *Dicht.*, translates 'der das Bewusstsein der Manner wandte im Busen, die innersten Gedanken.' **Heortan** is plainly appositive to **ingeþanc** and **gewit**, and the idiom requires a preposition to govern **hreðre**; cf. *An.* 69<sup>b</sup>, 892-3; *Chr.* 640-641: *þām þe deorc gewit hæfdon on hreðre*, *heortan stænne*. In l. 36<sup>a</sup> **on** has evidently fallen out through its similarity in sound to the final syllable of **heortan**. — Perhaps 36<sup>b</sup> should be placed within parentheses; see 764<sup>b</sup>, note.

38. **heorogrædige.** Appositive to **hīe**, 37<sup>a</sup>, though the epithet seems more appropriate to the Mermedonians than to their victims.

39. Cf. *El.* 612; 698: *mēðe* and *metelēas*. The unmutated form **-leaste** instead of **-fieste**, here and in 1157, is analogical to adj. forms in *-leas*; cf. also *nēadeofan*, 1309.

40-41<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *El.* 273<sup>b</sup>-274: *cwōmon in þā ceastre corðra mæste*; *El.* 1203<sup>b</sup>, 1204<sup>a</sup>; *tō þære hālgan byrig, cuman in þā ceastre*. With 40<sup>b</sup> cf. 287<sup>b</sup>, 973<sup>b</sup>, and 227<sup>b</sup>, of Heaven; *Chr.* 1007, *on þone mārān beorg*, of the New Jerusalem.

42. **Mermedonia.** For the forms of this name and its identification, see *Introd.* p. lxi. — **hlōð**. See 992, note.

43. **fordēnra gedrag.** The word *gedrag*, *gedrag*, usually 'tumult, outcry,' is also used of the ocean, *afer dēop gedrag*, *Rud.* VII, 10, apparently in the sense of 'wide extent,' and, as here, is used in phrases indicating large numbers; cf. *Beow.* 756: *sēcām dēofla gedrag*; *Wife's Complaint*, 45: *sinsorgna gedrag*. For a third use of the word, see 1555, note. — The unmutated forms of the participle of *dōn*, found only in *Chr.* 1207, 1266, and the present passage, are, according to Sievers (*PBB.* IX, 299), undoubted survivals from an original Northumbrian text.

45<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 1626: *ðadon him þa tegānax*, of Beowulf after his return from the fight with Grendel's mother.

46<sup>b</sup>. Perhaps to be enclosed within parentheses; see 764<sup>b</sup>, note.

49. **fēondes cræfte.** So 1106, 1294. Cf. *Gen.* 392: *dēofles cræft*; and, for examples of both phrases, see B.T., p. 168. The word 'craft' has not in Anglo-Saxon specifically evil meaning (cf. 327, 484, etc.).

50. **hellfūse.** *Chr.* 1123 is the only other occurrence of this word. **segl**. For other forms of the word, see 89<sup>b</sup>; 1246<sup>b</sup>; 1156<sup>b</sup>. The word appears also, as

simplex and in compounds, in the form *sigel* (Sievers, *IFB.* X, 507). Note the proper name *Sigelwarras* = Ethiopians, *Ap.* 64, *Ev.* 60, etc. For the figure of the eye as the sun of the head, cf. *Skáldskaparmál*, Cap. 60, *SuF.* I, 538-539, where the poetic names of the eyes are given as the sun or moon, shields, glass, gems, or jewels, of the brows or eyelashes. See 31, note.

51. *ābrēoton*. The form of the verb is probably due to confusion with the verbs of the reduplicating class; see *Gram.*, § 384, 2, and Bright, *MLA.* II, 80. See 640, note. — *mid billes ege*. Cf. *Beow.* 2485: billes eegum; *ibid.* 2508: billes ecg.

51-53. According to the *Πράξεις* (Bommet, p. 66, ll. 9-14) Andrew drinks the magic brew which the Mermedonians prepare for him, but his reason is not affected by it and he therefore refuses to eat the hay which they place beside him, but continues praising God as before. The version of this incident in the *Legend*, p. 113, ll. 15-18, is confused: ond hīe him sealdon āttor drincan, and hīe sendon on carcerne, and hīe hīne hēton ȝet āttor etan, and hē hit etan nolde; for þon his heorte næs tōlæsed, nē his mōd onwended.

52. Cf. *Jul.* 230: herede at heorten heofonrices god. Professor Hart calls attention to *Cadmon's Hymn* 1: Nū scylun hergan hefaenricas uard.

54. *onmōd*. Cf. 1638, and *anrēd*, 232, 983. The two words are formed (Sievers, *Zacher's Zs.* XXI, 362) in the same manner as *ofermōd*, and mean, primarily, 'having the attention turned in a certain direction or against something'; then in a good sense, 'eager, resolute, bold,' or with more emphatic value, 'angry, enraged' (cf. *Dan.* 224, *anmōd*; *Beow.* 1576, *anrēd*, both appositive to *yrre*). Note also *anmōdla*, *onmōdla*, 'pride,' *Dan.* 748; *Chr.* 814, etc., where the word has developed in a pejorative direction. *Onmōd*, *anmōd* is to be distinguished from *ānmōd*; cf. I. 1565, note. Cf. *Gu.* 717: ēadig ond onmōd.

55<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 806<sup>a</sup>.

56. *hālgan stefne*. The construction weak adj. + noun, in the instrumental case, is found frequently throughout Anglo-Saxon verse in certain traditional set phrases: the form *hālgan stefne* occurs five times in *An.*, and cf. *beorhtan*, *gēomran*, *hlūdan*, *nīwan stefne*; *sārgan reorde*; *hātan heolfre* (2), *heaðo-wætlme*; *blācan līge*; *þriððan sīðe*; see Glossary for citations. In similar phrases the strong form of the adj. is found in *brante cōole*; *cōððre myele* (2); *hēa hornscipe*; *ōðre sīðe* (4); *mīne gefrege*. In other than instrumental phrases the weak inflection of the adj., in constructions of adj. + noun, is found as follows: gen. sg., *ēcan dryhtnes*, 721; dat. sg., *bestēmdon*, 487; *hālgan hēape*, *Ap.* 9; *winterealdan niht*, 1265; and in the prepositional phrases, *tō wīðan fēore* (3 times); *tō wīðan aldre* (2 times); *tō fāgeran gefēan*, 1603, and cf. 508; *under nīllan næs*, 1305; *on swā nīowan gefēan*, 1670. See Lichtenfeld, *Haupt's Zs.* XVI (IV), 327 ff., for arguments (not altogether valid) as to chronology drawn from the use of these constructions.

57-58. Cf. *Jul.* 233: tō carcerne. Hyre wæs Crīstes lof in ferþlocan faeste biwunden. Note also *An.* 1671.

59. Cf. *Chr.* 992: wēpað wānende wērgum stefnum.

61<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Met.* I, 84: gēomran stemne.

62<sup>a</sup>. So 1282; *EL* 814; *Ph.* 465. — 62<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Introd.* p. xlix.

63. **hu.** Introducing exclamatory rhetorical questions, *hu* is not infrequently found, e.g. *Wund.* 95: *hu seo jag gewat*; *Chr.* 362: *hu we sind geswente juh* *me sylfa gewill*, etc. It occurs also as simple interjection, equivalent to *how!*, in *Ap.* 91; *Chr.* 1359: *Hu ja* *wes uneten iacu unc gemene!*; and, in conjunction with *calu*, *Hol.* 75: *Eala Gabriel hu ja eart gleaw and searp.* See also *Hol.* 84, 100, 104; *Chr.* 216, 278, etc. In these instances *calu* and *hu* are to be taken together as constituting the interjectional phrase, similar to the phrase *calu how!*, *Chr.* 316; *Sat.* 316; *Metr.* IV, 25, *Metr.* VIII, 55. For the use of *hu* as interjection in the prose, see Wulling, II, 694.

64. *seowad̥*. Gm., noting *Beow.* 406, translates 'consuunt.' The remarks, however, that *seowad̥* 'coquunt' might possibly apply to the welding of fetters. K. follows Gm.'s first reading; Gm. *Spr.* II, 437, B., and W. *Nachtrage*, p. 208, his second interpretation. But no justification for the meaning *seowad̥* 'seethe, boil' 'weld, fashion, devise,' as accepted by Gm., W., and B., can be found from the other metaphorical uses of the word in Anglo-Saxon. In *Beow.* 190 and 1993 the word is used transitively with *mōcære*, *mōdecare*, respectively, as objects, and it means 'to be troubled about, to brood over.' The participle *soden* appears in *Gm.* 1046, 1236 (with inst. *sorgwylmum*), 1123 (with inst. *sārwylmum*), and in *An.* 1239 (with inst. *sarbennum*); in all these passages it means 'troubled, afflicted.' On the other hand, the dependence of 64<sup>1</sup> upon *Beow.* 406<sup>1</sup>, *searwact seowed*, is evident; in both passages the word means 'weave, knit.' For a similar figure, cf. 672<sup>1</sup>, *wroht webbaðe*. The MS. reading *seowad̥* (= *seowad̥*) might easily arise from the misreading of *se* for *þ*; a similar scribal error probably explains the MS. form *wies* for *þies* in 145<sup>b</sup>. Cf. Icel. *skyrtla hamri æðr*, 'a shirt sewed with the hammer,' 'hammer-knit' (Cleas.-Vig., p. 518).

65 66. Cf. *l.l.* 267-268: þeodnes willan, georn on mōde.

66. *Ḍurh geothā*. 'Now with sorrow.' Cosijn (followed by Simons, p. 49) would read *geothā*, 'foolishness, mockery' (anticipating *dumbān*, 67<sup>b</sup>), a plausible but not a necessary change.

67. See 38<sup>th</sup>-39.

70. **sr̥**. Here monosyllabic (Siev., *PRB.* X, 178), and so regularly in *Andreas*, except 317<sup>4</sup>.

70 71. Cf. *EL* 773-774: gif þā willa sīc, wealdend engla, læt, etc.; 789, gif hit sīc willa þā.

72. *swærdum āswebban*. So *Ap.* 69<sup>b</sup>; *Reom.* 567, 679. — Cf. *Reom.* 1825: *ic beo gearo sōna*.

74. **cōlleasum.** The pronominal object is implied in the adjective.

76-78. Concerning the restoration of Matthew's sight, see 91, note.

**78. *zeffer billhete*.** This is the only recorded occurrence of *billhete*, defined by Grein, *Spr.* I, 117, 'odium open-sium manifestatum'; by B.T., 'the hate of swords.' Cf. *egghete*, *cumbolhete*, with meaning similar to that of *billhete*. In the present passage the word may have allusion to the way Matthew's eyes were put out; or it may have been coined merely for the time (Bright).

81. *tō ānum* [pe. Cf. *Pv.* LXXXVI, 6 : on ānum [pe.

82. Cf. *ful.* 221; ic tō Dryhtne mm mod stæbelige.

85. *seyldhetum*. The only occurrence of this as well as the parallel compound, *mðhetum*, 834. The value of *hete* in compounds is otherwise that of an abstract noun, 'hate.' Grm., p. 98, suggests, and Simons, p. 110, would read *hete*, *-hatum*, in order to make the form agree with the form *seyldhata*, 1047, 1147; but the compound *mðhetum* speaks decisively against the change. See 1047, note.

86. *werigum wrohtsmiðum*. Cf. *grynsmið*, 917, *larsmið*, 1220. The existence of such compounds in Anglo-Saxon, in which, however, the second element has become generalized in meaning, is an indication of the dignified position of the smith in early Teutonic society. Compare also the conception of Welund as smith, which was not unknown to the Anglo-Saxons, as we learn from *Beow.* 455, *Deor* 1, and *Wald.* 2. Similar compounds in other Teutonic languages are mentioned by Kluge, *PBB.* X, 110.

86<sup>b</sup> 87. Cf. Bonnet, p. 67: καὶ μὴ παραδώσεις με τῷ θανάτῳ τῷ πικρῷ τοῦτῳ. *Legend*, p. 114: ne me ne sele on þone bitterestan deap.

88. *wuldres tacen*. Grein, *Spr.* II, 520, and Simons, p. 134, would supply *sancta crux*, 'the sign of the cross,' as completing the meaning, making *wuldres tacen* thus equivalent to the *signes tacen* of *L.L.* 88 and elsewhere. But cf. *P<sup>h</sup>.* 96: *terht tacen Godes*, appositive to *Godes cundlice*, l. 91; *Gu.* 1200: oðæt eastan cwom ofer deop gelad dagredwoma, wedertacen wearm. Note also Bonnet, p. 67: Ταῦτα δὲ προσερχομένου τοῦ Μαθθία ἐν τῇ φηλακῇ ἐλαψεν φῶς, καὶ ἐξήλθεν ἐκ τοῦ φωτός φωνὴ λεγούσα, and *Legend*, p. 114, l. 9: mycel leoht ond beorht onleohhte þæt carcan, and Drihtnes stefn was geworden to him on þam leohte.

89. *hadre*. One expects *hadre* as in 1456. But we may take *hādre* (with Barnouw, p. 140) as weak nom.; the construction may carry with it a specific or demonstrative value (cf. note on *hæren*, l. 88), and it is so translated by Grein *P<sup>h</sup> l.*, Root, and Hall: 'like the bright sun.' Kemble, however, makes it indefinite, 'like a serene star.' One might almost suppose that *hādre*, the adverbial form, is a recollection of the model for this passage:

\* Ða cwom lēohta mæst  
hālg of heofonum — hadre scinum!

*Gu.* 1236-1237.

*segl*. This spelling is supported by 50, *sægt* by 1450. No other example of *ç* for *æ* occurs in the MS; but *æ* for *e* occurs 582, *-wæge*: 405, *stæfnan*.

91. *helpe gefremede*. Nothing is said here to show that Matthew's sight (cf. 51, 77) is restored to him; both the Greek and the *Legend*, however, are specific: Bonnet, p. 67, παράσχον οὖν σοι κύριε τὸ φῶς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου, and later, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνέσχευεν; *Legend*, p. 114, l. 4: forgife mīna eagna leoht; and l. 12: Mathews þa lociende he geseah Drihten Crīst. In the passage corresponding to 1434, when the Mermedonians come to Matthew in prison, the Greek and the *Legend* state that he closed his eyes in order that they might not perceive that his sight had been restored. Heinzel, "Ueber den Stil der altgerm. Poesie," *Quellen und Forsch.* I, X, 43, notes this passage as characteristic of Cynewulf's proneness to omit even necessary steps in the progress of a narrative.

92-93. Similar phrasing occurs in ll. 1429-1430; and cf. *Jucl.* 282-283: Hyre stefn oncwæf; wlitig of wolcnum, word hlēoðrade.



**94. maguþegne.** Of the 14 occurrences of this compound in Anglo-Saxon verse, 6 are found in *Beowulf*, 5 in *Andreas*, and the remaining three as follows: *Wand.* 62, *Men.* 82, *Jud.* 236. Of the five occurrences in *Andreas* 4 refer, as in the present passage, to the servants of the Lord; in the remaining passage, 1140, the epithet, with epic impartiality, is used of the heathen Mermedonians.

**95. under hearmlocan.** So *El.* 695.

**99. ic þē mid wunige.** Cf. 101, 945, 1218, and *Chr.* 478, 488, for similar phrasing.

**100. Th. and K. place of þyssum in the first half-line; but cf. 112. — leodn-bendum.** The compound occurs five times in *An.*, but elsewhere only *Gen.* 382.

**102. neornxawang.** An ingenious explanation of this difficult word is that offered by Bradley, *Academy* XXXVI, 254 (Oct. 19, 1889). He regards it as a contraction of a fuller form, \**nēorohsna xawang*, the Gothic equivalent of which would be \**nawī-rōhsnē-xawaggs*, 'the field of the palaces of the dead.' With the first element, *nawī*, he compares Anglo-Saxon *nēo*, as in *nēobed*, *nēosið*, etc., and with the general conception, *wealheal*, 'Valhalla.' A more probable etymology is that of Reinius, *Anglia* XIX, 554-556, who derives the first element from a hypothetical Anglo-Saxon form \**ne tæwksan*, 'not working, not suffering'; the whole compound would thus mean 'the plain or field of the idle.'

**104<sup>a</sup>.** Cf. *Doomsday* 24: ne noht hyhtlic hām; *Sat.* 138: ne mōt ic hihtlican hāmes brūcan. In both passages, as in *Andreas*, the allusion is to the heavenly home. — **104<sup>b</sup>.** Cf. *Chr.* 284, 1189: hālgum meahnum.

**105.** Cf. 1611; *Chr.* 1673: ond wuldres lēoht torht ontȳned; *Sat.* 556: ūs is wuldres lēoht torht ontȳned; *Sat.* 593-594: þær is wuldres blēd torht ontȳned; *Gu.* 457-458: wæs mē swegles lēoht torht ontȳned. *Gn.* and *W.* have only a comma after ontȳned.

**106. tō wīðan fēore.** Also 810, 1452; *El.* 211, 1321; *Beow.* 933. Cf. tō wīðan aldre, 938, 1721; wīðan feorh, 1383, also *El.* 760, 800, *Beow.* 2014.

**107. þrāh.** Final *g* appears as *h*, in *Andreas*, in *burh*, *ādrēah*, *gelāh*, *āstāh*, and the present instance; see *Gram.*, § 214, 1, and cf. 769<sup>b</sup>, note.

**109. synnige.** I quote from my note, *Mod. Phil.* II, 404: 'Reading *synne* with the MS. and editors, Grein, *Spr.* II, 518, glosses the word as inst. sg.(?) of *syn*, "evil," "wickedness"; Simons, p. 124, glosses the form as a reflexive pronoun, but he gives no further clue as to his interpretation of the passage. The translations treat the word as an adverb. But the improbable inst. sg. *synne* is clearly to be corrected to the adjective form *synne* [or *synnige*], appositive to *weārlagan*, 108<sup>a</sup>, to accord with the usual phrasing as found in 565<sup>b</sup>, 710<sup>a</sup>, 964<sup>b</sup>; cf. also 921<sup>b</sup>. The MS. has regularly the unsyncopated forms in this word; the form *synne* perhaps looks back to a time when the syncopated forms were still written.'

**111<sup>a</sup>.** So 567; *Chr.* 1197.

**113. tælnet.** The only occurrence of the word; *tælnearc* occurs once, *Gu.* 849.

**114. seofon ond twēntig.** The chronology is consistent and follows the sources; cf. *Legend*, p. 114, l. 18: ac onbīd hēr seofon and twēntig nihta. The Mermedonians hold a meeting every thirty days (l. 157) and at the end of thirty

days Matthew is to be put to death; after twenty seven days, however (**fore preo niht**, 185). Andrew is to set out to rescue him from this fate. Cf. also 148, 930.

**115. nihtgermes.** The term commonly used by the Anglo Saxons in reckoning a period of time was *niht*, not *dag*; for examples in *Andreas*, see Glossary, and cf. 114, note. Tacitus (*Germania* 11) mentions this custom among the Germans of the Continent: 'Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant'; and he adds: 'Sic constituunt, sic condicunt; nox ducere diem videtur.' Caesar (*De Bello Gallico* VI, 18) records the same custom among the Gauls: 'Galli se omnes ab Dite patre prognatos prædicant idque ab druidibus proditum dicunt. Ob eam causam spatia omnis temporis non numero dierum, sed noctium finiunt.' And he also adds: 'dies natales et mensium et annorum initia se observant, ut noctem dies subsequatur.' This custom of reckoning the night with the day which followed it also obtained among the Anglo Saxons; cf. Anglo-Saxon *frigeæfen* Thursday evening, *trigeniht* the night preceding Friday (see Kluge, *Etymolog. Wörterbuch*, s.v. *fasten*). Sunday, according to the Wulfstan homilist, should be observed 'from nontide þæs sæternlages oð monandages lihtinge' (Tupper, "Anglo-Saxon Dag-Mat," *Pub. of the M.L.A.* X, 134), *nontide* being the ninth hour counting from sunrise. This custom has left its traces in the Mod. Eng. phrases 'Hallowe'en,' 'New Year's Eve,' 'Christmas Eve,' etc. The custom of reckoning time by nights instead of days survives in the phrases 'founnight,' 'seennight,' 'Twelfth Night.' See further Schraden, *Reallexikon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, p. 845, and Grimm, *Feut. Myth.*, p. 753.

**116.** Cf. *Gu.* 1110: sárum geswenced; *Beow.* 975: symum geswenced. — All Edd. have a comma after **geswenced**; B. and K. put a comma after **gewyrðod** also, but the other Edd. have no punctuation here. *Gu.*<sup>2</sup> removes the comma after **geswenced**, adds one after **gewyrðod**, and supplies **wesan** as completing the sense. On the omission of **wesan**, cf. 1303, note. — Cf. *Jud.* 209: sigore geweorðod.

**118<sup>1</sup>.** Also 225<sup>1</sup>.

**120. on riht.** Simons, p. 110, forms an adj. compound **onriht** = 'wahr, echt,' following *Gu.*, who translates, *Dicht.*, 'er ist ein rechter König.' But the words, metrically, do not have the stress of an adj. compound; cf., besides the other passages in *An.*, *Cf.*, 207: móte árisan ond on riht cuman; and *Ex.* 580: reaf ond randas, heom on riht scéode.

**123<sup>1</sup>.** So 1303; *Gen.* 1555, 1880; *Beow.* 1780, 2504; *El.* 1000, 1127. — **nihthelm tōglād.** Also *El.* 78; cf. 1305. Grimm, *Feut. Myth.*, 753, noting these passages, says: 'to her [i.e. Night], as a goddess, is ascribed, quite in the spirit of our olden time, a terrible and fearful *helmet*, like a cloak of darkness.' But the passages hardly justify the specific picture. **Helu** is probably used in these compounds in the general sense of 'covering.'

**123 128.** For other examples of the figure of asyndeton in *Andreas*, see ll. 370 ff.; 391 ff.; 1545 ff.

**125. dagredwoma.** The two elements of this word occur separately. *Dagrēd* (OHG. *tagar-at*, *-et*, Icel. *dagrað*, cf. Noreen, *Abriss der indogerm. Lautlehre*, p. 190) was, in the Anglo-Saxon period, a technical term for one of the periods of the day. The Anglo-Saxon night was divided into seven parts, the seventh

part coming just before *dagrēd*, *dagrēd* itself being succeeded by *sunnan āfgang* (Tupper, "Anglo-Saxon Dægmael," *Pub. of M.L.L.* X, 126). It was also the period, as we learn from the *Colloquy* of Ælfric (Tupper, p. 154), when the husbandman went to the fields: '(Arator): Eala loof, pearle ic deofre; ic gā ūt on dægēd (diluculo), þȳwende oxon to felda.' In later English the word, through a process of popular etymologizing, was supposed to be made up of the elements 'day' and 'red,' 'the red of the break of day,' 'the rosy dawn' (cf. *NED*, s.v. *day-red*). The second element of the compound, *wōma*, in its other occurrences, both as simplex and in compounds, has the meaning 'tumult,' 'alarm,' at times 'terror'; cf. 1355; and *Chr.* 831, 998, *heofonwōma* (tr. Cook, *Christ*, p. 259, 'sound from heaven,' 'thunder (?)'). The two elements combined seem to mean, therefore, 'the rush or tumult of the dawn'; Brooke, p. 414, 'the trumpet sound of the dawn.' Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, 720 ff., gathers together a great number of illustrations showing how wide-spread was the belief that ascribed noise or clang to the rising and setting of the sun, and explains the belief by supposing the existence in the popular mind of 'a deep affinity between the notions of light and sound, of colors and tones.' Wotan himself, he points out (p. 715), is called Wuomo, Wōma; and in this name and such words as *dagrēdwōma*, he sees the survivals of an original nature-myth, according to which the dawn was an actual living person.

125<sup>b</sup>-133<sup>b</sup>. The Edd. vary widely in the punctuation of these lines. After *sannade*, 125<sup>b</sup>, W. has a colon, all other Edd. a comma; after *hildfreca*, 126<sup>a</sup>, K. and B. have a comma, the other Edd. no punctuation. Gn., B., and Cos. (*PBB.* XXI, 8), enclose l. 127 within parentheses, thus making *hrysedon*, 127<sup>b</sup>, intransitive, and uniting *bolgenmōde*, 128<sup>a</sup>, to *hildfreca*, 126<sup>a</sup>. After *bordhreoðan*, 128<sup>b</sup>, Gm. has no punctuation, all other Edd. a period or colon; after *wunedon*, 131<sup>b</sup>, Gm. and K. a semicolon, all other Edd. a comma; after *berēdan*, 133<sup>b</sup>, Gm. and K. a question mark, all other Edd. a period. *Woldon cunnian*, 129<sup>a</sup>, has two objects, (1) the clause *hwaðer . . . wunedon*, and (2) *hwylene . . . berēdan*.

127. *gāras hrysedon*. Kemble, 'they brandished their javelins.' But the passage here is an evident reminiscence from *Beowulf*, the only other occurrence of the word *hrysan* in the heroic poetry: *syrcan hrysedon, gūðgewædo*, *Beow.* 226-227. Translate as intransitive, 'rattle'; Grein, *Dicht.*, 'die Kampfspeere rauschten.' Cf. *Beow.* 327: *byrnan hringdon*.

128<sup>b</sup>. So also *Beow.* 2203.

130. Cf. 1378; 1560; *Chr.* 734-735: *þær hē gēn ligeð in carcerne clommum gefæstnad*.

133<sup>a</sup>. Also *El.* 1034, 1268; *Ph.* 223. The period was thirty days (cf. 114, note). — 133<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *El.* 498: *fēore berēddon*.

135. Cf. Bonnet, p. 68: *καὶ προσέθεναν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ δεξιᾷ τάβλαν, ἵνα γυνῶσι τὴν πλήρωσιν τῶν τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν*. Note also 149, 157. These details are omitted in the *Legend*.

136. *hwæmne*. Also 400; cf. *Gram.*, § 65, and note 2.

138. *caldheorte*. The only occurrence of the epithet in Anglo-Saxon. — *cordor ōðrum getang*. For other examples of this stylistic device of using *ōðer*

instead of repeating the noun, cf. 113: *El.* 233; *Fied.* 6; *Beow.* 653, 870, 2484, 2985. See 360, note.

139. After *ræsboran* Gm. and W. have no mark of punctuation, the other Edd. a semicolon. Cf. *Chr.* 700: *sōþes ne gieldon*.

140. *hira mod.* Cf. 451: *ure mōd* = 'we'; 1212: *þæt æðele mōd* = 'he.' Other examples are *El.* 507; *Jul.* 20, 209; *Gn.* 711.

141. *deofles larum.* 'Through or by the instruction, counsel of the devil.' The phrase is a common one with Wulfstan: *judeise fole þurh deofles lāre hine forrædde* (ed. Napier, p. 17, l. 19); *eal manecyn was þurh deofles lāre ær þām beswicen* (p. 22, l. 1).

142. *caucðum.* The late writing *u* for *f* occurs only in this word in the MS. of *Andreas*, but the use is sporadic throughout the Anglo-Saxon period; cf. *Gram.*, § 194.

143. *glāwne.* This spelling is supported by *gelāh.* 1074.

145. *þæs.* Lohmann (*Angla* III, 126), accepting the emendation *hwæs* for the MS. *wæs*, cites *hwæs* in this passage as the sole example of the interrogative used as relative pronoun. Zupitza (*Angla* III, 309), retaining *hwæs*, regards the form as interrogative, and the clause which it introduces as a dependent question, not a relative clause. But the right reading here is undoubtedly *þæs*, the first letter of which was miswritten *w*; cf. 61, note.

146. So *Sat.* 21, 230, 650; *Hr.* V, 6; *Ap.* 28.

147. *frumrædenne.* The only occurrence of the word. *Dicht.*, 'die Frist der Vorbestimmung'; K., 'Then was the space expired of the predestined time'; Root, 'Then was accomplished . . . The appointed time, the season fore-ordained.'

148. *þinggeincarees.* Cf. 157, note.

149. Cf. 135, note.

150. Cf. *Beow.* 1507: *bānhringas bræc*.

151. Cf. 1472; *Beow.* 1030: *langre dǣpsed*, of the armor of Beowulf.

152. *dugeðe ond geogoðe.* Also 1122, and *Beow.* 160, 621, 1674. The two occurrences of the phrase in *Andreas* are in passages of similar context, and both refer to the Mermedonians. The phrase is, however, a dignified, heroic one, and means the body of warriors, young and old; see Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde* IV, 203-204. As it is used in *Andreas* it perhaps has weakened and become generalized into the sense merely of 'every one,' 'one and all.'

154. Cf. *Beow.* 1508: *fægne flesc homan*.

154<sup>b</sup> 156. Cf. the similar phrasing 1227<sup>b</sup> 1228.

157 158. 'After every thirty days'; cf. *Mald.* 271: *æfre embe stunde*; *Chron.* 1137: *æure um wile*, 'every little while'; *Metz.* XXVIII, 28-30:

ōðer steorra    cymeð etne swā same  
on þone flean steð    ett ymb driȝ  
geŋgerimes.

157. *þing gehædon.* Cf. 030; *Beow.* 425-426: *āna gehēgan ſing wið þyrse*; *Ex. Gn.* 18-19: *þing secal gehēgan frōð wið frōðne*. Note also *mæðel gehēgan*, 1040, 1100, and *seonæð gehēgan*, *Ph.* 493. The phrase is a conventional term in Anglo-Saxon for holding a parliament or meeting, but it is found only in the verse and is not

used in the prose of the meetings of the *teitan*. But the same phrase was, and is still, used in Iceland of the meeting of deliberative or legislative bodies; cf. Cleas-Vig., p. 260, *heyja þing*, 'to hold a parliament.' The word *þing*, according to Mayhew, *Academy* XXXVI, 138 (Aug. 31, 1889), is cognate with Gothic *þeihs*, 'time,' the form *þing* being derived by grammatical change, and means 'a meeting held at an appointed time.' This derivation is also given by Greenough and Kittredge, *Words and their Ways*, p. 236: 'The word is thought to be cognate with Latin *tempus*, "the (fitting) time," "the right moment." If so, we may feel confident that the oldest sense at which we can arrive in English is "that which is agreed upon as fitting." The word *þingmennæres*, which occurs only twice, *An.* 148 and *El.* 3, certainly refers to time, and thus bears out the above derivation. This etymology has been questioned, however, by F. A. Wood, *MLA* XIX, 1. In discussing the base *\*te(n)go*, which appears in the meaning 'stretch,' 'lengthen,' 'grow,' 'become strong,' and (what seems to be the opposite meaning) 'draw together,' 'contract,' 'make compact,' he says: 'Here belong OE. *þing*, OHG. *ding*, pre-Germ. *tenqó-m*, "a drawing together," "contract," "compact," etc. The meaning "draw together" is apparent in OE. *þingian*, "settle," "reconcile," "arrange," "intercede," "plead." But Professor Wood's semasiological grouping is not convincing.

158. Gm. has only a comma after *nihhtgerimes*, all other Edd. a colon or semicolon. — *nēod*. The sense here is 'desire,' as in *Ph.* 189-191:

'bið him nēod micel  
þæt hē þā yldu ofestum mōte  
þurh gewittes wylm wendan to life.'

B.-T., p. 714, quotes the same phrase in OS.: 'was im niud mikil that sie selbon Krist gisehan mostin,' 'they desired eagerly to see Christ.' Cf. 1166<sup>b</sup>, note.

164. *oft his lufan ādræg*. The MS. *of*, 'for the sake of' (as given by the translators), has not the support of other examples; cf. 431<sup>a</sup>. The emendation is supported by *Gu.* 63: *sē nāfre þā lēan ālegeð þām þe his lufan ādrēogeð*. *Ādrēogan* is always used transitively in *Andreas*. For other examples of the verb in an active sense, cf. *Gu.* 86<sup>b</sup>: *gewin drugon*; *Sat.* 251<sup>b</sup>-255: *þis is idel gylp þæt wē ær drugon ealle hwile*; Wulfstan (ed. Napier, p. 28, ll. 1-3): *þæt [heofona rice] ēow is gegearwod tō ēcan edlcane ēowres geswines, þe gē for mīnum lufan ær on worulde ādrugan*. For a similar differentiation in meaning, cf. *rafnun* = 'to do, perform,' and 'to endure, suffer.' Cf. 1380, note.

165-167. See *Intro.*, p. lviii.

166. *galdoreraftum*. The first element of the compound means literally 'sound,' 'song,' then 'incantation,' 'magic incantation'; cf. *Beow.* 3052: *galdre bebounden*, 'protected by a spell,' of the treasure-hoard of the dragon. The word appears here to be generalized to the meaning merely of things evil or wicked; cf. 6, note; 34, note; 765-766, note.

167<sup>a</sup>. So *Gu.* 875. — *sio*. Hall, p. 67: 'The article in line 167 is treated as definite by Grein, but we have always felt that it had the indefinite value.' Lichtenfeld, *Haupt's Zs.* XVI (IV), 349, notices this passage but gives no further examples of the definite form with indefinite value. It seems best, however, to take *sio* as Sievers does (*PBR.* XII, 192), not as indefinite, or as referring to the voice of the Lord, but to the voice of Andrew: 'then from the heavens

[i.e. in heaven by the Lord] his voice was heard, where the saintly man Andrew, in Achaia, was.' Cf. 1074: *him soðlice geat*, 'his hope deceived him.'

170. Cf. *D.* 31, *Denz.* 47: *heode leam*.

171. **cirebaldum**. The only occurrence of the word. The emendation **cynbaldum** is based on the emended reading *cyneman* for the MS. *cyngeand*; *syn* 1074: *cynn*, or *cyngeand* *man* occurs only in this passage. But cf. the compounds *cynwyl*, *cyngeaf* (80: 1, 180), glosses *cynwyl* = 'strenuus arbitrii'; B. F., 'bold in decision'. Sweet, *Denz.* does not give the form **cirebald**. *D.* 12 translates: 'gegen den Kühnen da', K., contrary to his text, 'to him royally bold'. Root, 'to him, that steadfast saint'; Hall, 'to him bold in decision.'

174. **ferð ledam**. Cf. 287, 430, and 437, note. Cf. also 210.

177. Cf. 187, note.

170<sup>1</sup>. Cf. 1130<sup>1</sup>, and 12: 101-102: *gen to feotes be unnan wille*.

180-181. Cf. *Beowulf* 67: *syððan ærest weaht feasecaft funden*.

184. So also 1038, 1387, 1388, 1389, 1388, 078.

185. **fore**. Cf. Bonnet, p. 68: *for 3ap ipis hapai*. Note also 114. The *Legend*, p. 114, ll. 6-10, reads: 'and alad þanon Matheum þinne broþer of þam carcerne, for þou be mi gyt þy dagas to lufe syndon, þat þine' etc. The probable word in the hypothetical Latin original which **fore** translates is *ante*. It seems best to take it here as an adverb, not as Grein, 80: 1, 474, does, as a temporal preposition governing **nibt**. The suggestion **ofer**, of Cosum and Simons, does not suit the context; **ofer** means 'past,' 'gone by,' but twenty-seven days have gone by, not three, according to the narrative.

187. **gast onsendan**. See 1370, 1377, and note.

190. **ofer deop gelad**. So *Ch.* 850, *Ch.* 1000.

193. **swa ðu worde becwist**. Cf. 210, 303, 418.

194-195. The Edl. put no punctuation after **geferan**, but a comma or an exclamation point after **heofenum**, except Kemble, who punctuates as in the text. Since **con** must go metrically in the first half line, no punctuation after **heofenum** is permissible.

194. **eað**. Here, as in 308, evidently comparative. The form **eað**, as positive of the adv., recorded in 80: 1, 783, and B. F., 730, is derived from the above mentioned passages and *Ch.* 2058 and *Ch.* 878. But *Ch.* 2058 demands metrically *eab*, and also the positive degree, *eab* for *Ch.* 878 rests upon a false MS. reading, the MS. having *e* for *et* (cf. *D.* 111, 1). The only authentic passages for **eað** are consequently these two in *Beowulf*, both of which are comparative.

195<sup>1</sup>. Cf. 12: 117, 117<sup>1</sup>, 117<sup>2</sup>, 117<sup>3</sup>, 117<sup>4</sup>, 117<sup>5</sup>, 117<sup>6</sup>, 117<sup>7</sup>, 117<sup>8</sup>, 117<sup>9</sup>, 117<sup>10</sup>, 117<sup>11</sup>, 117<sup>12</sup>, 117<sup>13</sup>, 117<sup>14</sup>, 117<sup>15</sup>, 117<sup>16</sup>, 117<sup>17</sup>, 117<sup>18</sup>, 117<sup>19</sup>, 117<sup>20</sup>, 117<sup>21</sup>, 117<sup>22</sup>, 117<sup>23</sup>, 117<sup>24</sup>, 117<sup>25</sup>, 117<sup>26</sup>, 117<sup>27</sup>, 117<sup>28</sup>, 117<sup>29</sup>, 117<sup>30</sup>, 117<sup>31</sup>, 117<sup>32</sup>, 117<sup>33</sup>, 117<sup>34</sup>, 117<sup>35</sup>, 117<sup>36</sup>, 117<sup>37</sup>, 117<sup>38</sup>, 117<sup>39</sup>, 117<sup>40</sup>, 117<sup>41</sup>, 117<sup>42</sup>, 117<sup>43</sup>, 117<sup>44</sup>, 117<sup>45</sup>, 117<sup>46</sup>, 117<sup>47</sup>, 117<sup>48</sup>, 117<sup>49</sup>, 117<sup>50</sup>, 117<sup>51</sup>, 117<sup>52</sup>, 117<sup>53</sup>, 117<sup>54</sup>, 117<sup>55</sup>, 117<sup>56</sup>, 117<sup>57</sup>, 117<sup>58</sup>, 117<sup>59</sup>, 117<sup>60</sup>, 117<sup>61</sup>, 117<sup>62</sup>, 117<sup>63</sup>, 117<sup>64</sup>, 117<sup>65</sup>, 117<sup>66</sup>, 117<sup>67</sup>, 117<sup>68</sup>, 117<sup>69</sup>, 117<sup>70</sup>, 117<sup>71</sup>, 117<sup>72</sup>, 117<sup>73</sup>, 117<sup>74</sup>, 117<sup>75</sup>, 117<sup>76</sup>, 117<sup>77</sup>, 117<sup>78</sup>, 117<sup>79</sup>, 117<sup>80</sup>, 117<sup>81</sup>, 117<sup>82</sup>, 117<sup>83</sup>, 117<sup>84</sup>, 117<sup>85</sup>, 117<sup>86</sup>, 117<sup>87</sup>, 117<sup>88</sup>, 117<sup>89</sup>, 117<sup>90</sup>, 117<sup>91</sup>, 117<sup>92</sup>, 117<sup>93</sup>, 117<sup>94</sup>, 117<sup>95</sup>, 117<sup>96</sup>, 117<sup>97</sup>, 117<sup>98</sup>, 117<sup>99</sup>, 117<sup>100</sup>, 117<sup>101</sup>, 117<sup>102</sup>, 117<sup>103</sup>, 117<sup>104</sup>, 117<sup>105</sup>, 117<sup>106</sup>, 117<sup>107</sup>, 117<sup>108</sup>, 117<sup>109</sup>, 117<sup>110</sup>, 117<sup>111</sup>, 117<sup>112</sup>, 117<sup>113</sup>, 117<sup>114</sup>, 117<sup>115</sup>, 117<sup>116</sup>, 117<sup>117</sup>, 117<sup>118</sup>, 117<sup>119</sup>, 117<sup>120</sup>, 117<sup>121</sup>, 117<sup>122</sup>, 117<sup>123</sup>, 117<sup>124</sup>, 117<sup>125</sup>, 117<sup>126</sup>, 117<sup>127</sup>, 117<sup>128</sup>, 117<sup>129</sup>, 117<sup>130</sup>, 117<sup>131</sup>, 117<sup>132</sup>, 117<sup>133</sup>, 117<sup>134</sup>, 117<sup>135</sup>, 117<sup>136</sup>, 117<sup>137</sup>, 117<sup>138</sup>, 117<sup>139</sup>, 117<sup>140</sup>, 117<sup>141</sup>, 117<sup>142</sup>, 117<sup>143</sup>, 117<sup>144</sup>, 117<sup>145</sup>, 117<sup>146</sup>, 117<sup>147</sup>, 117<sup>148</sup>, 117<sup>149</sup>, 117<sup>150</sup>, 117<sup>151</sup>, 117<sup>152</sup>, 117<sup>153</sup>, 117<sup>154</sup>, 117<sup>155</sup>, 117<sup>156</sup>, 117<sup>157</sup>, 117<sup>158</sup>, 117<sup>159</sup>, 117<sup>160</sup>, 117<sup>161</sup>, 117<sup>162</sup>, 117<sup>163</sup>, 117<sup>164</sup>, 117<sup>165</sup>, 117<sup>166</sup>, 117<sup>167</sup>, 117<sup>168</sup>, 117<sup>169</sup>, 117<sup>170</sup>, 117<sup>171</sup>, 117<sup>172</sup>, 117<sup>173</sup>, 117<sup>174</sup>, 117<sup>175</sup>, 117<sup>176</sup>, 117<sup>177</sup>, 117<sup>178</sup>, 117<sup>179</sup>, 117<sup>180</sup>, 117<sup>181</sup>, 117<sup>182</sup>, 117<sup>183</sup>, 117<sup>184</sup>, 117<sup>185</sup>, 117<sup>186</sup>, 117<sup>187</sup>, 117<sup>188</sup>, 117<sup>189</sup>, 117<sup>190</sup>, 117<sup>191</sup>, 117<sup>192</sup>, 117<sup>193</sup>, 117<sup>194</sup>, 117<sup>195</sup>, 117<sup>196</sup>, 117<sup>197</sup>, 117<sup>198</sup>, 117<sup>199</sup>, 117<sup>200</sup>, 117<sup>201</sup>, 117<sup>202</sup>, 117<sup>203</sup>, 117<sup>204</sup>, 117<sup>205</sup>, 117<sup>206</sup>, 117<sup>207</sup>, 117<sup>208</sup>, 117<sup>209</sup>, 117<sup>210</sup>, 117<sup>211</sup>, 117<sup>212</sup>, 117<sup>213</sup>, 117<sup>214</sup>, 117<sup>215</sup>, 117<sup>216</sup>, 117<sup>217</sup>, 117<sup>218</sup>, 117<sup>219</sup>, 117<sup>220</sup>, 117<sup>221</sup>, 117<sup>222</sup>, 117<sup>223</sup>, 117<sup>224</sup>, 117<sup>225</sup>, 117<sup>226</sup>, 117<sup>227</sup>, 117<sup>228</sup>, 117<sup>229</sup>, 117<sup>230</sup>, 117<sup>231</sup>, 117<sup>232</sup>, 117<sup>233</sup>, 117<sup>234</sup>, 117<sup>235</sup>, 117<sup>236</sup>, 117<sup>237</sup>, 117<sup>238</sup>, 117<sup>239</sup>, 117<sup>240</sup>, 117<sup>241</sup>, 117<sup>242</sup>, 117<sup>243</sup>, 117<sup>244</sup>, 117<sup>245</sup>, 117<sup>246</sup>, 117<sup>247</sup>, 117<sup>248</sup>, 117<sup>249</sup>, 117<sup>250</sup>, 117<sup>251</sup>, 117<sup>252</sup>, 117<sup>253</sup>, 117<sup>254</sup>, 117<sup>255</sup>, 117<sup>256</sup>, 117<sup>257</sup>, 117<sup>258</sup>, 117<sup>259</sup>, 117<sup>260</sup>, 117<sup>261</sup>, 117<sup>262</sup>, 117<sup>263</sup>, 117<sup>264</sup>, 117<sup>265</sup>, 117<sup>266</sup>, 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117<sup>787</sup>, 117<sup>788</sup>, 117<sup>789</sup>, 117<sup>790</sup>, 117<sup>791</sup>, 117<sup>792</sup>, 117<sup>793</sup>, 117<sup>794</sup>, 117<sup>795</sup>, 117<sup>796</sup>, 117<sup>797</sup>, 117<sup>798</sup>, 117<sup>799</sup>, 117<sup>800</sup>, 117<sup>801</sup>, 117<sup>802</sup>, 117<sup>803</sup>, 117<sup>804</sup>, 117<sup>805</sup>, 117<sup>806</sup>, 117<sup>807</sup>, 117<sup>808</sup>, 117<sup>809</sup>, 117<sup>810</sup>, 117<sup>811</sup>, 117<sup>812</sup>, 117<sup>813</sup>, 117<sup>814</sup>, 117<sup>815</sup>, 117<sup>816</sup>, 117<sup>817</sup>, 117<sup>818</sup>, 117<sup>819</sup>, 117<sup>820</sup>, 117<sup>821</sup>, 117<sup>822</sup>, 117<sup>823</sup>

lines, and can hardly mean "roadways on the dry land." It will be noticed also that in the succeeding lines, though the word *herestrata* occurs, it is limited by the phrase *ofer cald wæter*; the whole passage is consequently descriptive of journeyings by water.

The right understanding of the passage is dependent on the meaning of *widland*. As a compound the word is of frequent occurrence and means: (1) "dry land, terra firma," as distinguished from the ocean (cf. *Gen.* 1538: *wæter ofer widland*; and *Gen.* 155, 156: *neon Metode þa gyt widland ne weg as nytte*); (2) "world, earth," in general (cf. *Chr.* 605: *weelan ofer widland*, "prosperity upon earth"). The second is the sense in which the word is used in the present passage. Again, *wegas*, appositive to *westramas*, is the same word as *wegas* in *Gen.* 156, nom. pl. of *wæg*, "fluctus, unda, mare." The usual spelling of the word in the *Andreas* is *wæg*, as e.g., *wæges*, 63; *wegas*, 373, etc.; but the spelling *weg* is found in the gen. pl. *wega*, 93. Read also *weges weard*, *An.* 601, "ward of the wave," not *weges weard* (*Spr.* II, 655, Hall), "ward of the way." Cosijn (*TRB.* XXI, 9) would read *weras* for *winas*, and remarks: 'Hatte Andreas sagen wollen, das er dort keine "freunde" hatte, so wäre *þær* vor *winas* unerlässlich.' But all the passage means to say is 'These stranger earls are not my familiar friends'; Root, 'These foreign men are not my trusty friends.'

200. *herestrata*. Originally meaning, from the main purpose of roads, 'a highway or paved road along which an army could pass,' this word became generalized in the sense 'highway,' 'road.' The extent of this generalization may be seen from the fact that the word may even be applied to 'water way.' For a similar development, cf. *here*, *herfað*.

201. *ofer cald wæter*. So *Chr.* 851; *Mald.* 91; cf. 222, 253.

204. So 211; *P.L.* 219, 220; cf. *Ap.* 34: *siðes sene*.

206. *on foldwege*. 'On earth'; cf. *Chr.* 1528, 1529:

ondweard ne mæg  
on þissum foldwege — feond gebidan.

Cl. 468, note, 501, note, for other examples of compounds in which the second element has lost its meaning.

208. *under swegles gang*. 'Beneath the circuit of the heavens,' 'on earth.' Cl. 155, 869. Cool, *Christ*, p. 179, notes *græus cæli*, *Eccles.* XXIV, 8; *meatus cæli*, Virgil, *Aen.* VI, 849; and *uiv cæli*, *Georg.* II, 477. Cl. *Rene.* 860, 1773, *under swegles begong*.

210<sup>b</sup>. So 1715; *Chr.* 1197; *Jul.* 223.

211-214. The Lord admonishes Andrew in such terms as a Saxon leader might use in addressing his followers. Cl. 89, 97; and *Wand.* 65, 69:

Wit secal ge lyblyg,  
ne secal no to hatheort — ne to hradwyrd,  
ne to wæ wiga — ne to wanhyrd,  
ne to forht ne to ligen — ne to feoligfre,  
ne neche gelpes to georn, — ær he geate cunne.

215. Grimm has a comma after *wyrðan*, all other Edd. a semicolon or period.

217<sup>a</sup>. Cl. 951; *Jul.* 215: of gramma grupe.

221. *æt meres ende*. Cf. *L* 1118: *landes æt ende*; *Beow.* 221: *eolotes æt ende*; *W* 1118: *sundes æt ende*. Note also *Jad.* 272: *æt æres lufra lufes æt ende*, discussed by Shipley, p. 177.

232. *So c* 120: 244; cf. 503. The word *baðweg* occurs also in *L* 11, 290. Cf. *fiscas bað*, 503; *ganotes bað*, 180; 1801; and Kipling, 'The Rowers':

They had no heart for the rally and row,  
That mokes the whale-bath smoke.

224. *mine*. For similar word order, cf. 470<sup>b</sup>.

225-226. An evident reminiscence of the homiletic style. See *Introd.*, p. lvii, and cf. 1080, note; *L* 110: 177, note.

226. *upengla fruma*. Cf. *L* 11, 216: *upengla weard*.

227. *So c* 120: 64; cf. 68.

228-229. Cf. *c* 120: 1080-1081. *ƿider soðlastra sawla motum cuman* 'after cwealme', *c* 120: 63; *Swa soðlastra sawla motum in cene geard up gestugan*; *c* 1200 and *W* 1045: 'after hees hlyre'.

230. Cf. *L* 11, 1317; *L* 11, 1372, of *Beowulf*.

230-234. This passage is translated into English blank verse by Brother Varnas, *Anglo-Saxon Poetical Glossary*, *Anglo-Saxon*, p. 137.

233. *So c* 120: 233. *hildlata*. Not a weak adj. but a noun. The only other occurrence of the word is *L* 11, 2840.

234. *gearo, gude fram, to Godes campe*. Translate 'Ready, valiant in battle, for God's combat'. M., B., W., and K. in his translation, put a comma after *gude*, W. remarking that as *fram* is an adj. and does not modify *gude*, it should be separated from it by punctuation. To this Cos (*ESB*, XXI, 6) responds that W.'s punctuation does not sufficiently take into account the caesura of the line. He therefore holds *gearo* and *to godes campe* together, *gude fram* (= *hildfram* = *natas hildlata*) being regarded as a second phrase. Although close syntactical concord is frequently broken by the caesura (see the examples cited under 1, note), in a verse of this type, *X' X' / X' X' X'*, *gude fram* should have the value of a compound. Moreover (as Professor Fred. Tupper, l., points out) the usual idioms are *gearo to* (as in 1300); *L* 11, 23: *gearwe to ƿeðe*, etc.; and *fram*, followed or preceded by its dependent noun without preposition, as in *W* 11XIII, 2: *forðsides fram*; *L* 11, 11XIII, 27: *feringe fram*.

235 ff. Brooke, p. 10, says of this passage: 'Andrew, now steadfast, sets forth with the rising of the day, and the description of his path to the sea has often recalled to me the approach to the seashore, over the dunes of sand near Bam-borough'. He adds, p. 15: 'The very verse has the dash and salt of the waves in it, and the scenery is Northumbrian. No one can mistake it for that of an East Anglian or a Wessex shore.'

235. *on uhtan mid ærdæge*. *So* 1388; *Beow.* 110; *W* 105.

236. *warude*. The appropriate word here is undoubtedly *ƿarode*, 'shore', and not 'dark sea'. This reading is supported by 1381. On the confusion of *ƿ* and *w* in Anglo-Saxon poetical texts, see my note, *Med. Phil.* II, 198-199.

237. *So c* 120: 24; cf. *L* 11, 358: *ƿuste gebonige*; *W* 1285: *ƿusta gefonca*.



**238. gangan.** Construe as infinitive after *gewāt*, not as Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 9), noting *Beow.* 1009: *fæt to healle gang* *Healdydenes sunu*, suggests, preterit plural in *-an*, or as dependent on *gewritun* understood. L. 237<sup>b</sup> has syntactically the value only of a parenthetical or a prepositional phrase, and it is good idiom, in Modern English as well as Anglo-Saxon (see Sweet, *New English Grammar* II, 82-83), to make the verb agree only with the first subject when an additional subject is added as a tag; cf. *Beow.* 2341-2343: *Seoelde hendaga æþeling ætgōd ende gehīdan . . . and se wym somod* (note also *Beow.* 431); *Æl.* 94-95: *ƿa ƿæt leoht gewāt, ūp sīðode, ond se ar somed, on clænra gemang*; Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 9, ll. 1-4: *ac sona swā deofol ongeat ƿæt mann to ðam gescapen was, ƿæt he soðle and his cym gefyllan on heofonum ƿæt se deofol forwohte ðurh his ofermodignesce, ƿa was him ƿæt on myclan andan*; *Chronicle*, ed. Earle and Plummer, I, 141: *Her on þissum gear sende se cyng ond his witan tō ðam here*; *ibid.*, p. 143: *forðan ðær was inne se cyning Æþelred ond ƿurkil mid him.*

**greote.** A favorite word in *Andreas* (7 times), occurring only once (*Æl.* 835) in all Cynewulf.

**240. wīðfārðme.** Cf. *Beow.* 302: *sīðfārðmed scip*; 1917: *sīðfārðme scip*. Bonnet, p. 69: *πλοῖάριον μικρὸν*; *Legend*, p. 116: *he geseah scip on þam ƿæreðe*, but later, *hwider wille gē faran mid þis medmichum scepe*!

**242. bēacna beorhtost.** That is, the sun; Cos. (*PBB.* XXI, 9) notes *Heland* 545, where the phrase is used of the guiding star of the three kings. With *morgentorht* as compound adj., cf. *heofontorht*, 1018. Cf. *Beow.* 2777: *beacna beorhtost* (of the *segn*, i.e. banner); *Chr.* 1085: *beacna beorhtast* (of the cross).

**243.** After *heolstre*, Grimm, Kemble, and Wulker have no punctuation, Grein has a comma, Baskervill and Cook a semicolon. Since the construction changes here from *cōm* + infinitive to simple preterit, a semicolon seems necessary after *heolstre*; otherwise we should expect the infinitive *blican* instead of *blæc*. Grein puts a comma after *blæc*, but Grein<sup>2</sup> removes it, 'da *blæc* verbum ist.' Cf. 1541, note, for the meaning of *blæc*; and for the construction *becom* . . . *blican*, see 788-789. **heofoncandel.** The word occurs also in *Æl.* 115, with reference to the pillar of fire; *Chr.* 608, the sun and moon; *Wonders of Creation* 54, the stars. Cf. 372, note.

**253. cēolum līcað.** Cf. 256<sup>b</sup>; *Chr.* 851: *ofer cald water cēolum līðan*.

**255. fūs on faroðe.** Cf. *Ga.* 918: *fūs on forðweg*; *Ga.* 773: *fūsne on forðweg*, etc.; *Beow.* 1916: *fūs at faroðe*. — **255<sup>b</sup>. fægn.** Cf. Bonnet, p. 70: *ἐλάρη χαρὰν μεγάλην σφόδρα*; *Legend*, p. 116: and he was gefeconde mid mycle gefēcan and him tō cƿæð. Cosijn also calls attention to 602<sup>b</sup>.

**256. hwanon.** Cf. also 258<sup>b</sup> and 264<sup>a</sup>. Bonnet, p. 70, reads: *Ποῦ πορεύεσθε*, etc., and in answer, *Πορεύμεθα ἐν τῇ χάρᾳ τῶν ἀνθρωποφάγων*; *Legend*, p. 116: *hwider wille gē faran*, and the answer, the verb being omitted, *On Marmadonia caestre*. Ll. 265-269 are additions of the poet. — **256<sup>b</sup>.** So *Chr.* 852; *Metv.* XXVI, 60: *cēole līðan*.

**257. mæcereftige.** Cf. 472; these are the only two occurrences of *mā-*, compar. of *micel*, in compounds. The meaning of the word appears to be as Grein, *Spr.* II, 202, translates, 'praepotens, vor andern geschickt,' *Dicht.*, 'kraftvolle Männer.' Gm., note, says: 'Ich vermute ein altes subst. *mā*, synonym und wurzel

von *mere*, *mācraeftig* = *mere craeftlig*': so K., in his translation: 'men powerful on the sea.' Unfortunately no root *mā* = *mere* is recorded. Root translates 'men in seamanship expert': Hall, 'ye expert mariners.'

258. *āne ægflotan*. Translate 'Whence have ye come sailing in ships, in this admirable vessel, valiant men, in your sea-rusher (ship)?' Grein, *Spr.* I, 65, glosses *ægflotan* as inst. sg., taking the phrase thus as appositive to *cēohm*, 256'; so also Cook, and Root, 'Seafaring on your ocean-coursing bark, Your lonely ship.' All other Edd. take the phrase either as appositive to *gē*, 256', or as vocative; *Dicht.*, 'im Meeresboote als einsame Fischer'; K., as voc., 'solitary floaters over the wave.' Hall, 'longgoing sailors.' But *ægflota* should mean 'ship,' not 'sailor': cf. *flota*, 307; *sæflota*, 381; *wægflota*, 487; *El.* 246; *Beow.* 1007. For the meaning 'admirable' for *ān*, cf. *Beow.* 1885: þæt was ān cýning. The Greek here reads (Bonnet, p. 70) *μετὰ τοῦ πλοίου τοῦ μικροῦ τούτου*.

259. *ofer ȝða gewealc*. So *Beow.* 464; *Edg.* 45; *ymb ȝða gewealc*, *Scap.* 46; *atol ȝða gewealc*, *Ea.* 455; *Scif.* 6.

260. *ælmihiti*. Cf. *Chronicle*, Laud MS., 656, ed. Earle and Plummer, I, 30: *ælmihiti* god; *Beow.* 218: *fāmilheals*; *Sat.* 33: *hū hē þæt scyldi werud*; *Gen.* 1463: *lungri to handa*; and so frequently.

261. *swā þæt ne wiste*. Translate 'Him then answered almighty God, as though He knew this not, He who awaited his words, what of men he [Andrew] was, of human kind [*medelhēgendra*], whom He there at the sea-shore conversed with.' Grein, *Dicht.*, places ll. 261–263 within parentheses, translating *swā þæt* by 'wiewohl das nicht wusste, der des Wortes harrete,' etc. Kemble, Root, and Hall take *swā þæt* as conj. introducing a result clause, Hall remarking on *swā*, 'in such a way that Andrew did not suspect that it was God.' But the translators are certainly wrong in translating *swā þæt* by 'so that.' Omitting the parenthetic clause 261', *þæt* is seen to be the object of *wiste*, the clause *hwæt . . . wiðþingode* being appositive to it. As in 501, *Chr.* 850 (see *An.* 501, note), and *Beow.* 3050 (see Krüger, *PBB.* IX, 576–577), *swā* = 'as if.'

262. Cf. *El.* 902–903: *Hwæt is þis, lā, manna, þe minne eft þurh fyrngedlit folgaþ wyrde?* See 734, note; 885, note. Cf. *Ap.* 25, *Beow.* 233: *hwæt þā men wæron*; *Chr.* 574: *hwæt se Hlāford is*.

265. *feorran geferede*. So *El.* 902; cf. 1173, and *Beow.* 361: *Hēr syndon geferede feorrancomene*; *Sat.* 178: *feorran gefered*.

266. *hwaurnāde*. Literally, the 'whale-road'; the word occurs, beside the three passages in *Andreas*, in *Beow.* 10 and *Gen.* 205. Cf. *swaurnād*, 190; *Beow.* 200; *El.* 907; *Jul.* 675; and see 223, note.

267. *snellie sǣmearh*. Cf. *Beow.* 690: *snellie sǣrinc*. — *snūde bewunden*. Cosijn bases his emendation on the lines, *W hale* 17–18:

cēohs standað  
bi staþe faste — strēame biwunden.

But *suade bewunden* is commonplace, whereas *snūde bewunden*, 'enwreathed with speed' (Brooke, p. 415), is quite in the manner of the poet of *Andreas*; cf. 10, 535, 772; *El.* 733: *lēohte bewundene*. *Snūd*, noun, occurs only in this passage; *snūde*, adverb, occurs a number of times.

**271-276.** Cf. 474-479. = Brooke, p. 416: 'The extreme naïveté of the demand for payment and the bargaining on the part of God, belong to the freshness of the morning of poetry, while the conversation supplies us with a clear picture of the manners and talk of travellers and seamen. We stand among the merchant carriers of the eighth century in England.' Neither the Greek nor the *Legend* have at this place the remark of Andrew that he has no money with which to pay his fare; but in both, immediately on stating his wish, he is invited to enter the ship, — without condition in the Greek, but the *Legend*, p. 116 (cf. *An.* 295-297), says: *Āstigað on þis scip tō ūs, and sellað ūs ēowerne farsceat.* In both versions Andrew then explains that he is without money or other provision for the journey.

**273. brante cēole.** Cf. *Beow.* 238: *brontne cēol*; *Æl.* 238: *bronte brimþisan*; and *Beow.* 2807: *brentingas* = 'ships.' Grimm, p. 103, takes the adjective to mean 'foaming,' 'rushing.' But cf. *Icel. brattr* (Cleas. Vig., p. 76), 'steep,' and dial. North-English *brant*, *brent* = 'steep.'

**274. hēa hornscipe.** The only occurrence of the word *hornscip*. Grein, *Spr.* II, 98, 107, calls attention to *hringedstefna*, 'ship,' *Beow.* 32, 1131, 1897, and to *Icel. Hringhorni*, the name of a ship (cf. Cleas. Vig., p. 285); cf. also *hringnata*, *Beow.* 1862. — 274<sup>b</sup>. So *Seaf.* 60.

**276. þæt.** Cos. (*PBB.* XXI, 9) regards *þæt* as equivalent to *gif*, and cites a second example from Boethius, ed. Fox, p. 234, l. 25. But the probable reading in the passage from Boethius is *þær*, as it is given in Sedgefield's edition (Oxford, 1899), p. 136, l. 26. According to Sedgefield's glossary, *þær* = *gif* occurs some 14 times in Boethius, but no example of *þæt* = *gif* is recorded. The clause *þæt . . . weorðe* is a noun clause, the subject of *bið* (or in apposition with the subject), or dependent on the verbal idea in *bið meorð*: 'God shall reward you that,' etc. (Kittredge). Cf. 480-483, — 276<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Ap.* 92<sup>a</sup>.

**279-360.** Cf. Walker, pp. 350-351: 'And Jesus having heard Andrew saying, I too am going to the country of the man-eaters, says to him: Every man avoids that city, and how are you going there? And Andrew answered and said: We have some small business to do there, and we must get through with it; but if thou canst, do us this kindness to convey us to the country of the man-eaters, to which also you intend to go. Jesus answered and said to them: Come on board. And Andrew said: I wish to make some explanation to thee, young man, before we come on board thy boat. And Jesus said: Say what thou wilt. And Andrew said to him: We have no passage-money to give thee; we have not even bread for our nourishment. And Jesus answered and said to him: How, then, are you going away without giving us the passage-money, and without having bread for your nourishment? And Andrew said to Jesus: Listen, brother, do not think that it is through masterfulness that we do not give thee our passage-money, but we are disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ, the good God. For He chose for Himself us twelve, and gave us such a commandment, saying, When you go to preach, do not carry money in the journey, nor bread, nor bag, nor shoes, nor staff, nor two coats. If, therefore, thou wilt do us the kindness, brother, tell us at once; if not, let us know, and we shall go and seek another boat for ourselves. And Jesus answered and said to Andrew: If this is the commandment which you

received, and you keep it, come on board my boat with all joy. For I really wish you, the disciples of Him who is called Jesus, to come on board my boat, rather than those who give me of their silver and gold; for I am altogether worthy that the apostle of the Lord should come on board my boat. And Andrew answered and said: Permit me, brother, may the Lord grant thee glory and honour. And Andrew went on board the boat with his disciples.'

286 ff. Again the poet heightens the statement of his original; cf. Bonnet, p. 70: Ἡρώδης τὴν μικρὴν ἐλκὺν διαπραΰσασθαι; *Legend*, p. 110: Medmycelærende we fider habbað and us is heard þæt we hit þeh gefyllon.

293<sup>1</sup>. Cf. *Runic Poem* 40: ofer fises beþ; and see 223, note.

294<sup>b</sup> 295<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *On*, 1001 1002: þæt mun hyht myneð to gesécenne. þær = 'to which'; cf. 600, note.

297. All Edd. have a comma after *geserifene*, except C., a semicolon; B. also has a comma after *āras* of his text, the other Edd. no punctuation.

298. *āras*. Reading *āra* with Gn.<sup>2</sup> (also *Pictl.* and *Spr.* II, 625), Cook, and apparently also Simons (the word *āras*, 298, is not given under *ar*, but see under *annan*, p. 140), we should have to take *āra* as the genitive object of *annan willað*. Thus Root translates 'so upon our bark the seamen will grant honor unto you.' But *ar*, 'honor,' hardly seems an appropriate meaning for the word in the present context.

In the light of the antithetic phrase, *āras on earde*, 400<sup>a</sup>, it would seem almost necessary to retain the form *āras* in the present passage; cf. also 405<sup>a</sup>. The word would thus be appositive to *scipweardas*, as in l. 400 it is appositive to *beornas*, 399<sup>b</sup>. If we accept this reading the chief difficulty lies in the disposition of *annan willað*. Kemble translates 'after ye your payment have given, the appointed sum, according as the ship wardens, the men over the sea-board, will grant to you': Hall, 'and pay us the appointed tribute that the masters, messengers [following B.'s punctuation], demand o'er the ship's side.' Hall's treatment of *swā* as equivalent to a relative pronoun is supported by other examples, see B.-T., p. 940: but both Hall's 'demand' and Kemble's 'grant' (= appoint) are unauthorized meanings for *annan*. Professor Kittredge suggests taking *annan willað* as simply summing up and repeating what is said before, in 292 ff. The logical object of *annan willað* is thus contained in *swā*, the antecedent idea of *swā* being the lines 292-297<sup>b</sup>. Professor Bright regards *swā* as conjunctive adverb, and paraphrases the passage as follows: 'as the sailors (*aras*) will be willing to have you do, that is, will allow you to pay.' The phrase *annan willað* he thinks may be a formula of polite expression; it occurs also in l. 140.

It seems best to regard *annan willað* as referring especially to the paying of the fare and not to the general situation. The meaning of the verb phrase would be therefore 'agree to,' 'adjudge.' This meaning suits the context also in the parallel construction, where the statement, however, is negative, ll. 178-179. The meaning of *willað* in this construction appears to be less one of volition, desire, than of mere intention. This seems clearly the value of *annan woldæ*, 140; and cf. the three examples of the construction in the first person, 84, 458, 1412.

300. *wineþeartende*. So *On*, 1321.

**301. fæted.** A noun *fæd*, 'plate,' 'ornament,' occurs twice in *Beowulf*: the adjective *fæted* occurs, as simplex and in compounds, ten times. Beside the passages in *Andreas* and *Beowulf*, the word occurs elsewhere only twice, *Husband's Message*, l. 35: fættan (MS. fædan) goldes; and *Rud.* l. 11, 7: fæted gold.

**302. wira gespann.** Cf. l.l. 1133 1134: *lāras fællon ofer wira gespen*, spoken of Elne; *Gen.* 762: *heft mid hringa gesponne*, i.e. 'in chains'; so also *Gen.* 377. *Beow.* 2413, speaking of the treasure of the fire drake, reads *sē wira innan full weretta and wira*. Perhaps, as Professor Fred. Tupper, Jr., suggests to me, *fibulae* are meant. Numerous examples of Anglo-Saxon *fibulae* and amulets are figured in Akerman, *Archaeological Index to Remains of Antiquity of the Celtic, Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon Periods*, plates XVI, XVII, XVIII; in De Baye, *Industrial Arts of the Anglo-Saxons*; and in Read, *A Guide to the Antiquities of the Bronze Age in the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities* (of the British Museum), 1904, passim.

**303. landes nē locenra bēaga.** The half-line seems to have been taken over bodily from *Beow.* 2906:

scalde hiora gehwæðrum      hund þusenda  
landes ond locenra bēaga.

The syntax of the phrase in *Andreas* is not clear. **Landes** cannot be a genitive after **gespann**, in the same construction with **wira**. Schröder (*Eng. Stud.* X, 121) omitting **landes nē** would construe **locenra bēaga** as appositive to **wira**. Sievers (*PBB.* X, 314), who regards the passage as corrupt, would apparently explain it in the same way; metrically he thinks both *landes ond* and **landes nē** are to be eliminated. Lines of similar structure, however, are found frequently in *Andreas*; cf. 51, 682, 779, 795, 796, etc. Shipley, p. 18, translates 'I have neither beaten gold nor treasure, riches nor food, nor ornaments of wire, (nought) of land nor closed rings.' As Shipley points out, this is the only instance in Anglo-Saxon poetry of *nabban* followed by the genitive; but for examples in the prose, see Wülfing I, 21. The 'nought' of Shipley's translation is supplied from the general negative statement of the preceding clause; and Professor Kittredge suggests that **landes nē locenra bēaga** is to be regarded as partitive genitive dependent on the negative idea of the sentence. It is possible, however, that the passage is a direct borrowing from *Beowulf* which was imperfectly assimilated into the logical and syntactical structure of the sentence in which it occurs. The extravagance of speaking of gifts of rings and of land is of course part of the general method of the poem; cf. *Introd.*, pp. li ff. With **locenra bēaga** cf. *hringloca*, 'corslet,' *Mald.* 145; *locene* leodsyrcan, *Beow.* 1505, 1890; *gūðbyrne* . . . *hondloen*, *Beow.* 322; *licsyrc* . . . *hondloen*, *Beow.* 550.

**305. boleam.** Also 602; the only other occurrence of the word in poetry is *Beow.* 231: *beran ofer boleam*.

**306. waroða geweorp.** K. translates 'the dashing of the waves,' though he does not change his text to *faroða*. Gn., *Dicht.*, 'über des Ufers Geweife.' Cook suggests 'the smiting of the shores, perhaps meaning the plunging of the breakers.' Sweet, *Dict.*, glosses **waroða geweorp** by 'surf.' But cf. B.T., *geweorp* = 'heap of earth thrown up by a beetle.' The picture here is of the

ridge or heap of sands at the sea-shore; the thought is continued in *sābeorgas*, 308<sup>a</sup>, and *cald eleofu*, 310<sup>a</sup>.

307. *pres.* The construction is the accusative of the person to whom a thing happens, with the genitive of the thing that happens, both dependent upon *geweorðan*, as impersonal. Shipley, p. 42, points out similar constructions in *Beow.* 1508, 1906, 2026. — 307<sup>b</sup>. So 1431<sup>b</sup>; *Soul* 138.

308. *woldes.* Other forms with *-es* in the pret. sg. of the second person of weak verbs are *haefdes*, 530; *feredes*, 1363; *forhogedes*, 1381. See *Gram.*, § 356 and notes.

310<sup>b</sup>. So *Beow.* 1800.

313. After *ðungode* K. puts a colon, all other Edd. a question-mark. — 313<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 856: *weas se drohtin* 'strong', also of a (figurative) voyage. Cf. 1385.

314. *lange.* C. takes *lange* as adj. agreeing with *lagolāde*. So also the translations. But cf. 570, 1363, and translate 'The life is hard for him who for a long time goes on a water-journey.'

316. *wis on gewitte.* See 552, and note. — *wordhord onlēar.* So 601; *Beow.* 250; *Metr.* VI, 1; *Wid.* 1.

320 323. Cf. *Beow.* 1381-1385: *schre bið æghwām þæt hē his freond wrece* 'bonne he fela murne'.

320. *sārewide.* All the translations take *sārewide* as inst. sg.; so also *Spr.* II, 391, and Cook, note, 'inst. sg. parallel with *mid oferhygðum*.' But the natural parallel is between *ondsware* and *sārewide*. Translate therefore as obj. of *seece*. The prep. phrase *mid oferhygðum* modifies both nouns.

322. *cūðlice.* 'Kindly, friendly.' The following passages illustrate the meaning of the word: *hine sē Godes monn ūp hōf ond him cūðlice tō spræc* (Bright, *Reader*, p. 62, l. 12);

Arās þā metodes fēow  
gastum tōgēanes,    grētan ēode  
cuman cūðlice,    cynna gemunde  
riht ond gerisno.

*Gen.* 2429-2432.

— *swā þæt Crist bebēad.* Apparently a general allusion to such passages as *Matt.* XXV, 35 ff.; *Mch.* XIII, 2, etc. The Greek and Anglo-Saxon prose quote an entirely different verse, *Matt.* X, 10; *Mark* VI, 9, at this place; the sense of the allusion in *Andreas* is implied, however, in the verse as quoted in the Greek and prose.

323<sup>a</sup>. So 470<sup>a</sup>; *Chr.* 157, 914; *Ex.* 303. — *his.* Cf. 1064, where the MS. reads *his* and the context demands *is*. Wulker inconsistently reads *his* in both passages.

324. Cf. *Beow.* 200: *cempan gecorone*; *Gu.* 760: *cempan gecorene*.

327. *swā he.* Equivalent to 'who'; cf. 1514, *swā hit* 'which'. — *ānes eræfte.* So *Jul.* 359; and cf. 525; *Chr.* 507: *ānes meatum*; *ibid.* 685: *þurh his ānes cæft*.

328. *hefon.* Oumlaut of *e, i* is regular in the *Andreas*, but is lacking here and in *brego* (twice) and *werod* (twice); see Glossary.

329. *sigora selost.* Translate 'best' or 'most eminent in victories.' The phrase does not occur elsewhere. *Sigora sellend* oc urs *Jul.* 608, 705, and *Panther* 61. *Selost* with the partitive genitives *beorna*, *fela*, *sigelfæna*, and other

nouns, forming a phrase superlative, is of frequent occurrence. But **sigora** in the present passage (not recorded by Shipley, p. 78) is not a partitive genitive, but a genitive after a form of the word *gōd*. Cf. *Beow.* 209: *wes þū ūs lārena gōd*; *Seaf.* 40: *ne his gifena þæs gōd*; *Brun.* 47-48: *hlīhhan ne ðorfton ðæt hī beaduweorca beteran wurdon*. Root, reading *sellend*, translates 'Giver of victory.' Professor Fred. Tupper, Jr., calls my attention to *Ex.* 433: *sōðfast sigora*.

**331. geond giune grund.** So *Wid.* 51, where it means 'over the spacious earth'; *Beow.* 1551: *under gynne grund*, 'beneath the wide earth' = into Hell?; *Jud.* 2: *in þys ginnan grunde* = 'upon earth.' Cf. *Gen.* 134: *geond sīdne grund*, 'over the broad earth.' K., 'beyond the abysmal deep'; but Hall, better, 'into all the world.'

**332-339.** This paraphrase is apparently made up from two passages, *Matt.* X, 5 ff., and *Mark* XVI, 14 ff. The Greek (Bonnet, p. 71, l. 14) reads: *καὶ παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν ἐντολὴν ταύτην, λέγων ὅτι πορεύμενοι κηρύσσειν μὴ βασιτάζετε ἀργύριον ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ μήτε ἄρτον μήτε πῆραν μήτε ὑποδήματα μήτε ῥάβδον μήτε δύο χιτῶνας*. Cf. *Chr.* 481-490 for a parallel to this passage:

Farað nū geond ealne    yrmenne grund,  
geond widwegas;    weoredum cyðað,  
bodiað ond biēmað    beorhtne gelēafan,  
ond fulwiað    folc under roderum;  
hweorfað tō [hæðnum],    hergas biēotap,  
fyllað ond fēogað;    fēondscype dwæscað,  
sibbe sāwað,    on sefan manna,  
furl meahtra spēð.    Ic ēow mid wunige  
forð on frōfre,    ond ēow friðe healde  
strengðu staþolfæstre    on stōwa gehwære.

The excellent emendation *hæþnum* for the MS. *heofonum*, l. 485, was suggested by Strunk, *MLA*. XVII, 186.

**333.** Cf. *Beow.* 1221-1224:

Hafast þū gefēred    þæt ðē feor ond nēah  
ealne wīðeterhþ    weras ehtigað  
efne swā sīde    swā sē bebūgeð  
windge [e]ardweallas.

*Beow.* 92-93: *se ælmihtiga eorðan worhte . . . swā wæter bebūgeð*; *Men.* 230: *swā bebūgeð gebod*.

**334. stedewangas stræte geliegaþ.** Cosijn reads *stedewanga*, gen. pl., 'denn die ganze welt sollten sie durchziehen.' But the advantages of this reading hardly justify changing the text. This is the only instance of **geliegað** as a transitive verb. The prefix **ge-** makes the intrans. **liegað** trans. (Bright). Cf. 774, 1231.

**335<sup>a</sup>.** Cf. *Ex.* 510: *bodigean æfter burgum*. — 335<sup>b</sup>. So *Gu.* 770; cf. *leohte gelēafan*, *Ap.* 66, and note.

**336. freoðo healde.** Cf. also 915, 1432; *Chr.* 480; *Gu.* 281; *Gen.* 2528. For other examples of *healdan* with inst., cf. *Beow.* 296, 1182: *ārum healdan*; with gen., cf. *Mald.* 41: *ēow friðes healdan*.

**337<sup>b</sup>.** Cf. *Beow.* 37: *frætwā gekūded*.

339. **ahwette**. Cook, p. 217, 'ahwette'—supply, not the normal sense of the word.' See 303 for an example of the usual sense.

343. **eee**. The MS. **eee** is interpreted by Wulker as meaning **aree**; for examples of the form **aree**, see *Spr.* I, 230. Cf. also l. 89, where the MS. reads **sege**. But the usual spelling of the MS. is **e**, **e**, and there is no indication that the hook, or reversed cedilla, is here used to signify the digraph. In **regeawe**, *ll.* 21, **æ** is written for **e**.

348<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 352, *Gen.* 7387: swa þu bena eart; *Beow.* 3140: swā he bena was; *Gen.* 2718: swa ic bena was; *Beow.* 301: Hƿ benan synt.

352<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Pearl* 8: sealtȝa geswing.

356. **worulde**, **wuldre**. This obvious antithesis of **woruld** and **wuldor**, the latter word being used in the generalized sense of 'heaven,' occurs less frequently than one would expect. The only other examples are l. 918, and *Gn.* 370; *wuldor* in *Christ and Satan* 89 has a different meaning. See my note, *Mod. Phil.* II, 407.

358<sup>a</sup>. Cf. **on þam siðfete**, 1062; also *L.* I, 571; *Rid.* XLIV, 7; *Vision of the Cross* 130; to ðyssum siðfete, *Beow.* 2030; to þam siðfete, *Hv.* IV, 102; of ðam siðfete, *ibid.* 330.

359. **betuwearde**. The change is necessary in l. 306 and extremely probable in the present passage. All the translations follow the MS. The Greek (Bonnet, p. 72, l. 17) reads: καὶ ἀνὰθὼρ ἐκαθίσθη παρὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν τοῦ πλοῦτος; the Anglo-Saxon prose (*Lucan*, p. 117, l. 9) and he geset betoran þam steorrelþan þes scepes, ket was Drihten Hælend Crist.

360. **æðele be æðelum**. For other examples of repetition of the same word within the half-line, cf. 615, 620, 738, 1012. Kluge, *LLB.* IX, 126-127, collects further instances throughout the poetry. For examples of the opposite device, the avoidance of the repetition within the half-line, cf. 138, note. **Æfre ic ne hyrde**. Cf. *Beow.* 38-39: ne hƿrde ic cunþon ceol gegrywan hildewearnum and heaðowædum; *ll.* 140-141: Ne hyrde ic sið ne æt on egstreame idese ladan on merestreame mægen legate. Cf. *Beow.* 181-183, quoted ll. 505<sup>b</sup>-509, note.

362. Kemble has no punctuation after **heahgestreowum**, and translates 'Never heard I that in a comelier ship laden with lotty treasures men sat, glorious kings, beauteous thames.'

364 ll. On this passage Brother Azarias (*Development of Old English Thought*, p. 137) remarks: 'This is a reminiscence of the saga of Woden playing the ferryman to deliver men from danger.' On 68, ll., he says (p. 138): 'Here is the work of the mythical ferryman without the name.' And on 1258, **hare hildstapan**, he says (p. 139): 'Here is more than personation. "Kine and frost, hoary warious", these were real gods in the Northern mythology. But Andrew suffers not; his wounds are healed before morning, as were the wounds of the heroes of old in the Northern sagas.' But the motives of the poem were all derived from the source, and it is doubtful if they suggested to the poet any parallels to Norse mythology.

365. **heht his enet gau**. The Greek (Bonnet, p. 72, l. 14) adds: καὶ ἀνέστηκε πρὸς ἀπ'αὐτοῦ—a lot for each of the strangers.

366. **mærcu mægnþegn**. Cf. *Beow.* 2070: *mærcu mægnþegn*, of Hondscio, follower of Beowulf.



**367. frefran fēasceafte.** Cf. 365, note. Cf. *Chr.* 175: aþrebran fēasceafne; l. 368: aþrefre fēasceafte. But Andrew's disciples do not eat, Cf. l. 335. This incident is omitted in the prose *Legend*.

**369<sup>1</sup> 381.** Cook, p. 219, note 3, says: 'There is no hint of any extraordinary commotion, much less of a storm, in the original. Of all this long description there is nothing except, "They were troubled because of the sea."' Brooke, p. 416: 'The storm is now described in words that come, one after another, short, heavy, and springing, like the blows of the waves, and the gusts of wind. We know as we read that the writer has seen the thing.' Cf. p. 27, note.

**370. hornfise.** The only occurrence of the word. Cf. *Beow.* 510: wit unc wif hronfisas wearian lohton. Possibly we should read *hronfise* in the present passage. But cf. Icel. *hornfiski* (Danish *hornfisk*), and *hornugla*, 'the garfish or greenbone' (Cleas. Vigg., p. 279).

**371<sup>1</sup> 4.** Cf. *Beow.* 515: *gliden ofer garseag*, of swimmers in the sea. — *se græga mæw.* The mew or seagull, frequently mentioned in the verse. The name (Germ. *möwe*, Icel. *mar*) was perhaps originally imitative of the cry of the bird (Whitman, "The Birds of OE. Literature," in *Jour. of Germ. Phil.* II, 186).

**372. wedercandel.** The word occurs again, *Ph.* 137; Cf. also *wederhæcen*, *Gn.* 1267, and *wederes blæst*, *An.* 837, both in the sense of 'sum.' See also *wederburg*, 1697, note. The word *candel*, to the modern mind an anticlimax after 'sum,' to the Anglo-Saxon mind must have connoted dignified ideas. The word was ecclesiastical in origin and was introduced into English early after the conversion to Christianity. Its use in poetic compounds evidently reflects some of its sacred character; cf. *VED.* s.v. 'candle,' and *Rom. and Jul.* III, v, 9: 'Night's candles are burnt out.' Cf. *heofencandel*, 213; *dægecandel*, 835; Godesc. *candelle*, *Ph.* 91.

**374. gurren.** Glossed by Grein and B. T. under *gerran*, but the more probable infinitive is *gieran*, *gyrran* (cf. *Gram.*, § 383, note 1, and Sweet, *Ph.*, p. 75). The only other occurrence of the word is in Jelliffe's *Grammar* (cf. B. T., p. 438), *ic gyrra*, 'garrio.'

**375. wædo gewætte.** Gm., translating 'vadum madehebat, replebatur aquis,' and Gn., *Dicht.*, 'wogen schwollen,' take *wædo* as nom. pl. of *wæd* — 'wave, ocean,' K., followed by Hall, 'wet with the waters'; Root, 'dripping with the waves'; and Brooke, p. 171, 'wet with breaking sea,' understand the form as inst. sg. of the same word. But, as Cosijn points out, the inst. form is *wæde*, and even *wædo gewætte* is not a plausible reading. Cosijn's *wæda gewætte* fits the context but involves too great a departure from the MS. forms. B., B. T. (say, *wæd*), and Simons, p. 148, take *wædo* as nom. pl. of *wæd*, 'sail, cordage.' The present passage is the only occurrence of *wæd* in this sense, except in the glosses; but the following examples place the meaning beyond a doubt: *W. H.* 5, 11, *antenne*, *wæde* (cf. G. 1, *antenna*, *seglyard*); *W. H.* 150, 33, *mataya*, *wæde*; *W. H.* 515, 15, *indentibus* (*indisruptis*), *wæderafum* (*autodilectum*). Cf. also Icel. (Cleas. Vigg., p. 683) *vað*, 'a piece of stuff, cloth,' metaph. 'a fishing net,' and in poetry 'a sail,' with compound *vaðhætr*, adj., 'fit for sail.' *Wædo gewætte* is accordingly nom. pl., and, as we should expect, a parallel phrase to *strengas*, 371<sup>b</sup>. For the pret. part. form *gewætte* instead of *gewæced*, cf. *Gram.*, § 402, 2. — Grimm,

Grem, and Walker have only a comma after *gewætte*, the other Edd. a semicolon.

360d. Cook, p. 119, note 6: "A peculiar use of *andlutan* to indicate motion rather than rest. In Mod. Eng. this general sense is represented in phrases like "stand back," "stand off from shore," "stand up," "stand out," etc." The examples are numerous. *Beow.* 186: him of eagan stod —, leoht midra get; *Chro.* 807 (Parker MS.): men cweðað on Englisc þat hit sie feaxede steorra forðem þar stent lufu leoma of; *L. d. v.* 17: swundloma stod — Cf. the similar development in *andgan*, 'extend,' 'flow,' 'sand, for example, of rivers and bodies of water.

376. *preata fryðum*. Brooke, p. 171, 'with the strength of armies.' "This seems an impersonation almost too fine for so early a time." It is quite in the manner of the modern imagination. It is Kemble's translation, and Grem's is more probable, though I do not like to surrender the other: "Machtig durch die Massen!" Koot, 'with the might of multitudes'; Hall, 'the waves in battalions most high mounted.' An even more dramatic personification is that of ll. 443-445.

380. Cf. *Beow.* 191-192: Nærig heora folhte, þat he fæmon scolde eft eadlutan ætfe gesecean; cf. also *Beow.* 1500-1509.

381. *sund wisode*. Cf. 388.

382. *holmwege*. The only occurrence of the word. Should one read here *and* — *and* (cf. 108d), the compound meaning 'seawave'? But cf. *And.*, *Beow.*, *Beowulf*, and *Wids.*

383. *argeblond*. The only occurrence of this word and its companion forms, *aryð*, 383, and *arwela*, 833. *Argeblond* is glossed by Gr., 833-1, 3, 'remouum commixto, mare remis turbatum,' *aryð*, 833-1, 39, 'unda remis pulsata,' and *arwela*, 'diuina remouum, mare.' B. L., and Sweet, *Beow.*, follow 833-1; so also Cook. Professor Hart makes the unquestionably correct suggestion that *argeblond* = *argelblond* (*aryð* = *argelb*, *arwela* = *argelwela*), as in *Beow.* 20, *Beow.* VIII, 30. The fanciful combinations of *ar* = 'oar' with *gelland*, 10b, and *and*, as they occur only in these passages in *Andreas*, may therefore be dropped from the dictionaries.

387%. So 100, 308, 381, *Beow.* 400.

393. *geofon geotende*. Cf. *Beow.* 1000: gifen geotende; and see 1508, 1585.

*grund*. The sense demands here, as in l. 478, the meaning 'deep sea, ocean.' 833-1, 341, cites as the only other example of this meaning. *Beow.* 1551: *grund* 1173, 1174, but cf. 341, note. 833-1, however, occurs, *Beow.* 304, and else where, and = *grund* once; *Beow.* CVI, 17. Cosijn (*Beow.* XXI, 10) cites a gloss (*Beow.* l. c. p. 258): *grund* = *profundum*, 'gymnasia, abys(sos), c.'

394%. So 1591, cf. 108.

395%. So *Beow.* 158, 159, *Beow.* l. c. 101, 309, cf. 1591. — 395%. Cf. *Ch.* 1170: mod gehme mihum gebesgað.

396. *helman*. See l. 380, note.

398-414. The response of Andrew's disciples in the Greek is as follows (Bonnet, p. 1, ll. 1-8): Πᾶν δὲ τοὺς ἀκούσαντες αὐτοῦ, ἔειπεν· ὁμοθυμαδὸν εὐχόμενοι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔσμεν ἐκ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν σου· ὁμοθυμαδὸν εὐχόμενοι ὁμοθυμαδὸν ὁμοθυμαδὸν. The *Beow.* (p. 11, ll. 11-13) reads: Gif we gewitað fram feo, þonne beo we fremde fram eallum laru golum þe þu us gearwost; ac we beoð mid þe swa hwyder swa þu farrest. The passage in *Andreas* is not, therefore, as is stated by Hall, p. 178, and Cook, p. 221, entirely

original with the poet; its feeling, however, for the *comitatus*, the ideal of allegiance to an overlord, is original with the poem. For a discussion of the *comitatus*, see I. 3, note, and *Introd.*, p. lii. Tacitus, *Germania* 13, tells us that among the Germans it was considered the greatest disgrace for a retainer to survive his leader: 'Iam vero infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum, superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse.' And the same motive appears in the reproach which Wiglaf addresses to the cowardly followers of Beowulf:

Nu sead siu ðe go — and swyrdgifu,  
eall eðelwyn — cownum cyme;  
luten aþgean — londrihtes mot  
fære mægþunge — monna aghwylc  
idel hweortan, — syððan ær ðe lincgas  
feorran gefrigean — ðeam cowerne,  
domleasan dæd! — Ðe að bið sella  
eorla gehwylcum — þonne eðwithl.  
ll. 2884-2891.

See also *Mald.* 220-252 ll.

**406. gode orfeorne.** Also I. 1617; *Jud.* 271; *Mod.* 49. Cosijn quotes the Greek, see 405-414, note. *Dicht.* translates 'gottverlassen'; Kemble, 'of good devoid'; Root, 'forsaken quite by God'; Hall, 'God forsaken.'

**408-409.** Cf. *Chr.* 193<sup>b</sup> 1951: style manswara lāþ leoda gehwām lifgan siþþan, fraeoð in foleum.

**410. aht besittap.** Equivalent syntactically to *eahthið*, of which the following clause may be considered the object. The same phrase occurs I. 608 and *Æl.* 473.

**412. hlāforde æt hilde.** The scansion of the half line is  $\text{' } \Sigma \times \times \mid \text{' } \times \text{'}$ ; according to Sievers, *Altgermanische Metrik*, § 85, note 2, the only other occurrence of a trisyllabic word of the form  $\text{' } \Sigma \times \times$  as the first element of a line of this type is *Gn.* 602: gastlicne goddrem,  $\text{' } \Sigma \times \times \mid \text{' } \Sigma \times$ .

**414. nearu.** Cf. *Beow.* 2594: nearo ðrowode. The acc. sg. is regularly *e*, exceptionally (Sievers, *PhB.* I, 393) *u*, *o*, in *Mald.* 38, *Beow.* 2350 (to which add *Beow.* 2594), and the present passage.

**416<sup>b</sup>.** So I. 1497<sup>b</sup>; *Æl.* 723.

**421. ofer fealuwne flod.** Cf. *Beow.* 1950: ofer fealone flōd. 'The most common use of *fealo* is in connection with water, . . . But the various passages in which the sea is referred to as fallow flood, seem to be more conventional and to introduce the word, in part, perhaps, because of the convenient alliteration. I hardly think that in these passages the word means dusky, as is sometimes suggested, but perhaps yellowish green, a common color in the English and Irish channels.' Mead, "Color in Old English Poetry," *Pub. of M.A.* XIV, 193-199.

**424. sund is geblonden.** Preserving the MS. reading, K. translates 'the sand is mixed together, the abyss with the strand.' Hall, and Brooke, p. 171, follow K. Reading **sund**, *Gn.*, *Dicht.*, translates 'die Flut ist gemengt, der Grund mit dem Griesse.' Wulker remarks that the change from **sand** to **sund** is unnecessary, 'wie schon v. 425, **grund wið greote** hatte beweisen können.' But **grund** is appositive to **sund**, and as **grund** can mean here only 'ocean' (see 425, note) its evidence bears quite the other way. Cf. the parallel picture, *Beow.* 212:

streamas windon, sand wið sande' (Cl. 1306), *seamanas wæpmanas grund wið greote*, is not a parallel, as it describes the landing of a boat on shore: Cl. 1351, *sande wæpmanas* should surely read *wæpmanas sande*, since the boats here were not beached, but were riding at anchor.

425. **grund wið greote.** For **grund** = 'ocean, deep,' Cl. 1303; note. With **greote** = 'shore,' Cl. 1316; inscription (p. 5, l. 12S), *ker he on greot giswom*.

425<sup>1</sup>, 426 = Cl. 1302, l. 1S<sup>1</sup> + 10 = God eade mag þone dobaðan dæda getwætan; Cl. 1303, l. 1 + 1 = God eade mag þe helan hygesonge = Cl. also 1333, and *Beow.* 1300 = *me eade mag = gūmāme gelhwone oferhugan*.

426. **headoðendum.** The word occurs twice elsewhere, *Beow.* 1308 and 1335 (appositive to *ceap* = 'ship'). The first element appears as simplex in *Beow.* 1302: *seall þing mæc eðer he ðu bring in líc and luf tæcne*. But Cl. *Beow.* 247, *eðer = 1302* 'over the ocean'. Gm. p. 100 (so also Sm. II, 10; B. F., p. 313), explains the word as derived from *head* = 'abundance' and distinguishes from *heada* 'bel-him' which he says would give the meaning 'partner'. But Kluge (*PhH* IX, 100) would change *head* = 'abundance' to *head* = 'pl. of head' (as in *Beow.* 247), and rejects the explanation = 'head' = 'head', since the form in compounds should be *heada*. He would read therefore *headaðendum* = 'kamptseetaher'; so also Sweet, *PhH* 127: *war sailer, sea warrior*. But neither argument is conclusive; the meaning 'trial' for **heado-**, however, may be accepted as certain.

427. It is not until this point in the narrative in the Greek version that the boat is cast loose from land; cf. Boumet, p. 13, ll. 13-14: *Kai eðhes eñce ð' Ithoos eñ' eñce ð' yñ' Añat' Añ' Añat' eñ' Añat'*. The *Beowulf* does not state clearly when the voyage begins.

428. **wuldorspedige.** The only occurrence of the adj., but Cl. 1308 = *S = setl = setl* = 'setl' = 'seat' = 'throne' of heaven.

429. **Ge þæt gehogodon.** Cl. 1303 = 1331: *ge þæt he gode bær on holm gestah*.

430. **Eara tole.** Cl. 1308.

432. **Æþmyrena.** There is nothing in the Greek or the *Beowulf* to correspond to this name. The word is an adjective used as noun; the first element **æþ** = **æal** (Cl. 1308 = 1331, etc.) for the form *æþ*, with the value of an intensive; the second element the adjective *æþmyr* 'dark', 'black', Cl. 1308 = 1331, 'very poisonous'. It means here 'Ethiopian'. Cf. *PhH* 127 = Sm. II, 10, 12, which corresponds to *geþæt ðe ðe ðe ðe*, in Bede's martyrology, as the seat of Matthew's labours. *Æþmyrena* is also used with the same meaning in *PhH* XXXI, 6; LXXXVI, 3; and *PhH* 60. See note to Cl. 1304. It is evidently from this traditional source which ascribes Africa or Ethiopia to Matthew as his mission that the poet has drawn the inference that the action of the story of Andrew and Matthew took place in the land of the Ethiopians. For a discussion of the probable situation of Mevedonia, see Intro'd. p. lxxv.

439. **gedyð ond gedreotod.** Cl. 1309, and 1327-1331: *gedyð hie [i.e. wæstmā] ond gedreotað*. *dreot* = *dreotian*, contract verb, Cl. 1309 = 1331, § 408, note 18.

438ff. (See Cl. 1309, l. 14, 30ff.)

439 = Sm. II, 10, 12.

442. **þordstæðu.** 'The cordage' or 'rigging'. This is the only occurrence of the word; it is glossed in all the dictionaries (except Simons, p. 17; 'schiffbau')

as 'shore'. But, as Corbett points out (*PLB*, XVI, 10), 'sea-shore' does not satisfy the demands of the context, since the boat is now in the open sea. Brodeur, p. 171, guesses 'bulwarks'. The right meaning, however, is indicated by *Edm.* glossing, *nominia naxium et instrumenta carum* (II-II, I, 333, 36), where *doz* is glossed 'salon' *šafon*, *šafhon* (according to Doucamp). *šafon* is *in p̄roia*. The word must be taken as a synonym of *strenzas*, 341; *wædo*, 373. The first element of the compound would mean 'ship', the whole word 'the rigging of the ship'.

443. *γδ ὀδερρε*. Cf. *Met.* XXVI, 39-40: *šimede šao brime γδ wið oore*, and *Psaln* XLII, 7: 'deep calleth unto deep'. Cf. 133, note.

444<sup>b</sup> 445<sup>c</sup>. The suggestion for the picture was found in the original, cf. Bonnet, p. 73, II, 3-1: *καὶ ἀρέσκει με γάλον γεωμένον καὶ τὴν θαλάσσαν κυμαίνοντα, ὥστε τὰ κύματα ὀφωθῆναι καὶ γινέσθαι ὕπο τῇ ἐπιτήρῃ τοῦ πλοίου*, *Texts*, p. 117, 1-2: *ham jam wilde was geworden swa het þa cōllan γὰρ was on alathene ofer þat seip*. A similar but much weaker personification is found in *Beow.* 733-734:

Norð-Dennu-foð  
at he egesa — anra ge-wyllema.

445. *γδild*. Cf. the parallel, *ofer γδford*, I, 363<sup>b</sup>. Gm., reading *γδfoð*, translates, 'undarum iter, via', so also Gm., *Pacht*, 'Schiffchen oft am Seeweg'; but *Spr.* II, 767, 'navygium, navis'.

448<sup>b</sup>. So *Dan.* 736<sup>b</sup>.

449. *to marum*. 'At the hands of the Lord,' as in *Chr.* 773. Utan us to Eder-treofa wihman. For other examples, see *Spr.* II, 339. *Profe*, or Luthredge calls attention to the idiom *on — niman*, in which the equivalent phrase in Mhd. would demand 'from' (see *Spr.* II, 307, for example), and the construction to 'ask at' a person (see *ABD*, ix, 343). Cf. further *et.*, *pundan*, e.g. *ful* 652<sup>b</sup>, 659<sup>a</sup> *þer þu* [troia] *agun at magna Gode*, *PL* I, 103. *at þam bræpe hote budan*; *An.* 983, *mult at marum*. For similar constructions, with verbs of seeing, hearing, etc., see Sievers, *PLB*, XII, 139. See also Wulffing, II, 301, *sey, ædrian*.

451. Wulker has no punctuation after *endgifa*, all other *Edm.* a comma or semicolon.

453. *ressade*. The only occurrence of the word. A noun *ress*, 'seat,' occurs *Beow.* 5717 and 5736.

454. *Da ure mod ahtoh*. Cf. *Beow.* 739: *þa his mod ahtog*, *Sat.* 173: *næfre ær his ferðe ahtog*. Battenwieser, p. 96, calls attention to the similar idiom in *Iscl.* (*Prismkaiha*, 31)

Hē Hēanfa  
hugra hnoth

Cf. I, 140, note.

455. *gesegon*. An Anglian form, cf. *Gram.*, § 341, 5, note 7.

457<sup>b</sup>. So *Gen.* 2590.

458. Cf. *Ed.* 574: *ic eow to sefe seegon wille*.

458 460. Cf. *Beow.* 572-573, *Wyrd oft nersc onfeene eorl, þonne hra ellen deað*. Probably the same formula stood in *Ed.* I, 5XIII, 9, where the phrase *gif hy ellen deað* remains in an otherwise corrupt passage. Cf. also *Ed.* 133: *a*

þē bið gedēled, gif þē deah hyge; *Gen.* 1287-1288: Drihten wiste þæt þæs æðelinges ellen dohte; *Rud.* LXII, 7: Gif þæs ondfengan ellen dohte; *Sat.* 283-284: Forþon mæg gehlycgan, se ðe his heorte deah, þæt he him ānre frēne gebohtas. Grimm, p. xlii, and Fritzsche, p. 44, note *Hildebrandslied* 55: *ibu dir din ellen tate*. Cook (*JLLA*, VIII, 50) cites numerous examples of the formula in Latin literature, from which the ME. proverb, 'Fortune favors the brave,' appears to have been derived. The Greek (Bonnet, p. 75, l. 8) has nothing corresponding to 106<sup>b</sup>: *ὁ γὰρ κρείος Ἰησοῦς οὐ μὴ ἐγχαταλαπῆ ἡμᾶς*. Perhaps the poet may have had in mind, however, Psalm XXXVII, 25 ff., and similar passages.

On these passages Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 230, remarks as follows: 'Fate, says Beowulf, as he tells of his battle with the sea-monsters [*Beow.* 572 ff.], fate often saves a man *if he have plenty of courage*.'

Oft Wyrð preserveth  
undoomed ealr, — if he doughty be.

The same idea and the same phrase, with very slight change, passed into the Christian poetry of our ancestors, and have since become a commonplace.' See 1012, note. A somewhat similar sentiment is that of *Hz.* I, IV, 116-117 (*Bibl.* II, 223):

Gōd biþ þæt, — þonne mon him sylt ne mæg  
wyrð onwendan, — þæt hē þonne wel folige.

461. The whole line occurs again in *Ga.* 484.

463<sup>b</sup>. So 870; *Ga.* 147.

464. Cf. l. 820, and *Beow.* 614-616: oþæt semninga sunu Healfdenes sēcan wolde æfenraeste; *Beow.* 1040-1041, oþæt semninga tō sele cōmon frome fyrdhwate.

468. **gyrehwīle**. Although the second element of this compound usually carries with it the signification of 'time,' the first element here appears to bear all the meaning of the word — 'fright, terror.' Sievers (*PBB*, XVIII, 400) discusses similar compounds, e.g. *arfēðfrīg*, *arfēðhrōt*, with the value merely of *arfēð*; *Beow.* 2427, *orðgħwīla*, equivalent to the gen. pl. of *orð*; *Beow.* 2700, *sizgħwīla*, equivalent to the gen. pl. of *siz*; and points out similar compounds with other expressions of time, e.g. OHG. *sich tags*, 'sickness,' MHG. *wēdaz*, *wēdage*, 'pain, sorrow.'

470<sup>a</sup>. Cf. l. 552, note. — 470<sup>b</sup>. Cf. l. 671; *Jad.* 70: ferþlocan onspēon; *EL* 86: hreðerlocan onspēon.

471-474. Cf. ll. 493-495, note; ll. 553-554, note.

474-476. Cf. *Beow.* 420-428: Ic þē nūðā, brego Beorht-Dena, biddan wille, eodor Sýdlinga, ānre bene.

478. Grimm and Baskervill put a period after **fetedsince**.

480. **gōdne**. The strong form after **þinne** because the word is detached from its syntactical group? Professor Kittredge suggests that the adj. is strong because it is here felt as an appositive to **þinne frēondscipe**.

483. **este wyrðest**. The metre confirms the reading **ēste**, as in *Gen.* 1500: þā him ealra was āra ēste ælmihtig God; and *Beow.* 945: þæt hyre eald metod este wære.

484. *craftes nēosan*. Cf. *Ap.* 103.

487. *bestemdon*. The spelling *-on* for *-an* finds a parallel in *bruconne*, l. 23.

489. *on gifeðe*. This is the only occurrence of the phrase. The context favors *on geofone*, appositive to *on saebate*, 490<sup>b</sup>; cf. also *τὴν θάλασσαν* of the Greek version, l. 490, note. For the meaning 'fate, lot, chance,' for *gifeðe*, cf. *Beow.* 3085: *was þæt gifeðe tō swið, þe done [þeodnyng] þyder ontyhte*.

490. *syntaxe sīðum*. Cf. Bonnet, p. 75, ll. 17-18: *ἐξαιδέκατον γὰρ ἐπλευσα τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἰδοὺ τοῦτο ἐπτακαδέκατον*. In spite of this, Brooke, p. 172, remarks: 'Then, either because the poet wishes to give local color and invents voyages for Andrew, or, as I would fain believe, introduces his own personal experience of the deep and imputes it to Andrew, he tells how he has been sixteen times at sea, and contrasts these old journeys with his present one'; also, p. 414, 'There is even a personal touch, as I believe, in one passage, which speaks of his having been sixteen times on sea-journeys.' Hammerich Michelsen, *Älteste christl. Epik*, pp. 99-100, translates this passage, ll. 489-505, remarking: 'steht der Herr Jesus nicht hier ungefähr ebenso am Bord, wie in dem Tagen des Heidenthums Thor oder Odin, wie im Mittelalter, der heilige Olaf?'. Cf. l. 361 ff., note.

491-492. Translate 'I . . . cold as to my hands stirring the water streams.' *Mundum freorig* is paralleled by *Ph.* 86: *feðrum strong*, and by *Ph.* 100: *feðrum wēolre* (Bright). *Mundum* is to be regarded as a dative of specification. *Freorig* is nom. sg. masc., agreeing with *ic*, 489<sup>a</sup>, and *hrērendum* is dat. pl., agreeing with *mundum*. Cf. *Wand.* 4: *hrēran mid hondum hrīmealdeswē*; *Chr.* 677-678: *sundwudu drifan, hrēran holmþræce*.

492. *is ðys āne mā*. 'Is this once more.' Grein's translation, *Dicht.* and *Spr.* I, 32, 'doch ist dies ein grosser' (*āne* taken as nom. sg. neut. weak) does not give the necessary meaning of one journey more, a seventeenth. Cook, p. 226, translates 'this makes another journey,' construing *āne* as Grein does; so also Root and Hall. Kemble translates 'this is once more.' As there is no reason why *āne* should be inflected weak, Kemble's interpretation of *āne* as instrumental adverb is to be preferred; *syntaxe sīðum*, l. 490<sup>a</sup>, is to be understood as adverbial, 'sixteen times' (cf. *ūðre sīðe* etc.), rather than 'on sixteen journeys.' Cf. *Ps.* LXVIII, 4:

Hiora is mycle mā    þonne ic mē hābbe  
on hēalde nū    hāra feaxes.

493. *Swā = swā þeah*.

493-495. Cf. ll. 498-499; *Beow.* 247<sup>b</sup>-249<sup>a</sup>: *Nāfre ic mārān geseah eorla ofer eorþan ðonne is cower sum, secg on searwum*; *Jul.* 517<sup>b</sup>-550<sup>a</sup>:

ic tō soþe wāt  
þæt ic ær ne sīð    ænig ne mētte  
in woruldlice    wiþ þē gelic  
þrīstran gefohtes.

Cf. ll. 553-554, note.

494. *þrȳðbearn hælēða*. The metre and the sense are both improved by Cosijn's emendation. Synonymous nouns in juxtaposition (except *Dryhten Hælend*, 541, 807, 1407) are not found elsewhere in *Andreas*, and but rarely in the body of the poetry; examples are cited by Sievers (*PBB.* IX, 137) as follows:

108, 110, 116S, 2103, Ch. 1110. Holthausen (*Engl. Bibl.* XV, 73-74) regards 108, 110, 116S, 2103, as in the same construction. See 1310f.

405. **steoran** *ofer* **stefnan**. Cosijn (*WZRM.* XXI, 16) takes **steoran** as infin., in which case *ofer* is illogical, unless with Gm. 87-11, 981, **steoran** be taken as intransitive. The better reading is that of Sievers in his comment on Cosijn's note, **steoran** acc. sg. of *steorn*, 'steersman,' appositive thus to **þryðbearn**, 1017, and **mann**, 1017. **hwiled**, 'The surge resounds.' Gm., K, Gm., read *hwiled* from a hypothetical *hwile*, 'to delay.' But Gm. 87-11, 111, cancels the form *hwile*, and glosses (p. 111) under *clangere*, 'clangere'; so *Ph. 12*, 'Die Stromflut walte sich.' This is the only occurrence of the word, but *erhwiled*, 'reboiled,' is recorded by *H. H.* I, 88, 30, and a noun *erhwiledgæð*, 'in clangore,' *ibid.* I, 113, 10.

406. **beateþ** **brimstarðo**. Baskervill supposes a 3d sg. *beateð*, citing **þreatað**, 150, and **gangaþ**, 841, as further examples, but **þreatað** is the normal form for the 3d class of weak verbs, and **gangað** is plural (cf. Bight's note, *U. V.* II, 81), the construction looking to the implied sense. Read therefore **beateþ**, **streimwehu**, 1018, being subject, and **brimstarðo**, acc. pl., object; thus *Ph. 11*, 'Die Stromflut . . . penscht die Bräume.' *estade*, K, taking **brimstarðo** as two words, 'the sea beneath the shores.' The picture of the surf on the shore is somewhat incongruous in a description of the open sea, and one would like to read as in L. 111, but the other seems to be the conventional phrasing; cf. besides 1018, 1313, the following: *V.* III, 6, *hwælcere blimmeð, blude grimmeð*; *streamas sdrin beað*, and *V.* VI, 13, *cac farum sæ noðene yst nede gebædeð*, but *no strange geondstred on sdrin beateð*. **ful scrid**, Gm. presents the alternatives *ful scrid*, 'plene instructus,' from *scrid*, 'vestitus, ornatus, apparatus,' quoting *Ph. 88*, subst. *scrid*, *scrid*, or *scrid*, 'plene incedens,' from *scrid*, 'ire, ingredi,' though if from the latter word he thinks the form should be *ful scrid* (Gm. 110 and 87-11, 111, Root, Hall, and Simons (p. 118), follow Gm.'s second explanation, K), the first, translating 'this boat is fully clothed.' As the second of Gm.'s explanations fits the context better than the first, it is to be accepted, cf. also *Tecl.* (*Uleas Vig.* p. 388) *mað millum skab* (*Uleas Vig.* 87-11, 30), where *skab* means the gliding motion of the ship. On the other hand the derivation of *scrid* from *scrid*, *scrid* derives some confirmation from the *Mal.* *scrid*, 'of a ship,' *Tecl.* *scab*, *scab* (*Uleas Vig.* p. 388) has the same meaning.

407. **On** **lud**, 118. *þota lann heals tiple gelicost*.

409. *ofer* **ýðlade**. The MS. reading **ýðlade** would mean 'on the shore', cf. *Ph. 88*, *ýðlade*, equivalent to *ýðlade*, *ýðlade*, 1584, and *ýðlade*, *ýðlade*, meaning 'sword.' Budge (*U. V.* XII, 88-89) comments on the significance of *ýðlade*, 'shore.'

501. **on** **ludseeare**. Cf. Bomer, p. 10, l. 1, *ðe ðeð eðe ýðe*. The word occurs again, 111, 111, and cf. **folesceare**, 684. The word is another illustration of the fact that the second element of a compound may be practically meaningless; see 108, note.

501-502. **On** **ýðlade**, 880-881. *Nu is þon gelicost swa we on lagudode ofer eald water ecolum hðan*.



**504. *brondstæfne*.** The first element of this compound has of course nothing to do with *brand*, 'fire,' as in l. 768. The picture intended is evidently the same as that in l. 273, *brante ceole*. Grimm, p. XXX, suggested the reading *brout stæfne*, followed by Grein and Cosijn. But perhaps *brond* is to be retained in the same sense as *stæfn*, forming thus a pleonastic compound; cf. *feol* (Cleas. Vig., p. 79) *brandis*, 'the rared prow and poop, ship's beak,' *jellr bratti becki brondum hær*, 'the waves rise high above the "branda".'<sup>1</sup>

The notion of shipwreck expressed by *brecan brondstæfne*, 'shatter the high-prowed (ship),' seems somewhat too violent for the context here. One would like to take *brondstæfne* as a noun compound, 'prow,' 'bow,' and read *brecan on (or ofer) brondstæfne*, 'there the storm nor the wind may move it, nor the water flood break over the high prow.'

Grimm, Grein, and Wulker put only a comma after *brondstæfne*, the other Edd. a semicolon: *snowed*. Cf. l. 1130, note. \*

**505<sup>1</sup> 509.** The allusions to the youth of the pilot are developed from a single word, a vocative *pearlæke* (Bonnet, p. 76, l. 2), in the *Hpáðay*. But perhaps the poet of *Andreas* had in mind the following words spoken by Hroðgar of Beowulf, *Beow.* 1811-1815:

Pe þa wordwydas      wifl[ifig] Drihten  
on setan sende!      ðe hyde ic snotorheor  
on swa geongum feote      guman þingum;  
þu eart mægenes strang      ond on mōde frod,  
wis wordwida.

**506. *winfrum froð*.** The word *frōð*, literally 'wise,' is used frequently in the sense of 'advanced in years,' 'old,' eg. *georum*, *missærum*, *þwinðagum frōð*, etc.; see *Spr.* I, 351.

**507. *Eroðlaecende*.** Nom., agreeing with *ðu*, l. 505, or the implied subject of *hæfast*, l. 507. Cook, p. 27, construes the word as vocative.

**511. *on sælade*.** So *Beow.* 1157; the only other occurrence of the noun is *Beow.* 1132: to *sælade*.

**512. *scipum under scealcum*.** Grimm, p. 100, has difficulty in explaining this phrase. He suggests for *scealcum* a form from a hypothetical *scealc* or *scalc*, *feol* *skeller*, 'fear, terror.' Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 11) regards both *scealcum* and the plural *scipum* with suspicion, suggesting that the half line may have been taken bodily from some other poem. But the plural *scipum* is in keeping here; the statement is a generalization and need not apply to a single ship. In syntax the word is to be taken as coordinate with *brimbengestum*, 513<sup>b</sup>. For *scalc*, 'sailor,' cf. *Wale* 30-31; and þonne in deaðsele dience bilæsteð scipu mid scealcum.

**515. *sð nesam*.** Translate 'At times it befalls us grievously on the waves, upon the sea, though we survive, pass through the terrible journey.' The evident parallel to this passage is *Æl.* 1003-1004: *gif hie brimnesen ond gesandne sð settan mosten*; and on the strength of this passage Gr., *Spr.* II, 416, and Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 11) would read here *sðnesam*, as noun, object of *geferan*. But the passage in *Æl.* confessedly offers difficulties (cf. *Æbl.* II, 133) and should not carry too much weight in determining the construction in *Andreas*. The

unconstrained reading here is that which takes **nesan** and **gefēran** as coördinate verbs, in the optative mood. Cf. *Gen.* 1341: *hām þe mid sceolon mereflōd nesan.*

517<sup>b</sup>. So *Gen.* 1251; *Dan.* 174; *Metr.* xi, 25.

519. **brūne fȳða**. Besides the passages in which it is descriptive of the waves, the adjective **brūn** is used of armor and weapons. Note also **brūnwann**, 1306, and cf. the ballad phrase 'wan water.' It probably means merely 'dusky,' 'dark.'

523. **wuldras fylde**. The genitive in *-as* is also found in l. 1501, **heofonas**; for other examples, cf. *Spr.* I, 179, s.v. *cynīng*; Napier, *Über die Werke des altengl. Erzbischofs Wulfstan*, p. 67; and Sievers, *Gram.*, § 237, note 1. These *-as* genitives in *Andreas* are to be regarded rather as late West-Saxon forms than as survivals from an early Anglian original text. The construction of *fyllan* followed by the genitive finds a parallel in *Chr.* 408-409:

forþon þū gefyldest.    foldan ond rodoras,  
wigendra Hleo,    wuldres Jīnes.

Cf. also *El.* 1134: **wuldres gefylled**. The usual construction after *fyllan* is the accusative and instrumental (cf. Shipley, p. 33).

524. **beorhtne boldwelan**. So *Jul.* 503 and *Ap.* 33.

525. **þurh his ānes miht**. Cf. *Gen.* 272, *Chr.* 685: **þurh his ānes cræft**.

528<sup>b</sup>. So *Jul.* 202. — All Edd., except Grimm and Grein, put a period or semi-colon after **þrymsittendes**.

532. **ār fȳða**. Cf. l. 383, note.

535. **wuldres blæd**. Equivalent merely to 'heaven'; cf. l. 356, note.

541<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 954-955: *þæt þīn dōm lēfað āwa tō aldre*, of *Beowulf*; *Chr.* 405: *ā þīn dōm ænnaþ*, of the Lord; *El.* 450-453: *ac þāra dōm leofað . . . ðe þone anhangnan Cynīng heriað ond lofað*.

543<sup>b</sup>. So 609<sup>b</sup>; *As.* 187. Cf. *Ap.* 15; *Ps.* C1V, 6: *geweorðude ofer werþeoda*.

544-548. Cf. *Gu.* 862: *nāenig hacleja is þe areccan mæge oþþe rīm wite*; *Hy.* III, 17-18 (*Bibl.* II, 214):

ne magon hȳ nāfre areccan    nē þæt gerīm wytan  
hū þū mēre eart,    mihtig drihten:

*El.* 635:  *Ic ne mæg areccan. nū ic þæt rīm ne can*. Cf. also *Jul.* 313; *Chr.* 222; *Panther* 3.

546. **ðætte**. 'Of such sort that he,' etc. Other examples are given in *Spr.* II, 573.

548. **dūleſt**. Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 263, calls attention to the omission of the subject after **hū**.

552. **wis on gewitte**. Cf. ll. 316, 470; the model for the passage, however, was *Cræft.* l. 13: *wis on gewitte oþþe on wordewidum*. In both passages Bright (*MLN.* II, 81) takes **wis** to be a noun, 'wisdom,' in the genitive case in *Cræft.* 13, in the dative (apparently coördinate with **geofum**, l. 551<sup>b</sup>) case in the passage in *Andreas*; the inflection *-e* in both passages he thinks has either been elided or carelessly dropped, or the construction has been misunderstood. But a noun *wis = wissdōm* is not recorded, and in the light of the other occurrences of the phrase it seems best to regard it not as an amplification of **geofum**, but as an adj. in the nom. case, agreeing with **ðū**, 550. This is also Professor Bright's present

opinion. Cf. *Höl.* 78: *twís on þínum geuotte ond on þínum worde snottor*, of the angel Gabriel.

553-554. Cf. *Beow.* 1842-1843:

ne hýrde ic snotorlicor  
on swā geongum fēore      guman þingian;

and cf. also ll. 471 ff.; 493 ff.

556<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Jul.* 258: *frægn þā fromlice*. — 556<sup>b</sup>. So *Metr.* XX, 275; cf. *Rid.* LXXXIV, 10, *ör ond ende*, with the same meaning. See *Rev.* I, 8, 11; XXI, 6; XXII, 13.

557. Cf. *Rid.* XXXIII, 13-14: *Rece, gif þū cunne, wís worda glēaw*; *El.* 856: *Saga, gif ðū cunne*.

558<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *be* (bi) *sām twēonum*, *Beow.* 858, 1297, 1685; *El.* 442, 562; *Gu.* 237, 1333.

559. *ðā ārlēasan*. That is, *Iudea cynn*, which is in apposition. Cosijn's emendation, *ðæt ārlēase*, does not improve the grammar and is bad stylistically.

561. Grein and Wülker have only a comma after *hearmewide*, but the other Edd. a period.

564. Cf. *El.* 865-866<sup>a</sup>: *oððæt him gecyððe cyning ælmihtig wundor for weorodum*; *Chr.* 482: *weoredum cýðað*.

565<sup>a</sup>. So *Men.* 129, also referring to the miracles of the Lord. The phrase is a favorite one with Wulfstan; cf. Napier's ed., p. 159, l. 5: *swutol and gesýne*; p. 163, l. 14: *swytol and gesýne*, etc. Cf. also *Gen.* 2806: *sweetol is ond gesēne*.

567. Cf. *Chr.* 1196: *tō hlēo ond tō hrōþer hcleþa cynne*, of Christ.

568<sup>b</sup>-569<sup>a</sup>. See 1677<sup>b</sup>-1678<sup>a</sup>.

569. So 650, 1678; *El.* 334; *Gu.* 1104.

570. *dōmāgende*. Cf. *Jul.* 186: *folcāgende*. — *dæl nānigne*. Cf. Bonnet, p. 76, ll. 17-18: *Ἡὼς οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι; τάχα οὐκ ἐποίησεν σημεῖα ἐν ὧπιον αὐτῶν*; the *frātre þeode* of l. 571 are the Jews of the Greek version. The reply which Andrew makes, l. 573 ff., also demands *nānigne* in l. 570.

573. Cf. l. 137; *El.* 643: *hū is þæt geworden on þysse werþeode*.

575. *gif*. The word is regularly feminine, with accusative in *-e*. But an accusative plural *cardgyfu* occurs, *Ps.* LXXI, 10, and a dative singular *mid þām godcundan gyfe* (Bede, ed. Miller, p. 34, l. 17), both examples being pointed out by Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 252); from these two citations an acc. sg. *gif* may be inferred for the present passage. Wülker cites the compounds *gifstol*, *gifheal*, *gifseat*, in support of a nominative form *gif*; but such compounds prove nothing, since all *o*-stems as first element in compounds end regularly with a consonant.

576<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 811.

577 ff. See *Matt.* XI, 5; *Luke* VII, 21-22.

580. Cf. *Chr.* 1508: *wērgē wonhāle*.

582. on *grundwæge*. The second element of the compound is not the word *wæg*, 'wall' (see 714, 732), as stated by Grimm, p. 111, also *Spr.* I., 531, and B.T., 492. It is a form of *weg*, 'way'; for examples of *w* for *e*, cf. *-wæced*, 709; *sagl*, 1456. In *meðlan*, 1440, *e* appears for *w*. The word *grundwæg*, which occurs only in this passage, is a compound like *eorðwæg*, *feldwæg*, *flodwæg*, *brunnād*,

etc., and takes its meaning from the first element. 'Translate, therefore, 'the earth.' See 500, note.

583<sup>1</sup>. Cf. *L.* 911-915: seðe deaðra feala worde awehte.

585. Cf. *L.* 558: cýðdon cræftes miht; *C.* 1143: cýðde cræftes meahit. See I. 190, note.

586-588. See *John* II, 1-10. The Greek (Bonnet, p. 78, l. 2) reads merely ἰδοὺ ἐξ οὐραυ ἀνέβητες. **Heremægen**, literally 'army troop,' appears to have weakened merely to the meaning 'throng'; see Glossary for citations.

587. **ond wendan het**. Cosin (*PBB*, XXI, 17) would take **ond** as equivalent to a relative *and*, object of **het**, and he cites examples in which he regards *ond* as having the function of a relative. But this use of *ond* is not established by his citations, nor is it necessary in the present passage.

588. **on þa beferan gecyrd**. A formula; cf. *L.* 1038, 1001; and Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 145: uton wendan georne to beferan cræfte.

589-591. See *Matt.* XIV, 17 ff.; *Mark*, VI, 38 ff.; *Luke*, IX, 12 ff.; *John* VI, 8 ff. The poet was apparently not sufficiently familiar with the version of the story in *John* to recall that it is Andrew who is there said to have provided the loaves and fishes.

591<sup>2</sup>. Cf. *Beowulf* 1414: *wehðan* geaht of the followers of Beowulf.

592. **reonignode**. Cf. *Helede* 1023: hæleð beoð on wynnun reonignode reste gelyste; *Ch.* 1000: was him reste need reonignodum. The MS. reading **reomignode** is the only occurrence of a form *reomign-*. Grimm, p. 112, followed by *S.* II, 374, compares this form with Goth. *reimn* 'quiets'; but Grimm refrains from a decision, noting that the context favors the reading **reonign-**, 'weary.' As Sievers points out (*PBB* X, 309) the correct reading here is undoubtedly **reonignode**, both the metre and the sense of the passage demand this form.

594. Cf. 1484: *þær* soð man on moldan; *Ch.* 601: mon on moldan.

595-600. Cf. II, 811-813; *L.* 811-812: nu ðu meahit gehýran, hæleð min se leofa, hu, etc.; *L.* 823: lyse kotesta.

597. **spreon**. The other occurrences of *sprean* in the verse are all in the evil sense, 'entice, allure' (see *S.* II, 407), but the word occurs frequently in homiletic or biblical prose (see B. I, p. 808) in a good sense, as in the present passage.

598<sup>1</sup>. So 1093; *Ch.* 1184; cf. *C.* 913: on getean feger; to þam langan getean, *Ch.* 600; *Ch.* 1003, 1081; in þam ecan getean, *Ch.* 1053, 1159, 1345; to þam soðan getean, *Ch.* 1038.

599<sup>1</sup>. So *C.* 1247.

600. Cf. *Beowulf* 187: after deaðdage Ðrihten secean.

601. **weges weard**. Kemble translates correctly 'ruler of the wave'; so also Root. But *S.* II, 655, and the other translations take **weges** as derived from *weġ*, 'way'. Cf. I, 637.

602<sup>1</sup>. So *Ch.* 608; *L.* 350; *L.* 1072.

605. Cf. *L.* 811-813: hara be ic getremede nalles team siðum; *L.* 351: hara be ic fremede nalles team siðum.

606. **foleum to frofre**. So *L.* 1142; *C.* 1122; *Beowulf* 11: folce to fröfre.

611. **þurh deopne gedwolan**. So *Ch.* 301. The Edd. put no punctuation after *gedwolan*, and a strong pause after *larnum*; but *deotles larnum* and *wraðum werlogan* should be held together. Cf. I, 679.

613<sup>o</sup>. Cf. 1297; *Wid.* 9: *wraþes wærlagan. seo wyrd.* Hall, p. 82, 'The original has **Wyrd**; she, in the religion of our forefathers before their conversion to Christianity, was the goddess of destiny, and presided over the fates of men and of gods. She, of course, still rules the affairs of these unconverted cannibals.' A similar use of the word is found in l. 1561, also of the Mermedonians. See Golther, *Handbuch der german. Mythologie*, pp. 104-105; Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 37; for a discussion of the meaning of the term *wyrd* and its occurrences in the literature of the Germanic peoples.

The word in its later development has had an interesting history. 'Aus dem Schottischen wohl ist *ward* ins Neugenglische gedrungen. Chaucer kennt zwar *werdes*, *wierdes* neben *wardes* (vgl. Skeats Glossar), also Formen mit keltischem *e* für *y*, aber das Wort scheint bald nach ihm ausgestorben zu sein. Denn in Holinsheds Bericht über Machbeth übernimmt er aus Bellenden den schottischen Ausdruck *weird sisters*, der schon bei Wyntoun (ed. Laing, VIII, 1861) und bei Douglas (II, 112/21) vorkommt, in der schottischen Schreibung *ward*, und findet es nötig, ihn durch den Zusatz zu erklären: "that is (as ye would say), the goddesses of destinie" (vgl. Delius' Shakespeare, II, 300). Aus Holinshed hat Shakespeare das Wort übernommen, aber den Druckern der Folios war es offenbar fremd, denn sie setzten dafür *weeward*. Erst Theobald stellte auf Grund des Berichtes Holinsheds die Lesung *ward* her, und erst von da aus scheint der Ausdruck wieder in weiteren Gebrauch gekommen zu sein, aber ohne das Zeichen seines Ursprungs, die schottische Schreibung mit *ri*, aufzugeben.' Luick, *Studien zur Englischen Lautgeschichte*, pp. 185-186 (*Wiener Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie* XVII).

615. **werige mid werigum.** Cf. l. 360, note.

616. **biterne.** Professor Hart suggests **bitterne**; so also Sievers (*PBB.* X, 496). But cf. *Chr.* 765: *biterne stræl*.

619<sup>b</sup>. Cf. 1086; *Gen.* 1609: *folces reswan*.

620. **wundor æfter wundre.** So *Beow.* 931. Grein and Wulker have no punctuation after *gesieððe*, all other Edd. a period.

622. **foledred fremede.** Cf. *Beow.* 3006: *foledred fremede*, of Beowulf. **to friðe hogode.** Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 12) suggests **to frioðe hogde**.

625. **maga mode rof.** So 981. **mægen.** 'Miracles.' Cf. *Legend*, p. 117, ll. 15-16: *speo to þamum discipulum be þam mægenum be þam lareow dyde*. Other examples are noted by B. T., p. 655, but the above have escaped him. Cf. Bonnet, p. 77, ll. 13-14: *ποταὶ εἶσιν αἱ δυνάμεις ἃς ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ κρηπτῷ; φανέρωσάν μοι αὐτάς*. The word in the Latin original which is translated here **mægen** was undoubtedly 'virtus'; cf. *Matt.* VII, 22, 'in nomine tuo, virtutes multas fecimus,' and for other examples see *Mark* VI, 2, 5; *Acts* VIII, 13; *Matt.* XI, 20.

626. **deormod on digne.** Cf. *Gu.* 925: *deormod on deghe*, of Guthlac in his retreat.

627. **besæton.** The subject is omitted after *ða*, 'when': 'when often ye held council with the Lord.' See Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 261.

630<sup>a</sup>. So 1200; *Chr.* 509. **gehwære.** Sievers (*PBB.* X, 485) would regularly replace *gehwære* by the earlier forms *gehwæres*, *gehwæum*; see also *Gram.*, § 314, note 4.

031. **purh snyttra cræft.** Cf. *EL*, 1171: nu þe God sealde sawle sigesped and snyttra cræft; and cf. the compound *snyttra cræft*, *Spr.* II, 400.

035. **wynnum wridað.** Cf. *PL*, 237: wridaþ on wynnum. For the quantity of *wridað*, see *Gram.* §.38. For the relation of *wridan* to *wridan* and *wridian*, cf. Cosijn, *FRB* XXI, 1.

036. **æðelnum eene.** So also l. 88. **Eene** means 'endowed,' 'teeming'; cf. *æðel eene*, etc. The usual form of the adjective is *æðel*, but cf. *Ch.*, 1045: *on eene æðel*, and see Cook's note. **Æðelnum** is inst. pl.; cf. *æðelnum deore*, *Dan.*, 1031; *PL*, 180; *Bede*, 1049; *æðelnum god*, *Bede*, 1870.

039<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 815<sup>b</sup>.

040. **godbearn on grundum.** So *Ch.*, 68: godbearn of grundum, *Ch.*, 400; *siddan* of grundum godbearn astag, *Ch.*, 702. **hweorfon.** See 1050, and 51, note. Walker calls attention to *Dan.* 207, *hæwerfon*, and *Sat.* 341, *hæwerfan*, both pretenses.

041. Cf. 809. *PL*, 35, 117; *Sat.* 350: swegles dreamas.

042<sup>b</sup>. So 1470. Cf. 808.

045<sup>a</sup>. So *PL*, 35, 1100.

046<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 909, 1138, *PL*, 1170, 1171 (above, 031, note).

047<sup>a</sup>. So *Ch.*, 11.

049<sup>a</sup>. **oor and ende.** Cf. 556<sup>a</sup>, note. Vowels are geminated to indicate length also in *fim*, 1503, 1506, and *tan*, 1090.

050. **on weca gemote.** But the Greek (Bonnet, p. 78, l. 6) reads ἐν τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ, the exact opposite of the Anglo-Saxon.

052-053. **sīde herigeas fole mincete.** So *Men.* 5<sup>b</sup>, 6<sup>a</sup>.

052-060. There is nothing in the Greek version corresponding to these lines. After the response of Andrew, 048-051, the Greek passes on to the account of the Twelve Apostles in the temple, 061 ff. The passage appears to be an invention of the poet's, based upon such allusions in the New Testament as *Matt.* IX, 35-36. The verses immediately following these give an account of the Twelve Apostles (*Matt.* X, 1-8). The phrase **in bold oðer**, 050, is not specific but is an allusion to the Lord's method of preaching from house to house.

054. Cf. 10, 070: wolde hweorgan halges lita.

059. **symble.** *AS.* II, 518, glosses as adv., but *Gn.* would change to *ymbel*, 'festivitas'. But it is plainly adverb here.

061. **sīgedema.** The only other occurrence of the word is *Ch.*, 1000.

064. **ellefne.** Kluge (*FRB* VI, 30<sup>a</sup>) remarks that this is the only occurrence of the numeral *elefen* in Anglo-Saxon verse. The metrical stress here falls upon the first syllable of the word; but the modern accentuation and the phonetic history of the word, *elefen* = *elfen*, would indicate that the first syllable was normally unstressed.

065<sup>a</sup>. Cf. 883, *PL*, 132: X hund geteled treadinga.

067. **tempel Dryhtnes.** The Greek reads (Bonnet, p. 78, l. 16) ἐς ἐπεὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν, i.e. into a temple of the Gentiles. Apparently the Anglo-Saxon poet has in mind the Hebrew temple at Jerusalem.

068. **heah ond horgeap.** The half line, and the description in general, is taken from *Ps.* 137, where it applies to the great hall, Heort. The word *heort*,

'gable,' 'pinnacle,' is several times used in descriptive names of buildings; see **horusel**, 1158, also *heringestcon*, *Kuhn* 23, *hermedel*, *Beow.* 701; B. T., p. 553, cites *ofer herofu temples*, 'supra pinnam templi,' *Luke* IV, 9. The compound here probably means 'wide-gabled'; see Miller, *Anglia* XII, 307. But Grein, *Dicht.*, translates 'an Zinnen reich'; *Spr.* II, 98, *pinnaculis prominens*. The meaning 'prominent, high' for **geap** is supported by *Sal.* 510-511: *munt is hine ymbutan*, *geap gylden weal*; see further B. T., p. 360.

**669. huseworde**. The only occurrence of the compound; translate 'with mocking word.' *Huse*, *huex* as simplex, meaning 'scorn, mockery,' occurs several times. Grein, *Spr.* II, 112, suggests *us worde?* for *huseworde*; cf. Trautmann's emendation in the variant readings. But the MS. reading fits the context admirably. Kemble has only a comma after **gewlitigod**.

**670. ealdorsacerd**. Professor Hart calls my attention to the fact that this compound, of which Grein and B. T. record but this single occurrence, occurs frequently in the Northumbrian Gospels. For examples, see Cook, *A Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels*, s.v. *aldorsacerd*, p. 9.

**671. herne hyspan**. Cf. *Chr.* 1120: *hysptun hearne widum*.

**672. wroht webbede**. Cf. *L.L.* 308: *inwitþancum wroht webbedan*.

**680. eadiges orhlytte æðeling cyðað**. The nom. pl. **orhlytte** refers back to the idea contained in **earnæ**, 676, and in the two following lines. The special Teutonic color in this passage is the addition of the poet; the Greek text says merely 'O wretches, why do you walk with him who says, I am the son of God?' (Bonnet, p. 78, l. 12 ff.) The idea contained in 'son of God' is amplified by the poet in that it is made political. **Æðeling**, 680, is the technical word for the son of a king and is so used regularly throughout the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle*; **ellpeodiges**, 678, means 'a stranger,' 'an unlineal claimant,' and **butan leodrihte**, 679, 'contrary to the accepted custom of the people.' Gm. and B. have no punctuation after **hyrað**, 679, and a comma after **orhlytte**, 680.

**683**. Cf. *Wid.* 1<sup>b</sup> 5: *him from Myrgingum æðelo onwocon*.

**684. on þysse folesecare**. So *EL* 402; *Gen.* 3680, 3829.

**686. hamsittende**. The compound occurs also in *Gen.* 1815; *Dan.* 687.

**688**. So *EL* 381; *Wid.* 3.

**691. suna Iosephes**. Cf. Bonnet, p. 78, l. 15: *ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ τοῦ τίκτορος*. Did the *τοῦ τίκτορος* seem too irreverent to the poet? See *Mark* VI, 3.

**693. duguð domgeorne**. So *L* 878; *EL* 1390; a dignified phrase, and in *Elenæ* applied to the righteous at the day of judgment. In *Andreas*, however, with epic freedom, it refers to the wicked persecutors of the Lord. The word **duguð** is not usually plural, but is so in the above three passages and in *L.A.* 546, 695<sup>1</sup>. So also *ful.* 506.

**696. þegna leape**. Cf. *Beow.* 1627: *ðryðlic þegna heap*; *EL* 549: *þa cwm þegna heap*; cf. *L* 870, *Ap.* 9. See *AFD.*, 'forlorn hope.'

**696-705**. In the Greek (Walker, p. 351): 'And Jesus, having known that our hearts were giving way, took us into a desert place, and did great miracles before us, and displayed to us all his Godhead. And we spoke to the chief priests, saying, Come ye also, and see; for, behold, he has persuaded us.'

**698. dūgol land**. So *Beow.* 1357, of the dwelling place of Grendel.

700. **crefta**. Appositive to **wundra**, 609.

706-707<sup>1</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 920<sup>b</sup>-922: swylce self cyning, of byðdbute beahhonda we and tryddode tutast getrume micle.

707. **getrume mycle**. The Greek version is specific: *τρακακτρα ἄνδρες τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τισσάρες ἀρχαίρις* (Bonnet, p. 70, l. 10).

711. **to segon**. The alliteration is on **to**, which must consequently be taken as adverb, not as the unstressed element of a verb compound.

712. **wundor agræfene**. **Wundor** is acc. pl., appositive to **aulhesse**, 713; cf. **wundor**, 730. There is no necessity, therefore, for the compound **wundor-agræfene**, 'wondrously carved,' of *S<sup>9</sup>*, II, 752, and the translations, or for Cosijn's emendation, **wundrum** (*PBB*, XXI, 12).

In the Greek version, these **wundor agræfene** are not the cherubim and seraphim, but two sphinxes: *εἰδὼν ἡγεφᾶς σφαγγας δύο, μίαν ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ μίαν ἐκ ἐναρῶν* (Bonnet, p. 70, ll. 11-12). Since the whole episode is omitted in the *Legend* it is impossible to tell what the reading of the Latin original of the poem was. The Greek version, however, compares the two sphinxes to the cherubim and the seraphim: *ταῦτα ἄρ' ὁμοία εἶσαν τοῦ ἑρρουβῖα καὶ τοῦ σεραφῖα τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ* (Bonnet, p. 70, l. 14-15). Probably only the allusion to the cherubim and seraphim was taken over into the Latin version.

717-719. Translate 'This is a representation of the most illustrious of the tribes of angels which is in that city [i.e. heaven] among the dwellers there.' There is nothing in the *Ἡρακλῆς* corresponding to this statement that the cherubim and seraphim are the highest of the angels, or to the further description of the cherubim and seraphim, ll. 719-724. The grouping of the seraphim and cherubim together is not derived from the Bible, as the seraphim are mentioned only once there (*Isaiah* VI, 2) and then not in connection with the cherubim. The two names, however, were early associated in Hebrew tradition; the *Book of Enoch*, for example, groups 'the seraphim, the cherubim, and ophanim, and all the angels of power' as the highest of the hosts of heaven. See Kyle, s.v. 'cherub,' in Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible* (New York, 1901). Cf. also Dionysius the Areopagite (4th century), who groups the seraphim, cherubim, and thrones as the highest of the heavenly hierarchies; see *V. P.*, s.v. 'cherub.' Note also the *Ps. Deum*: 'tibi Cherubim et Seraphim incessabili voce proclamant.' These allusions are all closely related to *Isaiah* VI, 1-3, a vision of the Lord in his glory. Interesting paraphrases of these verses, closer to the original than the passage in *Andreas*, are to be found in *P<sup>9</sup>*, 730-740 and *C<sup>9</sup>*, 385-415.

721. So *P<sup>9</sup>*, 600; cf. *for onsynce eces deman*, *P<sup>9</sup>*, 745; *Gl.*, 1101; *C<sup>9</sup>*, 837.

725<sup>1</sup>. **hw**. The meaning here is 'countenance,' 'appearance,' not as Grimm, p. 114, translates, 'familia,' as in *hwaradum, hwaru*, etc. 725<sup>2</sup>. So *C<sup>9</sup>*, 247.

726<sup>1</sup>. So 1030; *L<sup>9</sup>*, 87. 'The thanes, angels, in heaven'. For this meaning of **wundor**, cf. l. 350, note. With **þegnas**, cf. *C<sup>9</sup>*, 283: *Crætes þegnas*, 'angels'; *C<sup>9</sup>*, 15: *þegnas hynfaste . . . engla þreatas*. Holthausen, *PBB*, XVI, 550, emends **þegnas** to **þegna** in order to make it synonymous with **haligra**, l. 725; but **þegnas** may as well be taken as appositive to **hw**.

728. **for þam heremægeue**. See l. 707; note. The phrase occurs again ll. 1208, 1050; *L<sup>9</sup>*, 170.



**730. on wera gemange.** Simons, p. 57, would read **wera on gemange.** Cf. *Jul.* 5:8; *magum in gemonge*; *Beow.* 1041; *modig on gemonge.* The more usual construction, however, is prep. + gen. + acc., e.g. *Æl. 90*; *on clenna gemang*; *Æl.* 108; *on teonda gemang*; *Æl.* 118; *on gramra gemang*; *Jul.* 120; *on clenna gemong.*

**732. whitig of wage.** Cf. *Beow.* 1062; *ic on wage geseah whitig hangian*; *Köl.* XV, 12; *whitig on wage.*

**733-734.** Kemble and Baskervill put a semicolon after **sodewidum**, Grimm a comma; but Walker's punctuation, which I have followed in the text, gives undoubtedly the best reading. The alliteration *v : w*, which led Grein (see variants) to suppose that the text was corrupt here, is not in accordance with the use of the best early verse, but it is found more or less frequently in the later verse; see Sievers, *Altgerm. Metrik*, § 18, 3; Schipper, *Englische Metrik*, I, 50.

**734<sup>b</sup>.** Cf. *Jul.* 230; *hwæt his afeļu sȳn.* Like *fat* and *fas* (see II, 7, 248, 717, 751, 906, 1199), *hwæt* is often used without agreement in gender or number. Cf. German *es sind*, MfE. 'there is, there are.'

**735-737. dorste, ahteop, he.** The number changes from the plural (**syndon**, 720; **standað**, **herigað**, 722; **þegnas**, 726) to the singular here. In this the poem probably followed its source, as in the *Ἡράκλεις* only one of the sphinxes (whose place is taken here by the cherubim and seraphim, see 712, note) is represented as acting: 'Then Jesus, having looked to the right, where the sphinx was, said to it, I say unto thee, thou image of that which is in heaven, which the hands of craftsmen have sculptured, be separated from thy place, and come down, and answer and convict the chief priests, and show them whether I am God or man.' Walker, p. 351.

**736<sup>a</sup>.** So *Æl.* 806; cf. I, 564, note. **Wundor** is subject of **dorste**; cf. I, 712.

**737. frod fyrngeweore.** So *Æl.* 84, of the grove in which the Phoenix dwelt. The antecedent of **he** should be, grammatically, **fyrngeweore**, but the poet makes the pronoun masculine by personification.

**739.** Kemble and Baskervill put a semicolon after **dyneðe.**

**740-741.** Grein and Walker enclose **wraethe . . . ongin** within parentheses, the other Edl. set off the clause by commas or periods.

**742. septe sacerdas.** Cf. *Æl.* 528-530:

ðus mec fader min — on fyrdagum  
unwæxenne — wordum lereð,  
septe sodewidum.

Also *Dan.* 445-446:

Hýssas heredon drihten — for þam hǫfðenan toles,  
Septon [MS. stepton] hie sodewidum.

Grimm's *sewan*, accepted by Grein, *Spr.* II, 133, we may safely disregard; the stem consonant of the word is fixed by the three passages as *ƿ*. The meaning also, 'instruct,' 'teach,' is the appropriate meaning in all three passages. But the form and derivation of the word are not certain. Zupitza, *Ekene*, p. 73, glosses as *seffan* or *sefan*?; B. T. as *sefan* (*seffan*?); Simons, as Zupitza; Sweet, *Dict.* does not record the word. Baskervill, p. 76, gives the form as *seffan* — 'a denominative verb, akin to *seƿ*, root \*sapa, Goth. \*sapjan, OHG. *sewen*, *seppen*, MHG.

sehen, 'wahrnehmen'<sup>301</sup>. Kluge, *op. cit.*, *Hebräer*, p. 28, says, 'cf. thinks an ultimate connection of the above words with Latin *serere* is probable'. B. F., p. 300, gives the same explanation of the word as Baskerville. Swaen, *Eng. Stud.* XX, 190, brings Gothic *sera* (*sera* *sera*) into the discussion. 'Sera', I think, can neither be proved nor defended. 'Seran' might be explained, while sticking to the stem to which I have tried to reduce the word, by adopting a prehistoric Anglo-Saxon *sera* (*sera*), by which form the transitive meaning of *seran*, in contradistinction to the intransitive of *sera* (*sera*), 'schädel sen,' might be explained'. Swaen's explanation seems the most probable.

743. **witlig werede.** Cf. [i.e. stand], sagacious, held them in check'. Cosm's emendation *werede* is based upon 1.1087, but the reading of the MS. is supported by 1.1033, **wordum werede**.

744. **earnura gefohta.** Perhaps it is best to take the genitive as dependent on *searowum*. 'Ye are wretched, deceived by the snares of your (own) miserable thoughts'. **Earnura gefohta** would thus be parallel to **mode gemyrde**, 740. 'I have translated 'This soul-mischief, slender God-lucken'. K. 'ye are made of poor thoughts'.

740. **mode gemyrde.** Cf. *mod gemyrde*, c. 1113; *egsan myrde*, *ge mon egsað*. Cosm's admirable emendation is supported by the reading of the Greek version, Bonnet, p. 80, l. 6: *Αγορεύει παθόντα αιμαίνοντα*.

747. *So* c. 1114.

748. *So* l. 1115. Final **h** is also lost in *fr.* 1503, 1509.

750. *So* c. 1030, 1031, 1032.

752. The whole line occurs in 7508.

755. Cf. *So* c. 1030, *welch weorðan, wordum lofan*.

750. **Hebrahame.** Although this name occurs three times with initial *h*, *so*, 1030, 1031, and only once without it, 1032, the alliteration is always vocalic.

751. This allusion is not in the Greek version. See c. 11, XXII, l. 118, *Εὐαγγ.*

759. **open, orgete.** *So* c. 1110.

701-702. Bonnet, p. 80, sees in these lines a recollection of *Luc* II, 1. See l. 1157, note. But a similar situation here is naturally expressed in similar terms.

704. Gilden encloses the half line in parentheses, the other Edd. set it off only by commas. In its stylistic effect the sentence is parenthetical and exclamatory; see my study of 'The Parenthetical Exclamation in Old English Poetry', *J. L. A.* XX, 33-4.

705-706. **drycraeftum; seingelaenm.** On the element **dry-** in **drycraeftum**, cf. l. 34, note. Both words, **seingelaenm** and **drycraeftum**, have evil connotation. Cf. Wulfram, ed. Niquet, p. 107: 'Tomeuse de mal cymð þe ana cam call þæt ytel and call þa drycraeft, þæt æt æng man a tregelecomode', and for the meaning of *seingelaenm*, cf. *So* c. 1110, 1111.

swiððeswara fæw,  
ðes fæw a fæððeswara fæw,  
fæððeswara meððeswara fæw

For the quantity of *se*, cf. Sievers, *op. cit.*, VIII, 157. Cf. c. 1091, *se gæððeswara fæw*, c. 1110, *se fæw*, the devil's charge against *se gæððeswara*, l. 700.

769. **weoll on gewitte**. Cf. *Beow.* 333: weoll of gewitte; *Alcu.* VIII, 15, ac hit on witte weallende byrnð; *Lh.* 191: þær gewitte cwyln. Severn, *Insula* I, 579, calls attention to this as a set poetical phrase. Cf. also *Beow.* 1331: broc tuman weoll; and *An.* 1098, 1109: Wyrnum aweallan. *Chr.* 635, has reference to the body after death: **weorm blædum faga**. Grein, *Poet.*, edn. Wurm den Glücke feind! The figure appears to be original with the poet. Did he have in mind the fire-drake (cf. **brandhrata**, I 765) of the *Beowulf*? The form **weorm** for *worm*, *worm*, is exceptional. Cf. *Gram.*, § 77, note; and *Lf.* 65. Final **g** for **h** occurs also in **befælg**, 136, and in **feorg**, *Lf.* 55; **þurg**, *Lf.* 13, 65, 77; cf. *Gram.*, § 223, note 1, and see above, I 107, note.

770. **selefele**. For **sele** = *sal*, cf. **sehlitig**, **sehmæran**, **sehwite**, etc. Cf. *Kul.* XXIV, 9: **callebættan** = **orenwæ**. Cf. *Lf.* 59. Da wæronnæwæ idese seldat.

776<sup>a</sup>. **grene grundas**. Cf. I 765, note. 776<sup>b</sup>. So *Gn.* 133, 196; *Chr.* 1670.

777. **larum ledan**. It seems best to take **larum** as an instrumental adverb, 'according to instructions.' Kemble translates: 'in doctrine, to lead'; Hall, 'with their best fore brain.' *Gn.*, *Poet.*, and Ford have nothing corresponding to **larum ledan**.

778. Kemble has a semicolon after **wordes**.

781<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Gn.* 1073: see a building and a premeditated scheme of destruction; *Lh.* 495: þonne ariste calle þer mænna men on moldan.

784. **frode fýrnweotan**. Cf. *Beow.* 1135: **froðan fýrnweotan**, of Aeschere; *Lf.* 313: **froð fýrnweota**, of David.

788<sup>a</sup>. So *Lf.* 233. **Mambre**. See Introd., p. kin.

789<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 701, 901; *Kul.* XXXV, 9.

792<sup>a</sup>. So also *Jul.* 55<sup>a</sup>.

795. **snoeme of skæpe þæm fæstan**. Cf. *Chr.* 333-334: **hataðy uppe fæstan** (snoeme of skæpe by *fæstan*). The allusion in the *Christ* is to the day of judgment. Cf. 795 with *Chr.* 333. Cf. also *Panthea*, p. 10: þonne cfeorð up a fonde se... **snoeme of skæpe**.

795-796. Note the expanded lines here. Grein and Bede-vill have only a comma after **fæstan**.

797. Cf. *Codman's Hymn* 9: þa middangeard monne ymme weard, ece drihten aften feode frum foldan, fræa a hælting.

798. Cf. *Chr.* 119: **eorðan caldne end uprodon**; see I 776.

799. **hwær**. Probably the word should be **hwæt**, cf. I 765, note, especially *Chr.* 541. Hall's translation is hardly allowable: 'And where the Lord God lived who laid their foundation.'

800. Cf. *Chr.* 313: **þæt he ne ne late long awite**.

801-802. Again two expanded lines. Cf. 795, 796.

802. **forlefan**. The spelling **æ** appears for **e** also in **mæðelþagende**, I 602. **Forlefan** is a preterit, **wunigan** an infinitive dependent on it.

803. **ædre geeyðan**. So *Beow.* 451.

805. So also *Jul.* 263; *Lf.* 57, 115.

806. Cf. I 55; *Jul.* 153: **ac ic weorðge wuldre cædon**.

807<sup>b</sup>. Also *Jul.* 66.

808<sup>1</sup>. So *Ch.* 1001, with the same meaning.

810. **willum neotan**. Shipley, p. 50, translates ll. 800–810 'to seek in peace the joys of heaven and there forever blissfully enjoy them.' The MS. has not *hæ*, however, in 810, but **pæs**, as in *Ch.* 1314, 1315:

hateð hý gesunde — ond gesenade  
on eþel taran — engli dreames,  
ond þas tō widan fote — willum neotan.

Cook, *Ch.* 102, p. 207, suggests reading *hæ* in *Ch.* 1313 for **pæs**, as in *An.* 810, following Wulker's reading. But the two passages support each other in the retention of **pæs**. The antecedent of **pæs** in *An.* 810 is contained in **swegles**, 800, 'heaven.' Grein, *Sp.* II, 292, cites this passage, **willum neotan**, as a sole example of **neotan** followed by the instrumental. But **willum** is inst. adv., not object of **neotan**. Cf. also *Ch.* 1347, 1348: **willum neotan blædes ond blissa**.

814<sup>1</sup>. So *Ch.* 1188.

816. **ða ðu asecfuan ne miht**. See *Ch.* XVI, 12.

818<sup>1</sup>. So 1271, *B.* 2115, *Ch.* 1251. Cf. L. 1251, note.

819. **herede**. 'Thus Andreas the entire day praised (or glorified) the teachings of the Holy One.' The reproduction of the MS. might be read here easily **herede** or **berede**. Wulker reads **berede**, which he derives from *beredan*, 'darlegen,' 'an den tag legen.' In support of this word he cites *Don.* 142: **þā þe mē tor werode wisdom bereð**. But the parallel is a very doubtful one, and Cosijn (*PRF.* XXI, 13), citing *Don.* 121, would read *beraþ* in *Don.* 142, from infn. *beran*. Baskervill, p. 70, agrees with Wulker: *beran* (a denominative from *bera*) means literally "to make bare"; cf. *Am. J. Phil.* *Journal*, Bonn 1240<sup>1</sup>. Against this interpretation, however, is the use in 873, 908, and especially the invariable rule that demands double alliteration when the second foot of the half-line contains two full stresses (that is, the D type of verse, Sievers, *PRF.* X, 304).

820. The disciples are already asleep; see l. 404.

823<sup>1</sup>. Cf. *And.* III, 2: under *ȝha* geþræc; *And.* XXIII, 7: atol *ȝha* geþræc. Cf. 352<sup>1</sup>.

824<sup>1</sup>. Cf. *Mon.* 30, 217; *Ch.* 902, on Godes wære; *Bede* 27, on Fream wære; *Bede* 3100, on ðes Waldendes wære.

826. 'Until sleep overcame them, weary of the sea.' But we are told in 820 that Andrew is asleep, and were told in 404 that the disciples are asleep. Apparently this line, almost a repetition of 820, should state again that the disciples have fallen asleep. If so, something seems to be omitted. Perhaps we should read **sæwerigne**, to agree with **leofne**, 825.

828 ff. That practically nothing of the narrative is lost here may be seen from the corresponding passage of the Greek version: 'And Jesus said to his angels: Spread your hands under him, and carry Andrew and his disciples, and go and put them outside of the city of the man eaters; and having laid them on the ground, return to me. And the angels did as Jesus commanded them, and the angels returned to Jesus; and He went up into the heavens with his angels.' (Walker, p. 350.) Baskervill, p. 70, attempting to arrange the passage as it is preserved in the MS., would translate as follows: 'Through motion through the air he came

into the land, to the city, from which then the king of the angels arose to go away from him in blessedness on the upway, to visit his native seat'—a translation which satisfies neither the demands of the text nor the sense of the passage.

In order to keep the same line-numbering as Grimm and Wulker, the hypothetical missing line is disregarded in the numbering.

830<sup>b</sup>. So *Chr.* 741.

832<sup>b</sup>. So *Chr.* 606; *El.* 507; *Ph.* 374.

834. **his nīðhetum.** Grein, *Dicht.*, 'vor dem Burgwalle in der Nähe seiner Feinde'; but apparently **nēh** must apply both to **burhwealle** and **nīðhetum**, as translated by Hall, 'near the wall of the borough, near his fierce enemies.' Cf. the construction with **cunnian**, 125-133, note.—**nīhtlangne fyrst.** So l. 1309; *Beow.* 528; *El.* 67; *Ex.* 208.

835. **dægeandelle.** See 372, note.

836. Cf. *Gu.* 1262: scān scīrwered, scadu sweþredon; *Ex.* 113: sceado swiðredon.

837. **wonn under wolemm.** So *Beow.* 651; *Gu.* 1254; *Vision of the Cross* 55. 'Wonn, dark, dusky, is also a favorite word, being found thirty-seven times [in Anglo-Saxon verse]. Unlike *sweart* it is commonly used in a literal sense. It is thus applied to a variety of objects, — to the raven, to the dark waves, to the gloomy heights overlooking the sea, to the murky night, to the dark armor, etc.' Mead, "Color in OE. Poetry," *Pub. of M.L.A.* XIV, 187. — **wederes blāest.** There are two words of the form **blāest**: (1) as in *Ex.* 290: *hæþweges blāest*, 'the sea blast or breeze,' cf. *blāwan*, 'blow'; (2) the word in the present passage, which appears also in l. 1552, cognate with *blase*, 'torch,' 'fire,' 'flame.' Cf. *fýres blāest*, *Ph.* 15; *līges blāest*, *Ph.* 434. For the meaning of **wederes**, cf. 372, 1607, note. Kemble mistranslates, 'then came the storm-blast'; but Root, correctly, 'then the torch of heaven.'

840<sup>b</sup>. So l. 1566; *Beow.* 222, of the sea-headlands.

841. **ymbe hārne stān.** 'Seven times [in Anglo-Saxon verse] **hār** is applied to the hoary, gray stone, once to the gray cliff, four times to armor, once to a sword, once to the ocean, once to the gray heath, three times to the wolf, twice to the frost, and seven times to warriors, in each case with some touch of conventionality and with an apparently slight feeling for the color.' Mead, *Pub. of M.L.A.* XIV, 190. Cf. *Beow.* 887, 2553, 2744: under hārne stān; *Beow.* 1415: ofer hārne stān.

842. **tigelfāgan traflu.** The word **tigel**, Lat. *tegula*, was borrowed with the object from Latin civilization. 'Tiles, mortar, and the like were unknown to the German; and he seems to have been long in learning to use actual timber. Wattled work, twigs or flexible branches woven together, seemed to give enough stability for all his purposes; and even on the column of Marcus Aurelius what we may take to be contemporary German houses are "of cylindrical shape with round vaulted roof, no window, and rectangular door; they appear to be woven of rushes or twigs, and are bound about with cords." Tacitus says [*Germ.* 16] the sole material for German houses of his time is wood.' Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 94. See Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde* IV, 286-287, and Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 122-123, for a list and discussion of the

architectural terms taken over from the Mediterranean nations by the peoples of the North. The word **figel** does not appear, however, to have the same poetic connotation as *stan* in Anglo-Saxon verse. It is used in composition only in the present passage, and as simplex occurs only once, *Rare* 31: figelum secðaðð hrosthugas hrof (MS. 101). See 1230, note.

843. **windige weallas.** So *Rare*, 572, where the phrase applies more aptly to the sea headlands.

845<sup>1</sup>. So *Rare*, 1951; *Jnl.* 152; *Ap.* 32; siðe geseceð, *Chr.* 62; siðe gesēcan, *Chr.* 146; siðe gesolton, *Gloss.* 2425.

848<sup>1</sup>. So *Ap.* 78. **biryhte.** The second element of the compound has much the value of *Myt.* 'right' in similar phrases. Cf. Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 13, 'biryhte, i.e. **ryhte bi**, "dicht bei," wie *birhte*, nl. nabij und bijna, proparoxytonon. *Ryhte*, "gerade," auch in *hæro. lra.*' This is the only occurrence of the word.

850. **wigend weccan.** So *Rare*, 3021.

852. **gystran-dege.** The first element appears in the forms *gystran* and *gystran*, but never *gystran*. See the dictionaries, and Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 13, for examples. Cf. *Pl.* 1200: oter geofenes stream.

853. **arwelan.** See 383, note.

855. **waldend werðode.** Grein's emendation *werðode* is supported by *Chr.* 714: *werðode* = *becam*, and by the fact that the plural is generally used to indicate people, or nations in general, the singular, usually with a demonstrative, to indicate a specific nation. But the singular is also found in the general sense, cf. *Met.* IX, 211: *werðode*, and *Ap.* 573. The interpretation which retains the MS. reading as a verb is plainly impossible.

855-856. Cf. Bonnet, p. 85, ll. 9-10: 'Ἐπεγνον σου κίριε τὴν καλὴν λαλίαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπαρρησάσῃ μοι ἐατὼν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐγνώσά σε.

859 ff. Brooke, p. 120, translating this passage, remarks: 'And this poet [of the *Indefinites*] who has a special turn for various incident, invents for them a dream in which they are brought into the heavenly Paradise.' But the whole episode is found in both the Greek version and the Latin fragment (Bonnet, p. 80 ff.). See *Introd.*, p. xviii.

861<sup>1</sup>. So *Hr.* IV, 77; with other forms of the verb, *Jnl.* 181, *Ps.* CXVIII, 152.

864. **feðrum hremige.** Cf. *Pl.* 80: feðrum strong; *Pl.* 100: feðrum wlonc; *Pl.* 123: feðrum snell. *Feðra*, 'feather,' by metonymy becomes 'wing' in the plural; the same development takes place in the Latin *penna*. Grimm, p. 119, would read *feðrum* *hremig* (citing *Pl.* 20), 'dewy feathered'; but the reading of the MS. is better, 'exultant in their wings.' Cf. I, 1000.

866. **flyhte on lyfte.** So *Pl.* 123, 340.

868<sup>1</sup>. Cf. *Met.* XXVI, 63: *lissum hufode lifmonna fican*. — **in lofe wunedon.** Cf. *Chr.* 102-103; in þam uplican engla dreame mid Sōðfeder symle wunian.

869. **swegles gong.** Literally, 'the circuit of the heavens,' cf. ll. 208, 455; and elsewhere the phrase occurs frequently. In the present context the phrase is inappropriate; Grein's **oud** and Cook's **geond** are inadequate attempts to bring it into agreement with the context. Simons, s.v. *gong*, suggests **swēges gong**. But the most probable explanation is that the words are taken bodily

from stock phraseology for the sake of the rime with **sang**, and are not perfectly fitted into their context. Cf. l. 303, note.

871<sup>a</sup>. So *Ph.* 161, of the Phoenix.

873<sup>a</sup>. So also l. 998; *Jul.* 560.

874<sup>a</sup>. So 1151<sup>a</sup>; *Wale* 81; *Chr.* 405. — **drēam was on hyhte**. Cf. ll. 239, 637. The phrasing is pleonastic, and one might prefer Simons' reading *hyhðe*, except that again (cf. 869, note) the rime may have determined the use of **on hyhte**.

876<sup>b</sup>. So *EL* 283.

878. **pær was Dāuid mid**. Walker, p. 357: 'We beheld also Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the saints; and David praised Him with a song upon his harp.'

879. **Essāges sunu**. The form of the name in the Vulgate is 'Isai,' cf. 1 *Samuel* (= 1 *Kings*) XVI, *passim*. For the development of the consonant between the two vowels, cf. *Achagua*, *Ap.* 16; *Gabriel*, *Chr.* 201; *Ismahel*, *Gen.* 2286. *Israhel* and similar forms occur frequently.

882-885. Cosijn, *PhB.* XXI, 13, would put a semicolon or a period after **standan**, l. 882, and remove the punctuation after **haleð**, l. 883, thus making l. 883 appositive to **prynsittende** and **heahenglas**. Stylistically, however, it is better to make l. 883 refer back to **cowie**, l. 882, i.e. the Twelve Apostles; **tīrēadige haleð** should also refer to the Apostles, cf. l. 2. The justification for his punctuation Cosijn finds in the Greek version; but it should be noticed that the number twelve is used first of the Apostles and then of the ministering angels: *καὶ ἐθασάμυθα ἐκεῖ ὑμᾶς τοὺς δώδεκα ἀποστόλους παριστηκότας ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἔξωθεν ὑμῶν ἀγγέλους δώδεκα κυκλοῦντας ὑμᾶς*. (Bonnet, p. 86, ll. 7-9.) The Latin fragment is imperfect in the corresponding passage, but it evidently had the same readings.

885. **ðām bið haleða well**. 'A well defined example of the demonstrative *sē* with genitive occurs in *An.* 885 . . . "Well is it for those of men who may enjoy those delights." Shipley, p. 93. See 262; *Ap.* 25.

887. Cf. *Jul.* 641: *wigena wyn ond wuldres þrym*; *Gu.* 1338: *winemæga wyn in wuldres þrym*. The same assonance occurs in *Chr.* 71; cf. also 957-958, where it holds together halves of two different lines.

891. **gaugap**. Grein, *Spr.* I, 368, glosses this word as singular and translates, *Dicht.*, 'wenn er von hinnen geht.' But the plural form of the MS. agrees with the context; Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 274, points out that the subject is omitted after **þonne**.

892. Cf. *EL* 874<sup>b</sup>-875: *þā ðær Iudas was on mōdsefan miclum geblissod*.

895. **onmunan swā myeles**. Cf. *Bevo.* 2640: *hē . . . onmunde ūsie mīrða*, *onmunan*, 'to regard as worthy,' with accusative of person and genitive of the thing. Cf. Shipley, p. 53.

897. **God Dryhten**. See 394, note.

899. Baskervill has a semicolon after **gestāh**.

900. One expects an object for **ongitan**, l. 901: *þēh ic þē on ȳðfare?* Cf. l. 922.

904<sup>a</sup>. An epic formula; cf. *Hid.* 9: *ongon þā worn sprēcan*; *Bevo.* 530-531: *Hwæt þā worn fela . . . ymb Brecan sprāce*; *Bevo.* 3094: *worn eall gespræc*.

900. **frofre gast**. So L, 1084; *PL*, 1030, 1105; *Chr.*, 207, 728; *Jub.*, 724; *Jud.*, 83. The phrase is a translation of the N. T. παρακλητος (cf. *Joh.* XIV, 16, 26; XV, 26; XVI, 7), and is thus defined by Elfric (*Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, I, 322): He is gehaten on Godescum gereorde 'Paracletus,' þæt is, 'Frotofgast,' forðe ðe he tre trað fæderum, fe heora synna befreowsað, and sylð him forgyfenysse hiht, and heora minotan mod gelidagað. *Joh.* XIV, 26, *Paracletus autem, Spiritus sanctus*, is translated in the W.S. Gospels by *æ. talga fæder gæst*, but in the other passages *Paracletus* is rendered by *Frotofgast*; cf. Cook's *Christ*, p. 100, and Bright, *Christ in Old English*, p. 100.

907<sup>b</sup>, 909. Cf. II, 970-980; 1153<sup>b</sup>, 1154. The passage is plainly a reminiscence of homiletic phrasing.

909. See 204, note, 1153, 1150, 1108; and, for other examples of *æ* with *ægan*, see Finkenkel, *Strong Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse*, p. 202.

910. Cf. *Chr.*, 1028: sifpan he me tofe cagan onsyne weað. Grein, *Syn.* II, 387, glosses only the form *onsyne*, noun, but B. T., p. 758, glosses correctly *onsyn*, noun, and *onsynig*, adj., cf. *gesyne*, I, 520, etc. The only occurrences of *onsyne*, adj., are these two passages in the *Barlaam* and the *Childan*.

912. **þurh euhles had**. 'In the form, character, of a boy.' Cf. *Sat.*, 195: þurh lemmā had, *z. 175*, *TS*, 27: on weres hade. Cf. Bonnet, p. 87: uenit ad eum dominus Iesus Christus in effigie pulcherrimi pueri.

914. Cf. *Barla.*, 10: Wes þu, Hroðgar, hal. A regular formula of greeting; cf. MuE, *Barlaam*. **willgeofraht**. Cf. *willgeofa*, 92, 1282; *willgeof*, *Barla.*, 23, *Chr.*, 2004; *willgeof*, *Chr.*, 12204; *willgeof* occurs also *PL*, 342.

915. **ferðgefeonde**. So 1584, *PL*, 174, 900.

917. **grynsniðas**. The only occurrence of the compound. For the meaning of the first element, cf. *Barla.*, 930: Fela ic laðes gebað, grymra æt Grendle. Cf. I, 80, note.

920-935. The Lord's rebuke to Andrew is in the original; see Introd., p. xxv.

930. **þing gehegan**. 'Accomplish the meeting,' i.e. the meeting with Matthew. Cf. 187; and *PL*, 193: seonað gehegan.

932. **wega gewinn**. Grein must read *wega gewinn*, but Gm.<sup>2</sup> changes to *wega gewinn*, 'labor viarum.' I find no parallel to *wega gewinn*; but with *wega gewinn* (cf. I, 107, and *Barla.*, 1400) under *við* gewinn. 932. Cf. *PL*, 915: Wite ðu þe gearwor; *PL*, 880: wiste he þe gearwor.

930. **red ædre ongit**. 'Straightway learn my will.' Hall remarks, 'This hemi such is a mix of the first water, it probably means, "Be not afraid, but maintain your composure."' There is no difficulty in interpreting the passage if one takes *red* in the sense of 'command,' 'counsel,' 'will,' as in I, 1408. The lines 930-ff. then complete the meaning of this half line.

938. So 1724, 1733, 9084; *Chr.*, 1315; *PL*, 348; *Chr.*, 1015.

939. Cf. cratt ond miht, *Chr.*, 328; *PL*, 11, *Chr.*, 218.

940. So 1038, 1008; *Barla.*, 1028.

942. **heafodmagan**. The MS. reading is **-magn** = **-magnum**, and is evidently due to inadvertence; the mistake might easily occur after **-dolgum** and preceding **-nettrum**. MS. **-nettu**. The reading of Grimm, Kemble, and Grein (so also B. T., p. 814, Simons, p. 77), **heafodmagan**, 'cognatus principalis vel proximus,'



looks back to l. 940, **þin bróðor**. The form **heafodmāga** does not occur, however, except in this emended passage; but *heafodmāg* is found *Gen.* 1260, 1605, and note especially *Bevo.* 588: *þinum bróðrum, heafodmægum*. As simplex, *maga* is common, and cf. *waldormaga*, *Gu.* 1067. If we read *heafodmaga* with Baskervill and Wulker, the compound would mean 'leader, captain,' which neither describes the relation existing between Andrew and Matthew nor takes sufficient account of l. 940<sup>b</sup>. There is nothing in the Greek version corresponding to l. 940<sup>b</sup>, or to **heafodmāgan**; the *Legend*, p. 119, says merely *to Alathem þinum bræder*. For this passage Professor Hart suggests *heafodmaga*, gen. pl., appositive to *mænra*, l. 941; but the word is somewhat too dignified to be used appropriately of the Mermedonians.

946. **elpeodigra**. A genitive dependent on *cal þæt maneym*, 915.

947. **gebundene**. According to strict law of concord the form should be **gebunden**, as Holthausen (see variants) suggests, agreeing with *maneym*, l. 915. But the plural idea of **elpeodigra** easily passes over into the word that follows it.

948. See 356, note.

949. **seegende was**. This is the only example of the periphrastic historical preterit in *Andreas*, and, according to Pessels, *The Present and Past Periphrastic Tenses in Anglo-Saxon*, p. 50, the only other example in verse is *Bevo.* 1105, where, however, the verb is in the optative mood. Apparently *Bevo.* 3028: *scea se sege hrota seegende toex*, has escaped Pessels. In prose the construction is frequent.

950. **edre geneðan**. One expects *aldre geneðan*, as in l. 1351, *Ap.* 17; but cf. *Ap.* 50.

952. **dæled**. The change to **dæled** is necessary unless one takes *dælan* as intransitive (cf. l. 5), **þin hrā** being then the subject of *seccal dælan*.

954. **faran flōde blōd**. The construction is awkward and the statement a bit extravagant. Should one read *faran on foldan blod*? Cf. Bonnet, p. 88: *ita sanguis tuus fluent in terra sicut aqua*.

956. **slege**. Grimm's reading *slage*, accepted also by Grein, is apparently in deference to the form *mānslaga*, l. 1218. But **slege** is an authentic form; cf. Glossary, and *ful.* 229: *slege þrowade*.

957<sup>b</sup>-958<sup>b</sup>. **þrym, -gewinn**. See 887, note.

962. **bennum**. The form **bennum** occurs twice in *Andreas*, the form **bendum** the same number of times. Wulker, p. 45, incorrectly ascribes the reading **bendum** to the MS. in l. 1038. Cf. also *Dan.* 435, *benne*; *ful.* 519, *bennum*. The forms **bendum** and **bennum** are to be regarded as doublets and need not be changed all to **bendum**. See Kluge, *Anglia* IV, 105-106, and Bright, *MLA*, I, 10.

963. **weras wansælige**. So *Ed.* 478, 977; *Bevo.* 105: *wonsæli wer* (i.e. Grendel).

965. Grein and Wulker put a semicolon after **geeyðan**, the other Edd. only a comma. After **þehte**, l. 966, Kemble puts a semicolon, the other Edd. a comma. Cosijn (*PfH.* XXI, 13) encloses **rōd was āræred** within parentheses, otherwise following Wulker's punctuation. After **āræred** all Edd. have a comma.

966. **gealgan þehte**. So *Ap.* 22. The word *gealgan*, literally 'gallows,' is used in all the early Germanic dialects to indicate the cross on which Christ was crucified; cf. Kluge, *Etym. Wort.*<sup>5</sup>, s.v. *galgen*. So also the appropriate verb

which is used for 'crucifixion' in Anglo-Saxon texts (e.g. *Beo*, see II 341). Crucifixion does not appear to have been a method of punishment with which the early Germanic people were acquainted; hanging, however, was a familiar penalty.<sup>1</sup> The punishment of the gallows was widely used by our earlier ancestors, and finds a vivid expression in the older literature, especially in Scandinavian poetry. It was by no means 'dishonourable' as an exit from life, i.e. it is now, and indicated no absolute disgrace like the vile indignities of the hurdle and the swamp. The gallows did not mutilate a body, and its victim had, moreover, a chance to join the Wild Hunt when he 'went by' and to 'ascend the heights of Heaven and Valhalla'. Nay, Odin himself, as he tells us in the *Edda*,<sup>2</sup> 'hung nine nights on the windy tree,' that is upon the gallows, and whether or not this be a Norse version of the Crucifixion, the honorable association remains. Later it was the prerogative of nobles to be beheaded, while common men were hanged, but the poet of *Beo* seems to indicate that if the old king, Hrothel, had punished Hæthcyn in the way of blood feud for the innocent murder of the elder brother Hrothald, it would have been by the gallows. The monarch cannot bring himself to it.

Gif you, it is for the gray-haired man  
To bid the sight that his son must ride  
Young on the gallows.

II 344-346

We may conclude that a gallows-debilty, while not veined for, and far less noble than death by sword or spear, did not acquire its peculiar disgrace until the middle ages.<sup>3</sup> Gummere, *op. cit.*, p. 103, 104, pp. 103, 104. See further Bugge, *Nordische Alterthümer*, 2<sup>te</sup> Aufl., Leipzig, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 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'in lowly wise they let her in,' but the context shows that *mid æðmedum* means 'piously') — þær is *ær gelaug*. Cf. *Jul.* 613, þær is help gelouþ; *Saet.* 121: þær is hit gelouþ; *Chr.* 133, 393, 413: eoð þe gelouþ call æt þe. See also Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 131: þonne ic forlætað calle me woroldlyfend, ne magun hit us þonne ænigum gode, ac bið æt gode ænigum gelouþ call hwæt we gefaran æðelom. See 907-909, note.

980<sup>b</sup>. So 1131<sup>b</sup>.

982<sup>a</sup>. **beadowe heard**. Cf. *Beow.* 1539: beadwe heard.

985. Cf. *Beow.* 300: stræt was stanfah, stipe was deað.

986. Grend's reading **hine for him** should probably be accepted here, as there appears to be no reason why the dative should be used.

988<sup>a</sup>. So *Beow.* 2366, 11. 1101; *Chr. Bot.*, cf. *of þam ænigum stide*, *Æl.* 793, *Parthen.* 45.

991<sup>a</sup>. So *Gn.* 121.

992. **hlæð**. The word may have here specific meaning. Cf. *Legal Code of Alfred*, ed. Turk, p. 111: Deoðas we hatað oð ætli men, from ætli hlæð oð XXXV, siddan bið here.

994<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Jul.* 675, swyðt calle forom; *Beow.* 1436: þe hine swyðt forom (of one of the water-monsters); *Æl.* 147: æt þe swyðt nime. Cfent, *Fontenay Antiquities in Andreas and Elene*, pp. 1-3, groups together a number of similar expressions, e.g. *Beow.* 1203: hyne wyrd forom; *Beow.* 1066: wig calle forom; *Æl.* 131: nime wig forom, etc., in all of which he sees personifications of Fate, or Wyrd. But there is probably no consistent figure in the passages. See 613<sup>b</sup>, note; 1531<sup>b</sup>, note.

996. **heorodreorige**. **Hleðð** must be plural, to agree with **domleaze**, 1095, and the number in l. 994; and the more probable reading is that which holds **hleðð** and the adjective following it together, rather than the adjective and **deðdres**, 993. Grend, *Spr.* II, 79, supposes an uninflected accusative plural, **-dreorige**.

997. **bilwytluc**. B. T., p. 101, explains this word as follows: "*bile*, "the beak," *hwit*, "white," referring to the *beaks* of young birds, then to their nature", then remarkable explanation the dictionary ascribes to *lunus*. It has been frequently repeated, e.g. by Sweet, *Anglo-Saxon Primer*, p. 96. The *ALD*, s. *bileswit*, state that the etymology is doubtful, but that the word is probably derived from OEut. *\*bile*, cognate with OH. *bil*, "good," "mild," and found in OHG *billich*, Mod. Ger. *billig*, "just," "reasonable," + *wit*, giving the sense "mild of wit or mind." Cf. Ger. *bilig*, "a good friendly house-spirit," Grimm, *German Myth.* (ed. 1), III, 132 (Eng. ed. II, 473), and *Billyblind*. The interpretation "white of bill" like a young bird (from OE. *bile* + *hwit*) was current at an early date, as shown by 12th century spellings, cf. French *bec jaune*, Ger. *gelbschnabel*, though these are depreciatory rather than laudatory, and it must be noted that the earlier spelling had not *hwit*, but *wit*. The word *Billyblind* is found in ballads in the sense of a benevolent household spirit, cf. Chubb, *English and Scottish Ballads*, I, 67.

999. **Codes dryhtendom**. The MS. has **gôð**, but the quantity mark is frequently found where the vowel is surely short, as e.g. 1109<sup>a</sup>, where the MS. has

**gōd**, but the context demands **god**. Walker inclines to the opinion that **gōd** must be taken as noun *monnikendia*, object of **herede**, 'ein begriff der zu bilwyne fieder ganz gut passen wurde.' But stylistically this reading is very awkward; cf. ll. 722-724, in which the phrasing is exactly similar to the present passage. **Dryhtendom** as compound occurs only in the present passage; the formation, however, is normal; cf. *dryhtenbeada*, *Gn.* 1323.

999<sup>b</sup> 1000. Kemble reads **dura**, translating 'Soon he attacked the door,' Cf. *Beow.* 721-722:

Duru sōra onan  
fyrbendum fast,    sƿƿðan he hire tolmum hræn.

The *Legend*, p. 120, ll. 10-11, reads: *So talga Andras þa eode to þas carceres dura, and he weole Cristes eode tæcen, and rafe þa dura wæren onfýrede*, agreeing with the Greek version, Walker, p. 338, 'and he marked the gate with the sign of the cross, and it opened of its own accord.'

1000. **haliges gastes**. The only other occurrence of **gäst** meaning a human being in *Andreas* is l. 1021.

1001<sup>b</sup>. So 1203<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Gn.* 1268<sup>b</sup>: eadig elnes gemyndig.

1002. **hæle hildedeor**. So *Beow.* 1040, 1810, 3111; *L.* 935: hæleþ hildedeor. *Hæðen* occurs twice in the *Beowulf*. **hædene swæfon**. *Sioefan*, 'sleep the sleep of death'; cf. *Beow.* 2000: after billes bite blottæg swefed; so also *Beow.* 1250, 2740; *El.* 195. Cf. also **sweordum aswebban**, l. 72; **warpan aswebban**, *Lp.* 60.

1003. **dreore druncene**. Cosijn would emend to *heore druncene*, following *Beow.* 480 and *Lp.* 480; in both these passages, however, *heore druncene* is in keeping with the context. In the *Andreas* the context demands **dreore**; cf. l. 1003<sup>b</sup> and **heorodreorig**, l. 996.

1005<sup>a</sup>. So 1051<sup>a</sup>; *Ct.* 534; *Gn.* 1550, 1700; *Jud.* 303.

1008<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *L.* 322: gehðum geomre.

1010<sup>a</sup>. So *Ct.* 529, *Gn.* 920, *Vision of the Cross* 148; cf. *Jud.* 97-98: þā wearð . . . hyht geniwod.

1012. Cf. *Beow.* 1020: gode lincodon . . . þas þe hī hyne gesundne gesēon moston; *Beow.* 1097: gode ic þanc secge þas ðe ic ðe gesundne gesēon mōste; *Beow.* 1871: him was begu wen . . . þæt hīc seoððan gesēon mōston. The construction in *Beow.* 1871 is mentioned by Kluge, *PRB.* IX, 190, and Bright, *M.A.* II, 82, as affording proof of the use of *seon* as intransitive reflexive; Sievers, *PRB.* IX, 140, overlooking the parallel between the passage in *Beowulf* and that in *Andreas*, suggests a number of textual emendations which a comparison of the passages shows to be unjustifiable. Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 273, suggested that **hūc**, l. 1012, be taken as the object of **gesēon**, the subject being unexpressed; but, afterwards, *Anglia* XXIII, 290, inclines to accept **gesēon** as intransitive.

1013. **sƿb was gemene**. Cf. *Beow.* 1857: sīb gemēne; *Ct.* 581: sīb sceal gemēne.

1015<sup>a</sup>. So *L.* 1235 (of Christ upon the cross)

1016<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Hand.* 12: clyppe and cysse; and, for frequent occurrences of the formula in later literature, see Fehr, *Die formelhaften Elemente in den alten englischen Balladen*, table XIII.

1019<sup>a</sup>. See 769, note.

1023 ff. The passage in the *Legend*, p. 120, l. 14 ff., corresponding to the omitted parts of the narrative here, is as follows: *Sē eadiga Mathēus jā and sē hāliga Andreas hie wæron cyssende him betweonon. Sē hālga Andrēas him to cwæð, 'Hwæt is þæt, brōþor? Hū eart þū her gemet? Nū þȳ dagas tō lāfe syndon þæt hie þe willað acweðan, and him tō mete gedōn.' Sē hālga Mathēus him andswarode, and hē cwæð, 'Brōþor Andrēas, ac ne gehȳrdest þū Drihten cweþende, "For þon þe ic cōw sende swā swā sceap on middum wulfum?" Þanon wæs geworden, mid þȳ þe hie mē sendon on þis carcerem, ic bæd ðinne Drihten þæt he hine æteowde, and hrafe hē mē hine æteowde, and hē mē tō cwæð, "Onbīd her xxvii daga, and æfter þon ic sende tō þe Andreas þinne brōðor, and hē þe ut ālæc of þissum carcerne and ealle þā [þe] mid þe syndon." Swā mē Drihten tō cwæð, ic gesio. Brōðor, hwæt sculon wē nū dōn?' Sē hālga Andrēas jā and sē hālga Mathēus gehēdon tō Drihtne, and æfter þon gebede sē hāliga Andrēas sette his hand ofer þāra wera ēagan þe þær on þāem carcerne wæron, and gesihþe hie onfengon. And eft hē sette his hand ofer hiora heortan, and hiora andgit him eft tō hwirfde. The Greek version agrees in the main with the *Legend*, but as usual is somewhat more detailed.*

1028. Grimm, Kemble, and Baskervill set only a comma after *Godes*; but a heavier pause is better. *Se hālga*, l. 1029, refers specifically to Matthew, and it is his special prayer that follows, l. 1030 ff.

1034<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Dan.* 438: ac hie on friðe drihtnes.

1035. Cf. *EL.* 2-3: tū hund ond þreo geteled rīmes, swylce .xxx. ēac.

1035 ff. It seems quite probable that the second half of lines 1036 and 1040 were never filled out; it should be noticed that the first half of both lines gives merely a number. If the lines are thus regarded as incomplete, it is not necessary to suppose any omissions in the text. Comparison with the *Legend* and the Greek version indicates also that nothing has been lost.

The numbers in the different versions vary: the *Legend*, p. 121, gives 248 men and 49 women; the Greek version (Bonnet, p. 94) has in some MSS. 270 men, in others 249 men; the number of women in all MSS. is 49. If l. 1036 is to be filled out, the completed number, 249, is the most probable reading. Wulker's reading *scēfontig* is an attempt to make the Anglo-Saxon agree with the Greek version; but the regular form for 70 would be *hundscēfontig*, not *scēfontig*.

B.<sup>2</sup> suggests retaining the MS. reading *on*, l. 1039, changing *þær* to *þæm*, and emending l. 1040 to read *ānes wana orwyrþe fiftig*. The passage as thus reconstructed he would translate 'Two hundred, counted by number, also seventy [following Wulker], he saved from destruction; there he left not one fast with bonds in the city inclosure, out of which [i.e. *on þæm*] then also, in addition to the men, of women fifty wanting one he freed from ignominy, from fright.'

1037<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *B. 770.* 827: genered wið nīðe; *Chr.* 1258: generece from nīðewale.

1040. *ānes wana þe fiftig*. *Wana*, usually as indeclinable adj. with the genitive, is of frequent occurrence: see Shipley, p. 83; Sievers, *Gram.*, § 291, note 2, and  *PBB.* IX, 255, 264. There is no example beside the present passage, however, in which it is followed by the particle *þe* before a numeral. But see B.-T., pp. 1164-1165, for examples of *wean þe*, *læs þe*, followed, as here, by a numeral.

The construction **wana þe** is probably due to contamination with *wan þe, les þe*, etc.

1044 ff. Matthew here drops out of the story, his name not being mentioned again. The poem does not make clear what becomes of him; but in the *Legend* and the Greek version we are told more specifically of the action of Matthew and the throng of the rescued. The rescued men and women are commanded to go to the lower parts of the city and sit under a fig-tree and eat of its fruit until Andrew shall come to them. Matthew and his disciples are conveyed under cover of a cloud to St. Peter, with whom they remain (cf. *Legend*, p. 121, Bonnet, p. 94). The narrative in the *Andreas* compresses the account in that Matthew leads out the rescued men and women, the whole party being covered with the cloud; and, as indicated, nothing is said as to their destination.

1046. **weorod on wilsīð**. Cf. *Beow.* 216: *weas on wilsīð*; *EL* 223: *wif on wilsīþ*.

1047. **scyldhatan**. 'Wicked persecutors, enemies,' appositive to **caldgenōðlan**, 1048. The only other occurrence of this word is l. 1147; probably, however, **scyldhetum**, l. 85, is to be regarded merely as a variant form. The first element is intensive as in *scyldfrece*, *Gen.* 808. A noun-compound of similar formation is found in *EL* 1209: *lēase lēodhatan*; *Jud.* 72: *lāðne lēodhatan*, etc. The second element in all these compounds is to be connected with *hatian*, 'to hate,' 'persecute.' The word *scyldhata* is accordingly not to be connected with Mod. Germ. *schultheiss*, 'judge,' which appears in O.H.G. *scultheizo* with the meaning *tribunus, centurio*, as is done by Grein, *Spr.* II, 415, under the form *scylðhata*; the word is correctly glossed by B.-T., p. 847, under *scylðhata*. Cf. Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 164, l. 11: *crychatan hetole and lēodhatan grimme*. — **scyððan**. The usual form of this verb is *scæððan*, the only examples with *y* as the radical vowel being, according to Sievers, *PBB.* IX, 210, the present passage and l. 1561.

1048. After **caldgenōðlan**. Grimm, Grein, and Wulker have only a comma.

1056. So *EA*, 432; *Hv.* IV, 43; *EL* 80.

1059. Cf. *Ph.* 510, *Chr.* 570: *gongað glædmōde*; *EL* 1005: *glædmōð ēode*; *Jud.* 140: *oð hie glædmōde gegam hæfdon*. — **tō þæs ðe**. **Tō** followed by the genitive occurs three times in *Andreas* (cf. ll. 1070, 1123), and in all three passages the construction plainly has the sense of limit of motion. Shipley, p. 118, groups such constructions as occurring after verbs of motion to express the object of motion, and points out that the construction is unknown to Anglo-Saxon prose.

1061. **oððæt**. Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 14, thinks the word **þær** should appear after **oððæt**, but the expression looks back to l. 1058<sup>b</sup> and is complete as it stands.

1062. **stapul ærenne**. The words correspond to *στῆλον χαλκόν*, Bonnet, p. 94, and *Legend*, p. 121, l. 21, *stovr*; in both the Greek and the *Legend* the column is surmounted by an image, which is described in the *Legend* as *ærne onlīnesse*, though the column itself is not said to be made of brass. Nothing is said of the image in the poem.

1065. **þanon bāsnode**. The expression indicates the direction from which that which he awaits is to come; cf. Sievers, *PBB.* XII, 103.

**1068. frumgāras.** The word is frequently used in the sense 'patriarch,' see B.-T., p. 342; but also, as here, 'leader, chief.' Cf. the Roman *primipilus*, the first centurion of the first cohort; and see T. Rice Holmes, "Who were 'the Centurions of the First Rank'?", in his *Cæsar's Conquest of Gaul* (London, 1899), pp. 574-583. The term *primipilus* was evidently a technical term of rank in the Roman army, although the limits of its inclusion do not appear to be definitely determined. In Anglo-Saxon, however, the term *frumgār* does not appear to have technical meaning.

1069<sup>a</sup>. So *Chr.* 1614.

1071<sup>a</sup>. So *Jul.* 544.

1072-1074. Cf. *Gu.* 635:

Wëndun gē ond woldun    wīþerhygcende,  
þæt gē scyppende    sceoldan gelice  
wesan in wuldre;    ēow þær [þæs?]    wyrs gelomp.

1074<sup>b</sup>. So *Beow.* 2323; *Gen.* 49, 1446.

1075-1077. Cf. *Jul.* 236-237:

Ðā was mid clūstre    carcernes duru  
behliden, homra geweorc.

**1078. unhȳðige.** The only other occurrence of this word in the poetry is *Gu.* 1302; a single occurrence has also been noted in prose, cf. B.-T., p. 1119, and Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 14, where it is synonymous with *carm*, the opposite to *welig*.

1079. lādspell beran. Cf. l. 1295<sup>b</sup>.

**1081-1082.** Wülker, reading *ænig* in 1081, takes this word as subject of *gemētte*, 1082. He translates 'dass der Fremden nicht einer übrig geblieben im Gefängnisse (ihnen) lebendig begegnet sei.' But, as Sievers points out (*PBB.* XVI, 551), *-nīctan* is used here as a synonym of *findan*, and demands an object. He remarks that *ænigne tō lāfe* 'nicht in den vers passt,' and suggests *æn(i)ge tō lāfe, in carcerne, ewie ne gemēttou*. But the metrical argument does not seem to be sufficient reason for rejecting the natural reading *ænigne* in 1081.

**1084. gāste berofene.** Cf. since berofene, *Ex.* 36; golde berofene, *Beow.* 2931.

1085<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 1568: fægne flāschoman. — 1085<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 801: þær secal forht monig; and see 1549, 1596.

1086<sup>b</sup>. So also *Jul.* 267.

1087<sup>c</sup>. So 1557, *Gen.* 879; hēane hygegēomre, *El.* 1215, *Chr.* 994.

**1088. blātes bēodgastes.** There is nothing in the *Legend* or the Greek version corresponding to this striking figure.

1090. dēade gefeormedon. Cf. 1077<sup>b</sup>. Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 15) would read *hrā gefeormedon: huru þegnum wearð*, etc., citing *Chr.* 789 in proof that *huru* may carry the main metrical stress. But *duruþegnum* is so appropriate to the context that one hesitates to change it. Sievers regards the line, which scans  $\underline{\text{L}} \times \times | \underline{\text{L}} \tilde{\text{X}} \times$ , as metrically imperfect, because in lines of this type only one unstressed syllable should follow the first stressed syllable. But he himself (*PBB.* X, 255) records a verse of the type  $\underline{\text{L}} \times \times \times | \underline{\text{L}} \underline{\text{Z}} \times$ . Cf. also *Ap.* 4: *torhte ond tīrēad(i)ge*,  $\underline{\text{L}} \times \times | \underline{\text{L}} \underline{\text{Z}} \times$ , and *An.* 1108<sup>a</sup>,  $\underline{\text{X}} \underline{\text{X}} \times \times | \underline{\text{L}} \times \underline{\text{Z}}$ .





1112<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Gu.* 95-96: þan þe his giete willað þegnan to þence.

1113. **modgeornre**. The compound occurs also 1708 and *Beow.* 2894; but the more frequent form is *modgeornmod*. The syntax here is nom. pl., agreeing with the sense, not the grammar, of **þeod**, nom. sg. fem.

1115<sup>a</sup>-1116<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 2278-2279: *ðær se ðædbecadst . . . heold on bruan herðarna sum*, of the dragon which guarded the treasure.

1116. **reow riesode**. The metre requires double alliteration and therefore favors the change from **hreo** to **reow**. The MS. reading **hreo** in the present passage is the only occurrence of that form for **reow** (cf. Sievers, *PhB.* IX, 237).

1118<sup>a</sup>. So *Lh.* 550. The Edd. have no punctuation after **onbryrdel**, but a period after **beadulace**.

1119<sup>a</sup>. So *Ldg.* 34 (*Bibl.* II, 381).

1122. **cogode**. Initial **g** is also omitted in **cador**, 1627; see *Gram.* § 213.7.

1124. **herigweardas**. Corresponding to the Greek *ἡρώων*, Bonnet, p. 96, l. 5, and frequently in this episode. Perhaps nowhere is the grotesqueness of the narrative in the *Andreas* so striking as in the present passage, in which an army is called together with all the accompaniment of battle for the purpose of devouring their single victim.

1125. **ceasterwarena**. Perhaps one should read here **ceaster-**, as in 1616, *El.* 13, as is suggested by Napier, *Old English Glosses*, p. 103, note. But the MS. of the *Andreas* presents in many respects a late text, and it may be that here we have an example of the tendency in late West Saxon to extend the *e* of the oblique case of feminine nouns to the nominative; cf. *Lp.* 11, **Romebyrig**, and see Meyer, *Zur Sprache d. jang. Ælfe d. Chronik von Peterborough*, § 38. That the word is to be taken as compound, and not as two words, as is done by Grein and Baskervill, is sufficiently established by its use in other passages. Wulker, note to l. 1125, incorrectly ascribes **ceasterwarena** to *Sp.* I, 159; the citation there agrees with Grein's text. **cym upp astag**. Bomanek, p. 32, unnecessarily supposes this phrase to have been derived from Virgil, *Aeneid* V, 151, *It clamor coelo*; see also ll. 761-762, note. Cf. *Beow.* 782: *sweg upastag*; *Gu.* 234: *woð upp astag*; *cautula cym*; *Jud.* 62: *reord upp astag*.

1127<sup>b</sup>. Al o l. 1312<sup>b</sup>; *Jud.* 615; *heamleodagol*.

1128<sup>a</sup>. So *Gen.* 2100, 2179, 2699.

1130. The logical relation of the clause introduced by **þe** is that of a clause explanatory of what precedes; thus Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 272, translates: 'Schonung bei dem Volke, dass es ihm das Leben, das da ein, gönnen wollte.' Examples of similar construction are *Dan.* 607; *Beow.* 1334, 2066. Grein, *Dicht.*, takes **þe** as relative, its antecedent being **folces**: 'doch der Arme konnte da durch aus nicht finden Gnade bei dem Volke, die ihm gönnen wollte seines Lebens Fristung.'

1132. **sæcce gesohte**. Cf. *Beow.* 1939: *sæcce secgan*; *ibid.* 2562: *sæcce to secganne*. Cf. *Lh.* 990: *sæce aran*; *Beow.* 2799, *Kul.* LXXXVIII, 29: *sæce fremman*.

1133. **seurheard**. The exact meaning of the compound has not been satisfactorily determined. It is found only in this passage and in *Beow.* 1033, and is defined by B. L. 'made hard by blows,' by Grein, *Sp.* II, 415, 'sicut durus,' *Dicht.*

'schamerhart' (Pearce, *MLA* VII, 103, explains **seurheard** as meaning 'hardened in water,' 'shower of water' passing into 'water at rest'. Professor Hart, *MLA*, VIII, 61, quotes the following phrase (from Lumby, *B. Pines Page*, p. 16, l. 104) — *se þæt se godes scyrtas water þæt standeð, i.e. ingaderðas*, and takes **seurheard** as 'shap[ed] venting like a storm'. Palmer, *MLA* VIII, 122, gives the compound an active sense and takes it to mean 'hard in battle,' **seur** 'the strokes of the sword in battle'. This seems the most probable meaning of the word, and although **seur** is not found in Anglo-Saxon in the sense of 'battle,' clearly defined examples occur in Chaucer, *Can. 100*, c. III, 1063-1064, IV, 1-40 (see my note, *MLA* XIX, 134), and later in the ballads, in the derived sense 'attack,' e.g. 'It was a shoun of sad sickness,' Child, *Eng. Ballads in Scottish English Ballads* III, 383, also I, 68, II, 108, III, 380.

1137-1138. Cf. *Sk.* c. 14-15, 87, *gite ic at heorte þine scolde aldre linnan*.

1139. The fact that the first half line is too short metrically, as it is preserved in the MS., does not seem to Walker sufficient reason for an emendation; if the half line is to be filled out, however, he suggests **þrist ond proftheard**, as in l. 1104.

1140. So also l. 1113, *ML.* c. 61, l. 1, 87, *Sk.* c. 15, 87, *magoþegn modig*.

1142-1143. A reminiscence, Cosm. thinks (p. 226, XXI, 15), of the earlier passage, ll. 80-81.

1144. So c. 1, 100, *Sk.* c. 1, 100; c. 1080, c. 1010, cf. also *Sk.* 1001; *halig on heathu*.

1145. The figure is not found in the Greek version, cf. Walker, p. 302, 'and straightway the knives were loosened and fell out of the hands of the executioners.' Perhaps the poet had in mind *Sk.* c. 1008, *Ðær se ðær geseallas ðær geseallas*, of the sword of Beowulf with which he slew Grendel's mother. But the use of *weax* in the figure is quite likely due to association in the poet's mind with the altar candles, cf. c. 1080, *byrneþ wæterswa weax*.

1147. The scribe evidently wrote **seccðan** here as an appositive to **scyldhatan**. But the metre and the sense both require the verb, the forms of the word which appear in the *Text* are **scyððan**, l. 1047, and **scyðeð**, l. 1301. Perhaps one should read here **scyððan**.

1154. Translate 'eternal peace for him who can attain it'. Retaining both **freond** and **lue** as in the MS., it would be necessary to make **lue** refer back to **geoce**, l. 1117, a possible but improbable construction. Grem, *Pl.* 12, translates 'Freundliebe unvergänglich dem der sie finden kann', K. inconsistently retains **lue** and translates 'an eternal friend for him who can find him', Root, 'There is eternal peace ever prepared for those who can attain,' omitting the object. See 007-009, note.

1155. Cf. *Sk.* c. 118, *It was after wiste wop up ahaten*. 1155<sup>b</sup>, So *Sk.* XXXV, 1.

1156. So c. 1, 10-1156<sup>a</sup>, *Sk.* c. 1, 87, 88.

1157-1158. Cf. c. 61, 101, 103. *Fe on wæstne mæSe ond meteþas mōkud* (*æd* ðe hūmre gehætted).

1158-1159. **Hornsān** and **wunreced** are subjects of **wunodon**. But Gr. 2, placing only a comma after **gehefte**, takes **hornsān** and **wunreced** as accusatives. In *Pl.* 12, however, he translates according to his first reading, 'die

Homsale blihen leen, die Gantgemacher.' Coogan (*PBB*, XXI, 13) cites **weste wunreced wunian**, and remarks: 'contradictio in terminis.' The phrase would be self-contradictory if one took **wunreced** as accusative, but not if it is taken as subject of the intransitive **wunodon**, 'food,' 'remained,' cf. *Soz.*, *Ap.* 95.

1159. **wunreced**. Grimm, p. xxxvii, derives **wunreced**, as also **wunburg**, II, 1637, 1672, and similar compounds, from *wune*, 'friend,' or *wyn*, 'joy,' not from **wm**, 'wine' - 'denn es wurde hier und meth getrunken.' But the word for friend should appear in compounds as *wne*, e.g. *wundirhten*, *wunemag*, etc., and the word for joy as *wyn*, e.g. *wynbeam*, *wynlog*, etc. Wine is mentioned all through the poetry, e.g. *Beow.* 1167: byrelasæddon win of wundonlatum; I, 1733: dūncan win weras; *Jud.* 8, *wunhate*, 'invitation to the wine', *Jud.* 16, *wungedrim*, 'wine drinking.' For an account of the cultivation of the vine and the use of wine throughout Europe, see Helm, *Kulturpflanzen*, p. 77 ff.; Gummere, *German Origins*, pp. 70-72. Cf. *medelburgum*, *Husband's Messa*, 16; *medelbyrig*, *Jud.* 167; *medelwin*, *Beow.* 69. Similar compounds with **wm** are numerous.

1160. **brucanne**. Sievers (*PBB*, X, 382) reads **brucan** for the sake of the metre; a similar change is proposed for the inflected infinitive in 1161, 1659, 1659. But it should be observed that all these lines have metrically the same form, / x x | / x x x, and it is extremely likely that they have the poet's sanction in the form in which they appear in the MS.

1161. Cf. *Wand.* 111: gesæt him sundon a tūne.

1165<sup>a</sup>. So *Fl.* 382. 1165<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Vision of the Cross* 30; Linnarsson.

1166<sup>b</sup>. So 1665<sup>b</sup>; *Fl.* 126: mi is þearf micel; *Jud.* 693: is me þearf micel; *Chr.* 756, 838: is us þearf micel. Cf. 158, note.

1169. Cf. *Chr.* 1501: won ond witecas, hatað wege bleo.

1170<sup>b</sup>. So *Jud.* 90, of Holoternes; *Jud.* 93 has *twes byrth*, appositive to *driften*.

1171. **hellehinea**. The only occurrence of the word in Anglo-Saxon; it is in apposition with **dēofol**, I, 1168, and **morpres brytta**, I, 1170. Grimm, p. 129, derives the second element from a hypothetical Anglo-Saxon *hinean*, 'claudicare.' Grein, *Spr.* II, 31, glosses the word by 'Hollenhinker, Teufel,' and cites Anglo-Saxon *athoma*, 'devil,' in *Gn.* 884, which he explains as compounded of *ad*, 'fine,' and *hama*, 'lame.' I have not been able to discover other early allusions to the popular belief that the devil was lame. Modern allusions are familiar, e.g. in Le Sage's *Diablo Botteux* (adapted from the Spanish *El Diablo cojudo*, of Guevara). Le Sage (ed. Junet, 1867, I, 17-18) draws the obvious parallel between his limping devil and Vulcan, both of whom were crippled through falling from the midregions of the air to the earth. The belief in the lameness of the devil is quite probably an outgrowth of the story of the Fall of Satan. Cf. Heine, *Werke*, ed. Elster, I, 111:

Ich rief den Teufel und er kam  
Und ich sah ihn mit Verwundung an,  
Er ist nicht hässlich und er nicht lamm,  
Er ist ein lieber, scharmanter Mann.

Cf. 'hinke bein,' and see Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* III, 993; IV, 1603.

1176. **neon**. Cf. *Gram.*, § 113, § 150; 3

1178<sup>1</sup>. So *Phn.* 259, 492.

1180. Holthausen (*P/B*, XVI, 551) changes to **gewyrhtan**, 'dem tater, urheber,' da nur Andreas gemeint ist.' Cosijn (*P/B*, XXI, 16) objects, however, that the word means here merely 'mitschuldige.' Grein, *Dicht.*, translates 'an dem Wyrker'; Root, 'on their author.' It seems simpler, however, to take the word as a plural rather than alter the text. The logic which leads Holthausen to change to a singular should demand also a singular for **oneſſōðdæda**, since only one deed is mentioned in the preceding lines – the leading out of the people from the prison. But it is a good rhetorical device to change from the particular and the singular to the general and the plural. 1180<sup>b</sup>. Gn.'s emendation, **wāpua spor**, is based on *Jul*. 623; the exact reading, however, at that place, is *wāpnes spor*.

1181. **ealdorgeard**. 'The life-enclosure, the body.' Grimm mentions *Mald*. 290-297; *gwi. qd þarhwæð fæges færbædas*; and this passage confirms the admirable emendation of Kemble and Napier. The word is thus a synonym of **feorh-hord**, l. 1182. Grimm, p. 120, retains the MS. reading **eador-**, as equivalent to *ador, eador*, 'enclosure,' 'court,' 'dwelling,' the compound **ealdorgeard** meaning 'aula septa,' 'domus.' The whole phrase **ealdorgeard fægcs** he defines as 'domus moribundi,' 'caput.' Wulker follows Grimm, except that he takes the phrase as meaning not merely 'head' but 'body' in general. Grein, *Spr*. I, 234, explains **eador-** as meaning 'vein' (cf. *æðe, æðre*, 'vein'), the compound as meaning 'domus venarum,' 'corpus'?

1182<sup>a</sup>. So *P/B*, 221.

1188. Cf. *Rein*, 811: hē [Grendel] fæg wið God; *Sat*. 97: ic eom fāh wið God.

1189. **Hwæt! ðu deotles stræl**. The corresponding phrase in the *Legend* (p. 122, ll. 10-11) reads: þū heudeste stræl tō æghwilere unrihtnesse. But the Greek version (Bonnet, p. 100, l. 13) has merely ὁ Βελία ἐχθρότατε. Zupitza (*Haupt's Zs*, XVIII, 185) sees in the **stræl** of the two Anglo-Saxon versions a reflection from their common Latin original. **Stræl** he supposes to be a translation of Latin *sagitta* or *telum*, which in turn is a mistranslation of the Βελία of the Greek, taken not for Belial, but for βελος 'dart, spear.' Cf. *Chr*. 770: ne bearf him ondrædan deotla strælas; Wulstan, ed. Napier, p. 214, l. 13: eall mid deotles strælum āwrecen.

1190. Cf. 1384; *Hv*. IV, 93: 7 30 þu 303 303 of the sinner.

1191. Cf. *Rein*, 1274: gehnæge hellegast fā he hēan gewāt.

1193. **Sātān**. The name Satan is not of frequent occurrence in the verse. Gn., *Spr*. II, 703, records only nine examples, three in *Gen*., four in *Sat*., and two in *And*.; to these add one in *Chr*. I, 1522.

1194. For the phrase **Dryhtnes ær dēman**, cf. l. 1403, *Ap*. 10. **Dēman** in the sense 'glorify, celebrate,' is found elsewhere, e.g. *Gen*. 17; *Jul*. 2; *Gu*. 408, etc., but the above three passages are the only occurrences of **ær dēman**. Perhaps Kemble's reading **ær** should be followed; the MS. form may be an echo of **ā**, l. 1103.

1197. So *Jul*. 213, 345.

1198. Cf. l. 1415; and *Rein*, 2015: for ðām hē manna mæst mæra gefremede.

1201 ff. Here again (cf. 1100 ff., note) the poet fails to make clear the motivation of his narrative: in the Greek version and the *Legend* this episode is clearly distinguished from the first coming together of the Mermedonians (cf. 1067 ff., 1093 ff.). In the present passage, when Andrew's voice is heard, the devil bids his

followers go in search of him; the passage in the *Legend* (p. 122, ll. 19-21) corresponding to 1201-1205, is as follows: *Dā buhlcōde þā unnon, and hī betȳndon þære ceastre gatu, and hī sōhton þone hālgan Andreas þat hie hine genamon.* Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 16) draws a parallel between this threefold description of the arming of the Mermedonians and the threefold description of the coming of Grendel in *Beowulf*, inferring therefrom the naturalness of such repetitions in Anglo-Saxon epic narrative. But the passages in *Andreas* are merely a reflection — and a confused reflection at that — of its source. Cf. 1212, note.

1202<sup>b</sup>. So *Ap.* 21: heriges byrhtme; *El.* 205: heriges beorhtme. Cf. 1271<sup>b</sup>, note.

1204<sup>a</sup>. So *Jud.* 333. — 1204<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Gen.* 1652, 2453: *corðrum miclum*; *Chr.* 578: *corðre ne lȳtle*; *Edg.* 2: *corðre mycclum*; *El.* 274, *Ph.* 167: *corðra mæste*.

1207. So *Sat.* 262; *Chr.* 716; *Gifts of Men* 4; *metod . . . miltum swið*, *Dan.* 284, *A.* 5.

1208. *ellen fremman*. Cf. *Beow.* 3: *ellen fremedon*; *Beow.* 636-637: *ic gefremman sceal corlic ellen*.

1210<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Gu.* 875: *næs sēo stund latu*.

1212. *cealdan clommu*. The only example of inst. pl. in *-an* in the *Andreas*; for examples in the *Beowulf*, cf. *Beow.* 963, 1502, 1505, 1512, 2692. Cf. *Scif.* 10: *caldum clommu*. — *cȳð þē sylfne*. The poet has omitted to mention that Andrew has made himself invisible to the Mermedonians; the Greek version and the *Legend* state this specifically. Cf. 1201 ff., note.

1218. *mānslaga*. It seems best to take *mānslaga* as acc. pl., assuming thus an otherwise unrecorded feminine *-slagu*, parallel to the masculine *-slege*. This whole passage is an evident reminiscence of ll. 951 ff., where, however, the text reads *slege* as object of *ðolie*. Simons, p. 97, would read *mānslege*, and Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 16) *mānslēgas*, thus reducing the word to the same form as in l. 956. B.-T., p. 670, suggests *mānslagan*, in apposition to *scyldige*, l. 1216. Kemble retains the MS. reading as gen. pl., translating 'though thou mayst suffer wounds dark of the slaughterers I abide with thee.' But the readings of both B.-T. and Kemble are stylistically contrary to the spirit of the verse.

1220. *lārsmeoðas*. See 86, note.

1222. Grein and Wülker put a comma after *gebundon*, all other Edd. a period. A comma is as much punctuation as is permissible, since the clause ll. 1223-1225, is explanatory of what precedes, 'after the best of princes was revealed,' i.e. had laid aside his invisibility. Cf. 1212<sup>b</sup>.

1223. *æðelinga wynn*. So 1713, *Jud.* 730; and cf. *Gu.* 1081: *corla weynn*; *Ph.* 70: *laguflōða weynn*; *Ph.* 200: *æðeltungla weyn*; and see Sievers, *Anglia* XIII, 6, for similar examples throughout the later Christian poetry. Cook, *Christ*, p. 86, thinks that 'the expression comes from the Latin (and no doubt originally from the Greek) hymns.' In *Chr.* 71, Mary is called *weifa weynn* and in *Hymn* III, 26, *calra fæmnenra weyn*; this is also the application of the phrase in the Latin hymns, e.g. 'angelorum gaudium,' 'coeli gaudium,' 'mundi gaudium'; for full citations, cf. Cook, l.c. The expression is not found in *Beowulf* or any of the early heroic poems.

1224. Grein, *Spr.* I, 6: *hī hine andweardne ēagum*, etc.

1225. *see*. For other examples of this spelling, see *Spr.* II, 420.

1226. **welwange.** Cf. *sel.* 702; *fregn.* 1163; *meðle.* 1436, 1626.

1227. So *Ev.* 183, 228, *Beow.* 2238, 2015; *Sal.* 300; mid *lēoda* *duguþum.* — 1227. So *Ön.* 200.

1230. **ðrāgmælum.** Grein's reading *trāgmælum*, which is repeated in *Spr.* II, 500, is made for the sake of the alliteration; but, as Bright points out (*MLV.* II, 82), the logically important word here is **tēon.** Sievers (*PBB.* XVIII, 406) discusses the meaning of the first element, **ðrāg-**, 'time,' not as Cosijn (*Aantekeningen op den Beowulf*, p. 6) would have it, 'affliction, oppression.' Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 15) later accepts Sievers' interpretation. — **torngeniðlan.** All the translations (also *Spr.* II, 517) take **torngeniðlan** as acc. sg., meaning Andrew, except Kemble who regards it as nom. pl., appositive to the subject of **hēton.** One would like to take the word as acc. sg., since otherwise no object to **lædan** is expressed. On the other hand, **torngeniðlan** is not a word that the poet would be likely to use to designate Andrew. The word occurs twice elsewhere, *El.* 568, where it refers in a hostile manner to the Jews, and *El.* 1305, where it refers to the wicked on the day of judgment. Cosijn's insertion of **hine** in l. 1229<sup>1</sup> removes the difficulty; but perhaps it is not necessary to supply the pronoun.

1234. **eftre swā wīde swā.** So *Beow.* 1223. — **lāgon.** Perhaps 'run, extend'? See 375, note on **stōd.** Baskervill has no punctuation after **lāgon**, apparently taking **enta ærgeweore** as object of the verb.

1235. **enta ærgeweore.** So *Beow.* 1079 (of a sword), 2717 (of the cave of the fire-drake), 2774 (of the fire-drake's treasure); *Wand.* 87 (buildings); *Ruin* 2 (buildings); *Ön.* C. 2 (citadels); *An.* 1405 (columns, pillars). Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* II, 534, remarks: 'Ancient buildings of singular structure which have outlasted many centuries, and such as men of to-day no longer take in hand, are vulgarly ascribed to giants or to the devil. . . . These are the *enta geweorc* of Anglo-Saxon poetry.' So also Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, pp. 98-99: 'The "street" (*strata* *civ.*) and the "ceaster" (*castra*) were soon borrowed, thing and word; and in *Beowulf* we are told that the road which led up to Hrothgar's burg was "stone-variegated" — *stræt was stānfēð*. — paved in the Roman fashion; although it is plain that, as with stone in houses, so with these paved roads, the Germanic instinct regarded the process as something uncanny and savoring of those mysterious giants who long ago had rolled up the huge piles of masonry.'

1236. **stræte stānfēge.** The elaboration of the allusion to the street is characteristic of the poetic style. The *Leand.* p. 123, l. 5, in the passage corresponding to ll. 1232-1236 says merely, *and þe hine tægon gæol þære ceastre lanan.* The word 'street,' Lat. *strata*, conveyed to the Anglo-Saxon a dignified idea, connoting, possibly, something of the greatness of the traditional Roman civilization in England. Cf. *Beow.* 320-321: *Stræt was stānfēð, stīg wisode gumum atgæder*; and the frequent poetic compounds with *stræt*, e.g. *fareð*, *here*, *lagu*, *menestræt*. In a similar way allusions to the city of the Mermedonians are elaborated; cf., besides the present passage, ll. 40-43, 287, 830-843, 973, 1155, 1640. See *Intro.*, p. liii. Ruins and ancient roads might readily pass into the stock of common poetic tradition, and this development would be furthered by the attitude of the Anglo-Saxons towards towns and roads. 'All records seem to show that in early Saxon times towns counted for very little in the life of the people, and

the question at once arises, What of the Roman cities? . . . It may be said generally that the Teutonic invaders made little account either of the Roman towns as places of habitation or the Roman roads as routes of intercourse, and the country would have been settled in just the same manner had these not been in existence at all. As in Britain so in the Gallic provinces, the Teutonic invaders of the Empire, whether Goths or Saxons or Franks, cared little for the life of the Romanized cities. . . . The most striking object lesson on Roman roads is to be gained by opening a large-scale map of the center of England, where the great Fosse Way, which can be more or less clearly followed from the borders of Devon to Leicester and Lincoln, is seen sweeping across the country in but little connection with the present life of its inhabitants. In its comparative isolation this immensely extended track is very significant of the mental attitude of the Saxon settlers towards these monuments of the unifying influence of the Roman rule. To sum up, therefore, the Teutonic settlements, it is evident, were independent, self-centered little communities, and did not regard as a matter of primary importance the means of intercourse with their neighbors. We are reminded of the words of Tacitus about the Germans, that they avoided cities and even contiguous habitations, settling down in detached bodies apart from each other, just as spring or field or grove offered attractions (*Germania*, chap. 16). All over the country the existing Roman roads pass through certain villages and towns that had their origin in military stations, but as a rule the seats of the Teutonic communities will be found a mile or two away on either side.' *The Arts in Early England*, by G. Baldwin Brown, I, 52-64. See 842, note, and Cook's *Christ*, p. 73, on the use of stone in building in the Anglo-Saxon period. — 1236<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Ex.* 459-460: *storm ūf gewāt, . . . herewōpa mæst*, and for similar figurative uses of *storm*, see *Spr.* II, 485.

1238<sup>a</sup>. So *Jul.* 589.

1239. *sārbeunum soden*. Cf. *Gu.* 1046: *sorgwylmum soden*; *Gu.* 1123: *soden sār wylmum*; *Gu.* 1236: *soden sorgwælmum*.

1240. *bānhūs ābrocen*. Cf. *Beow.* 3147: *oð þæt hē ðā bānhūs gebrocen hæfde, hāt on hreðre*.

1240<sup>b</sup>-1241<sup>a</sup>. *Hātan heolfre* is syntactically parallel to *ȳðum*, 1240. Cf. *Beow.* 840: *hāton heolfre, heorodrēore wēol*; *Beow.* 2693: *swāt ȳðum wēoll*; *Beow.* 1422-1423: *Flōd blōde wēol (folc to sǣgon), hātan heolfre*; and *Beow.* 3147, quoted in note to l. 1240<sup>a</sup>. In l. 1241<sup>a</sup> Cosijn would read *hāt of hreþre*, citing *Riddle* XCIII, 16-17: *blōd ūt ne cōm, heolfor of hreþre*. But the two passages are not parallel, while the evidence of the above passages from the *Beowulf* is borne out by *An.* 1277. Cf. also *Gu.* 1314: *teagor ȳðum wēol*.

1242. *ellen untwēonde*. Cf. *El.* 797: *hyht untwēondne*. — 1242<sup>b</sup>. See 140, note.

1243<sup>a</sup>. So *El.* 1308, *Hy.* IV, 10; *synnum asundrad*, *Gu.* 486, *Ph.* 242.

1245. So *Beow.* 1235, 2303.

1246. *sigetorht swungen*. The adj. agrees with the subject of *wæs*, unexpressed. Cosijn remarks: "Der *sigerōfa* Andreas heisst hier wie Crist in *Sat.* 240, *sigetorht*: er hielt die folterung mit heldenmut aus." He also calls attention to the inappropriateness of *sigeltorht*, 'radiant,' as descriptive of the night

which comes to put an end to Andrew's torments. K. retains **sigeltorht**, connecting it with Andrew: 'Thus was the whole day long until the evening came the star-bright one beaten.' Grein, *Dicht.*, translates 'der Siegstrahlende gezeiselt'; but in *Spr.* II, 448, he suggests **æfen sigeltorht**. W., placing a comma after **sigeltorht**. Root, and Hall follow Grein in *Spr.*; Simons, p. 124, '**sigeltorht**, wohl zu ändern in **sigetorht**, *siegstrahlend*, = Andreas.' Reading **æfen sigeltorht** we should have a weak repetition in **sunne swegeltorht**, 1248a.

1251<sup>b</sup>. So *El.* 173.

1252. **nēh**. Bright (*MLA.* II, 82) remarked that **nēh**, possibly representing an older *nēh* repeated from l. 1250, should be omitted. But **nēh** (as Professor Bright now also believes) is necessary to the meaning here and is good idiom; cf. *Gu.*

1114-1117:

Cōm se seofeða dæg  
ældum andweard, þæs þe him in gesonc  
hāt heortan nēah hildescūrum  
flacor flānþracu.

1253-1269. On this passage Brooke, p. 180, remarks: 'In the *Andreas* the weather of Northumbria is described and it is as wild and hard as that of which we hear in *Beowulf* and are told in the *Scaferor*.' All of the present passage is elaborated from the following bare hint, *Legend*, p. 123, ll. 8-9: Ðā æfen geworden was, hī hine sendon on þæt carcern and hīe gebundon his handa behindan and hīe hine forlēton.

1254<sup>a</sup>. So *Gu.* 1138. — 1254<sup>b</sup>. So also *Beow.* 2938; *Gu.* 1261. Cf. l. 818<sup>b</sup>, note.

1258. **āhre hildstapan**. Grimm, p. xxxv, suggests *hlidstapan*, 'viatores tegminibus involuti'? or *hæðstapan*, 'die über die heide stapfen'; cf. *Beow.* 1368: *hæðstapa*, of the stag; *Fates of Men* 13 (cited below), of the wolf; and the emended *hār hæðstapa* (MS. *hār hæð*, see Kieger, *Verskunst*, p. 46, Bright, *MLA.* XVII, 213), appositive to *wēstengryre*, in *Ex.* 118. But, as Cosijn suggests (*FBB.* XXI, 16), the picture here is epic, heroic; the frost is personified as a gray-haired warrior, stalking abroad. Cf. *hār hilderinc*, *Beow.* 1307, 3136; *Mald.* 169; *Brun.* 39; *hār heaðorinc*, *Ex.* 241; *hār heorewulf*, *Ex.* 181; in all the above passages the phrases are descriptive of men. *Hār* is also the favorite adjective in descriptions of the wolf; cf. above, *Ex.* 181, figuratively applied to men; *sē hāra wulf*, *Wand.* 82; *seal hine wulf etan*, *hār hæðstapa*, *Fates of Men* 13 (*Bibl.* III, 148). The mythic feeling pervading this passage is illustrated by the following related Teutonic traditions: 'Nowhere is the hostile omen of the north better expressed than in old Frisian law, where winter and darkness are represented as ruthless invaders: *si illa tenebrosa nebula et frigidissima hiems in hortos et in sepes descendit* — a bold personification [Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, p. 762]. The north wind is often called the "schwarze Bise." Winter, like night and storm-cloud, is the dragon of many a myth. For the Scandinavian, that famous "catastrophe," or "night" of the gods, will be preceded by a terrible winter. . . . A favorite emblem for winter as well as darkness is one of man's fiercest enemies, the wolf. The home of Grendel, in *Beowulf*, is marked by *wulfhleofu* [l. 1358] and *hrīnde bearnas* [l. 1363; the MS. has *hrīnde*, usually read *hrīnge* by the Edd.]. Winter is used as convertible term with Death in many old folk-rites; and the metaphor is universal.' Gummere, "On the Symbolic Use of the Colors Black and



White in Germanic Tradition," in *Harvard College Studies* I, 122. 'Ymir, or in giant's language Örgelmir, was the *first-created*, and out of his body's enormous bulk were afterwards engendered earth, water, mountain and wood. Ymir himself originated in melted hoarfrost or rime (*hrīm*), hence all giants are called *hrīmfarsar*, "rime-giants," *Sn.* 6; *Scm.* 85<sup>1b</sup>; *hrīmkaldr*, "rime-cold," is an epithet of *fars* and *ietunn*, *Scm.* 33<sup>1b</sup>, 90<sup>1</sup>; they still drip with thawing rime, their beards (*kinnskögr*, "chin-forest") are frozen, *Scm.* 53<sup>1b</sup>; *Hrīmnir*, *Hrīmgrimr*, *Hrīngerðr* are proper names of giants, *Scm.* 85<sup>1</sup>, 86<sup>1</sup>, 114, 145.' Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, p. 532.

1260<sup>1</sup>. So *Ph.* 59. — **wateres þrym**. See 1536.

1260–1262. Translate 'The might of the water shrank together (i.e. the water became hard and motionless) over the river-streams, the ice formed a bridge over the dark sea-road.' B. puts a semicolon after **þrym**, with no punctuation after **ēastrēamas**, l. 1261. K. and Gn.<sup>2</sup> as B., except a comma instead of semicolon after **þrym**. All other Edd. have no punctuation after **þrym**, but a comma after **ēastrēamas**. K. translates 'over the river-streams the ice made a bridge, a pale water-road'; Grein, *Dicht.*, translates according to his first punctuation, 'die Kraft des Wassers schwand hin über die Fluten und die Hülle des Eises überbrückte die glänzende Brandungstrasse.' Root and Hall follow Grein. Reading with K., Gn.<sup>2</sup> and B., we must make **brimrāde** an appositive to a noun **brycg** contained in **bryegade**; but **brimrāde** means the water itself and not a bridge over it; cf. l. 1587, where the word is in apposition with **geofon** (MS. **heofon**), and such compounds as *brimlād*, *faroðstræt*, etc. Cf. *Ex. Gn.* 72–73: Forst seal frēosan, . . . is brycgian.

1262. **blæce brimrāde**. 'Blæc is our modern black, and is used comparatively seldom—once in describing the black sea-roads, once as applied to the raven, once in referring to adders. . . . Conventional and symbolical is the use of black in mentioning evil spirits.' Mead, "Color in Old English Poetry," *Pub. of the M.L.A.* XIV, 182.

1265–1266. L. 1266<sup>1</sup> is parenthetical, **þæs**, 1266<sup>1b</sup>, being governed by **blon**, l. 1265<sup>1b</sup>; cf. l. 1380<sup>1b</sup>.

1266. Cf. *Gu.* 664: ācol for ðām egsan; *Dan.* 726: ācul for þām egesan.

1268. **vuldres gim**. 'The jewel of the heavens,' 'the sun'; for this sense of **wuldor**, cf. l. 356, note. Cf. *Ph.* 92: glādum gimme = Godes condelle, l. 91; *Chr.* 695–696: sunne ond mōna . . . gimmas swāscýne. See l. 31, note; 50, note.

1269<sup>1b</sup>–1270. Cf. *Beow.* 497<sup>1b</sup>–498: þær wæs hæleða drēam duguð unlytel.

1270. **ding**. The only recorded occurrence of the word.

1271<sup>1b</sup>. Cf. 1202<sup>b</sup>; *El.* 39: werodes breahmtē; *Ex.* 65: werodes bearhtme. Cf. *Ap.* 21<sup>1b</sup>.

1274. The subject here, as frequently, is omitted after **ðā**. For the phrase **eft swā ær**, cf. l. 1341, 1476; *Gu.* 361; *Beow.* 643, 1787.

1275. **swāt fōðum wēoll**. So *Beow.* 2693. Cf. ll. 1240, 1546.

1275–1276. **Lifer** in the sense 'blood, clotted blood' is not found elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon, but cf. Icel. *blōðlifir*, f. pl., 'clotted blood' (Cleas-Vig., p. 69). It seems better stylistically to take **blōd** and **lifrum** together as a compound than to separate them as is done by all Edd.; the subject of **swēalg** is then **swāt**,

**blodlifrum** is the logical object (cf. *Skr.* II, 505, for examples of *swelgan* with inst.), **hātan heolfre**, l. 1277, is instrumental. The passage means that the fresh blood breaking out from Andrew's wounds flowed over, or swallowed up, the clotted blood, the marks of his old wounds. See Cosijn, *PBB*, XXI, 17.

In the corresponding passage, the Greek version (Bonnet, p. 103, ll. 4-6) reads: *Kai πάλιν αἱ σαρκεὶς αὐτοῦ ἐκδιέχετο ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἦν ῥέον*; the *Legend*, p. 123, l. 6, reads: mid þa he se caliga Andreas was togen, his lichama wes gemenged mid þære corðan, swā þæt blōd fflow ofer corðan swā wæter. *Gm.* *Skr.* II, 185, glosses **lifrum** as inst. pl., 'die Leberklumpen im ausfliessen den Blut, gelibertes Blut.' The word **lifrum** and the passage in which it occurs are not cited by B. T.; Simons, p. 92, glosses **lifrum** as 'blutklumpen, geronnenes blut?' and **swelg**, p. 131, as 'reichlich fliessen?'.  
 1277. **hrā weorces ne sann**. Translate 'His body did not cease from, or have relief from, suffering.' *Gm.* *Skr.* II, 153, glosses **sann**, from *siunan*, 'reputare, curare, rationem habere alicuius'; *D. M.* translates 'die Leiden fühlte kaum noch der wundenmatte Leib.' Kemble translates 'the body thought not of work, weary with wounds'; Root as *D. M.*; Hall, 'his wound weary body was unconscious of suffering,' adding in a note that Andrew 'had swooned from the brutal treatment'; B. T., p. 877, 'care for, mind, heed,' and Simons, p. 124, 'verlangen nach.' The above explanations receive some confirmation from *lecl. senna*, 'mind, care for, give heed to' (Cleas. Vig., p. 520); but neither the meaning 'regard' nor 'feel' fits the context in the present passage. There is nothing in the Greek to justify the inference that Andrew was unconscious. A more probable explanation of the word is that offered by Sievers (*PBB*, XI, 352-353): *siunan*, primarily 'go, pass' (cf. *Gen.* 1853), develops in the two directions 'strive, seek for' (cf. *Gen.* 206), and 'pass away, cease,' as in the present passage. Sievers would translate, therefore, 'kein aufhören, keine unterbrechung des leids kam dem wundenmatten leibe.' The same explanation is offered for *Rim. Poem* 52: *sar ne sinn*, b, 'sein schmerz hört nicht auf.'

1278. **wōpes hring**. The phrase refers to the sound of Andrew's lamentation, and is so understood by most of the commentators. *Gm.*, p. 130, translates 'fletus intensissimus, quasi circulatim erumpens'; *Gm.* *Skr.* II, 100, **hring**, 'sonus,' II, 732, **wōp**, 'lamentation,' etc.; *D. M.*, 'des Wehklagens Laute.' B. T. follows *Gm.*, and Zupitza and Kent, in the glossary to the same phrase as it occurs in *Elene*, follow *Gm.*; Simons, p. 82, also follows *Gm.*; K. translates 'then came the ring of weeping'; Root, 'The sound of weeping'; Hall, 'a cry of great sorrow.' But Cook, *Christ*, pp. 120-127, comparing the phrase as it occurs in *Chr.* 537 with the present passage and the two other occurrences of it, *El.* 1131 and *Gen.* 1313, excludes the notion of sound or noise, and thinks that the phrase means only tears; represented as issuing from the troubled bosom, and gushing from the eyes, the succession of drops may 'be thought of as pearls upon a string, or as beads in a necklace or rosary.' 'Perhaps the idea of **wōpes hring** might be suggested to the modern reader by "circling fountain of tears." But this ingenious explanation hardly takes sufficient account of the fact that **wōp** usually signifies sound, tumult, clamor; cf. *Skr.* II, 732, and cf. *ἀρραγῶς*, *lecl. ἄρ* (Cleas.-Vig., p. 172), and *MnE. ἀρραγῶς*. In the passage in *Andreas*, in particular, **wōpes hring**

appears to be equivalent to **worde cwað**, l. 1280. Cf. also *Chr.* 992. Again, although the usual meaning of **hring** is 'annulus, circulus' (cf. *Spr.* II, 106), the meaning 'sonus' is supported by *Beow.* 327: bynan hringdon; *Sat.* 366: searo hringeð. **Wopes hring** might be translated 'a ringing cry'; cf. the construction *ātres dryne*, 53. At any rate tears could hardly be spoken of as coming through the hero's breast, 1279. In l. 1280<sup>+</sup> the expression is best taken as figurative; see 769<sup>+</sup>. The phrase **wopes hring** is used in *Elene* as an expression of joy; in the other three passages, of grief.

**1279. blāt.** As noun, this is the only occurrence of *blāt*. It is appositive to **hring**, 1278: 'then came a ringing cry, a moan, issuing from the breast of the hero.'

**1284-1286.** Cf. *Gu.* 609-613:

ond ic þæt gelyte    in lifruman  
ēne onwealdan    ealra geseafta,  
þæt hē mec for miltsum    ond mægenspēdam,  
nīðða nergend,    nēl. wille  
þurh ellenweorc    anforletan.

**1288.** Cf. *Jul.* 119-120: Ic þæt gefremme gif mīn feorh leofað, gif þū untrædes ær ne geswīcest.

**1291.** Cf. *Chr.* 775: þæt he ñs gescilde wið sceafan wæpnum.

**1293-1295.** The object of **bysmrian** and **beleegan** is not expressed.

**1294<sup>a</sup>.** *fāenes frumbearn.* So also of Satan, *Gu.* 1044; cf. *godes frumbearn*, 'Christ,' *Sat.* 470; *frumbearn*, 'Christ,' *Chr.* 507. — **1294<sup>b</sup>.** So *Gen.* 453.

**1296<sup>b</sup>.** Cf. *Gu.* 87: sē atela gæst.

**1300-1301.** Cf. *Acts* XXIII, 2. The Greek (Bonnet, p. 104, l. 1) says merely: *Τύπτετε αὐτοῦ τὸ στήθος ἵνα μὴ λαλήῃ.*

**1301.** Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 263, notes that the subject of **reordap** is unexpressed after **nn**.

**1305. under niflan næs.** Cf. l. 1710; *Beow.* 1912; and elsewhere frequently, where the word *næs* means 'sea-headland.' The sun here, as in l. 1157, sets in the ocean. Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* II, 742-743, gives numerous illustrations of this wide-spread mythological belief.

**1306. brūnwann.** 'Night is described as *brunwann*, a color that can scarcely be distinguished from "dark." Milton twice uses a similar expression:

To arched walks of twilight groves  
And shadows brown that Sylvan loves.

*H Pens.* 133-134.

And where the unpiere'd shade  
Imbrown'd the noontide bow'rs.

*Par. Lost* I, 245<sup>2</sup>

Mead, *Pub. of M.L.A.* XIV, 191. Professor Hart suggests that the compound may be a noun — 'crepusculum.' This is the only occurrence of it.

**1308. dēor ond domgeorn.** Cf. *Rid.* XXXII, 16: dēor dōmes georn.

**1309. secal.** Tense-sequence would demand *secolde*.

**1310<sup>a</sup>.** Cf. *Jul.* 238: wærfæst wunade.

**1311. seofona sum.** Cf. *Legend*, p. 123, l. 22: Ðæt dēofol hā genam mid him ðþre seofon deoflo; so also the Greek version, Bonnet, p. 104, l. 5. Cf. *Matt.* XII, 45.

**1312.** Cf. *El.* 901: eadl æclæca yfela gemyndig. The combination *adol æghlæca* occurs also *Beow.* 502, 732, 816, and *Sat.* 101.

**1313. morðres mānfræca.** So *Jul.* 546; *El.* 941. — **gescyrded.** 'Shrouded or enveloped.' Gu., *Spr.* I, 449, supposes *gescyrded*, 'vestitus,' or *gescyrted*? Trautmann, quoted by Simons, p. 60, interprets **gescyrded** = *gescynded* = *gescended*, 'confusus'? A form *gescyrd* occurs, however, as Cos. (*PBB.* XXI, 17) points out, in *Radwines Psalter* (E.E.T.S., No. 92), *Ps.* XCI, 1; cf. B.-T., p. 438.

**1315<sup>b</sup>.** Cf. *Jul.* 189: hospwordum spræc.

**1316.** Sievers (*PBB.* XII, 478) points out that the scansion of the line becomes normal if the name **Andreas** is omitted.

**1317. hwær.** Cf. Bonnet, p. 104, l. 10: πού ἐστιν ἡ δούραμίς σου καὶ ὁ φόβος σου, etc.

**1319. gild gehnægdest.** Cf. Bonnet, p. 104, l. 13: καὶ ἐπολήσας τὰ ἱερὰ ἡμῶν οἰκίας ἐρήμους γενέσθαι ἵνα μὴ ἀντεχθῶσιν θυσίαι ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὅπως καὶ ἡμεῖς τερροθῶμεν. Cf. *Jul.* 140: þā hū goda ūssa, gield forhogdest.

**1322.** The punctuation here, l. 1322<sup>a</sup> in parentheses and a comma after **þīn**, 1321<sup>b</sup>, was suggested by Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 17. The Edd. have only a comma after **þīn**.

**1323<sup>b</sup>.** See 1303<sup>b</sup>.

**1324. Hērōdes.** See Introd., p. lviii. — **1324<sup>b</sup>.** So *Beow.* 2924.

**1326–1327.** Cf. *Jul.* 481–483<sup>a</sup>: Same ic rōde bifealh, þæt hī hyra drēorge on hēam galgan lif ālētan; *ibid.* 510: þæt hē of galgan his gæst onsende; *El.* 480: on galgan his gæst onsende. K. marks the hemistich in l. 1327 after **his**.

**1328–1329.** Cf. *Jul.* 11–12: Foron after burgum swā hē bihoden hæfde, þegnas þeȳðfulle.

**1331. āttre gemæl.** This is the only occurrence of *gemæl* as adjective, but cf. *Jul.* 501: fyre gemæled. On the use of poisoned arrows, cf. Cook, *Christ*, p. 149.

**1334–1335.** Cf. *Gu.* 377–378: wæron hȳ rēowe tō rēasanne gifrum grāpum; *Gu.* 908–909: ac hine rēseð on gifrum grāpum.

**1335. hine.** The antecedent is Andrew; cf. l. 1143.

**1337–1340.** Cf. *Legend*, p. 123, l. 31: and hīe gesāwon Crīstes rōde tācen on his onsiene; hī ne dorston hine genēalƿcan, ac hræde hīe on weg flugon.

**1340. forhte, āfærde.** Construe both as adjectives agreeing with **hīe**, 1339. So *Chr.* 892; *Ph.* 525: forht āfæred. *Dicht.* translates 'von Furcht bestürzt'; K. omits **āfærde** in text and translation; Root, 'sorely afraid'; Hall, 'fearful, affrighted.' Simons, p. 42, takes **forhte** with Grein, *Dicht.*, as a noun; *Spr.* I, 326, however, glosses *forhte* in all three of the above passages as adjective. Bright regards *forhte* in the parallel passage in the *Christ* (cf. Cook's *Christ*, p. 170) as adverb. But two coördinate adjectives without connective in the same half-line are occasionally found, e.g. 750, *Chr.* 953, 993, 1050, 1116, 1193, 1507, etc. See 494, note. — **on flēam nimen.** The only occurrence of this form of expression; cf. 1380, and *Jul.* 630: on flēam sceacan.

**1342<sup>a</sup>.** So *Jul.* 246.

**1343. rincas mine.** So *Gen.* 2880, in direct address.

**1348.** *gā þē sylfa tō.* Cf. ll. 340, 505, 860. But the construction of oblique form with a nominative *sylf, sylfa*, is also frequently found; cf. Wulfing, I, 355, for numerous examples.

**1351<sup>a</sup>.** So *El.* 604. — **1351<sup>b</sup>.** So *Beow.* 1469; *Ap.* 17: *aldre genēðde.*

**1352–1356.** Translate ‘We may easily, dearest of earls, teach thee something better at this sword-play, before thou openly make attack, raise the tumult of battle, no matter how it turn out for thee at the conflict.’ The better plan which they propose is given in ll. 1356 ff. Reading *weald þū* with Grimm, K. translates ‘We may easily, dearest of earls, at the play of men teach thee better, before thou again attempt war, the rush of battle; guard thyself the better in the change of blows.’ *Dicht.* translates ‘Leicht mögen wir dir, liebster der Manner, in dem bitteren Kampf zum Besseren raten: ehe offen du zum Angriff schreitest, zu dem Waffengraus, sich wol erst zu, wie dir’s beim Gegenschlage gehe!’ The other translations follow Grein. B.-T., p. 1172, also takes *weald* as imperative of *wealdan*, ‘decide thou how it shall happen to thee.’ The more probable reading is that of Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 17) and Simons, p. 150, who take *weald* as conjunction, ‘however’; for examples cf. B.-T., p. 1171.

**1355<sup>a</sup>.** Cf. *El.* 19: *wīges wōma*; *Jul.* 576: *wīges wōmum.*

**1358.** *wraesið.* The word here, as in l. 1431, is used in the generalized sense of ‘affliction, sorrow.’ Its specific and usual meaning is ‘exile,’ e.g. *Beow.* 338; in *An.* 889 it is used in the sense of ‘exiled from heaven,’ as also in *Gu.* 595, 1047. Cf. B.-T., p. 1270.

**1359<sup>a</sup>.** So *Beow.* 425.

**1361.** *wītum bewæled.* Cf. *Gu.* 396: *wītum wælan.* K. translates ‘stained with torments’; but cf. B.-T., p. 1153, for examples of the word *wælan* in the sense ‘torment, afflict.’

**1367.** *hrōðra lēas.* Cf. *Jul.* 390: *hrōþra biðæled.*

**1368<sup>a</sup>.** So *Ph.* 360.

**1371.** *unfyrn faca.* Cf. *Hy.* IV, 42: *ful unfyr faca.* The scansion of the half-line is  $\underline{\text{f}} \text{ } \underline{\text{u}} \text{ } \underline{\text{n}} \text{ } | \text{ } \text{f} \text{ } \text{a} \text{ } \text{c} \text{ } \text{a} \text{ } .$

**1376.** Supply in sense, with Ettmüller, *mæg ālȳsan.*

**1377<sup>b</sup>–1385.** See Introd., p. lvii.

**1379<sup>b</sup>.** So *El.* 771.

**1380.** *in wræc wunne.* The primary meaning of *winnan* is ‘to struggle, oppose’; from this is developed a passive sense, ‘endure, suffer.’ For examples of the second sense, cf. *Chr.* 1272, 1428, *Gen.* 1014; and for the opposite development, a verb meaning ‘to suffer’ becoming active, ‘to perform, show forth,’ cf. *ādreogan*, 164, note.

**1384<sup>a</sup>.** Cf. 1190<sup>a</sup>, note.

**1393.** *hit ne mihte swā.* So *Beow.* 2091; cf. *Rid.* XXX, 6: *gif hit swā mehte*; and for numerous other examples of omission of infinitive, *Spr.* II, 268, and Sievers, *Anglia* XII, 2.

**1407.** *on dagas tīde.* A contrast is evidently intended; Andrew compares his three days of suffering, l. 1414, with the one day of Christ’s suffering on the cross. The *Legend*, p. 124, l. 17, reads: *āne tīd on rōde þū þrōwodeſt, and þū cwæde*, ‘Fæder, for hwon forlēte þū mē?’ *Nū iiii dagas syndon syððan*, etc. The

Greek version (Bonnet, p. 107, l. 11) gives three hours as the period of Christ's suffering, following thus *Matt.* XXVII. 40. *Doht.* translates 'an einem Tage'; K., 'in the day-time'; Root, 'that day when from the cross'; Hall, 'a day's length.'

1413. *hwæt forlæstest ðu me?* Cf. *Matt.* XXVII. 40.

1415. So *Jad.* 204. — Baskivill and Wulker place a question-mark after *wītu*. But this is a statement of fact, the question being ended in l. 1413<sup>1</sup>.

1418-1424. This passage is evidently an elaboration of *Matt.* X. 30, which is preserved in *Legend.* p. 124, l. 23: *Gif ge mē gehȳrað, and ge mē bēoð fylgende ne ān loc of ēowrum hēafde forwyrð.*

1421. *oððeoded.* The word need not be taken as a finite verb, as Gm. and Ettm. suggest, but as a participle, *diel* being coordinate in construction with *synn* and *bān*.

1425. *tōslopen, ādropen.* The only occurrence of *ādropen*; for examples of *tōslopen*, cf. *Syr.* II, 548, and Sawen, *Eng. Stud.* XXVI, 130. The misreadings *tolowen, adrowen*, have been the occasion of much unnecessary discussion.

1430. *hlōðrode.* Perhaps the form should be changed to the more usual *hleodrode*; but cf. l. 504, *snōweð* for *sneoweð*.

1433. *mundbyrde.* The term *mundbyrd* (see 724, 1032) is a technical one in Anglo-Saxon law. It means 'surety' or 'protection,' and definite fines were imposed for the violation of the *mundbyrd*. "The king's *mund* . . . seems originally to have been 120 shillings. This sum was subsequently doubled . . ." (Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, p. 125). See Seebohm, *Tribal Custom in A.S. Law*, p. 374 ff., and passim. The Lord offers Andrew his safe-conduct.

1435. *sōð.* Perhaps *sōð* in l. 644 is also to be taken as adverb. Cf. *Syr.* II, 402, for other examples.

1436. *myclan dage.* Cf. *Chr.* 808: *sē micla dæg*; *Jad.* 723: *on fām miclan dage*; so also *Sinl.* 50, 80. Cf. also *Bevo.* 978: *miclan dōmes*; Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 130: *ondriædon ūs þone micclan dōm and ðā micclan wita*; p. 107: *understand þone micclan dōm þe wē ealle tō seulan*. The phrase is evidently due to a recollection of a Biblical phrase; cf. *Jas.* II, 11, 'magnus enim dies Domini, et terribilis valde'; II, 31, 'veniat dies Domini magnus et horribilis'; *Act.* II, 20, 'dies Domini magnus et manifestus,' etc. Cf. MaE. *Great Day*; see *NEP*, s. vv. *day* and *year*.

1437-1440. See *Matt.* V, 18.

1441. *swā* = 'where.' See 1440, 1582; *Chr.* 984; *El.* 971, for similar use of *swā*.

1443. *līces lælan.* The emendation is made on the strength of the parallel to *Gn.* 070-071: *Ne sȳ him bānes bryce ne blōdig wund, līces læla ne lāpes wiht*. *Lælan*, acc. sg., is thus appositive to *bāngēbree*, as in *Gn.* it is appositive to *bāna brice*. Cf. 1473-1474. K. apparently understands *līces lælan* to be an amplification of *blōdige stige*, 1442; he translates 'where thy blood poured forth through the breaking of bones a bloody path, the body's spots.' Gm., *Doht.*, takes *lælan* as object of *geseoh*, 1441: 'wo durch Verwundung sich ergoss dein Blut auf die Gefilde.' Sieh die blutigen Steige und auch des Leibes Striemen.'

1443-1444. Cf. *Gn.* 284-285: *ne ge me lāpes wiht gedōn mōtum*.

1445. Cf. *Jad.* 181: *þe ūs monna mūst morðra gefremede*.

1447<sup>1</sup>. So *Beow.* 2753.

1449. **blædum gehrodene.** Cf. *Legend*, p. 125, l. 4: geblowen treow wæstm beende.

1454. **ān ne forlæte.** 'That thou didst not abandon me.' See 1287, 1642, 1660. Cf. *Pz.* CXVIII, 8: āenne ne forlæte; *Jul.* 104: ān ne forlæte. W. retains the MS. reading, regarding it as a form of the present tense; the other Edd. change to *forlēte*, preterit. The form is evidently preterit, but need not be changed; cf. 802, **forlætān** = **forlēton**; 609, **-hægende** = **-hēgende**.

1456-1457. See 1305, note.

1458. **feordān sīde.** Really only the third time. The first time is indicated in l. 1250, the second in ll. 1305 ff.; in l. 1391 we are told that he was taken out to be tortured for the third time, and the return to the prison would consequently be the third time. The *Hpáxis* and the *Legend* simply say that he was taken back again to the prison.

1460. **cræfta ghygd.** The phrase is evidently equivalent to **mōd**, l. 1461. The Greek (Bonnet, p. 108) says merely that they hoped to find Andrew lifeless in the morning. *Dicht.* 'die Kraft des Mutes,' K. 'the thought of power,' Root 'the hero's mighty soul,' Hall 'the doughty spirit, the dauntless courage.' A somewhat similar expression is **cræftes milt**, 585, also *El.* 558, *Chr.* 1145. Dr. Blount suggests *cræftgan*, gen. sg. of *cræftga*, appositive therefore to **magorādendes**, l. 1461, for **cræfta**.

1461<sup>b</sup>. So *Jul.* 226, 326, 363, 439.

1462<sup>b</sup>-1463. Cf. *Jul.* 242<sup>b</sup>-243: Dā ewōm semninga in þæt hlinræced hæleða gewinna.

1464. **sýnne.** The spelling y for i appears also in **seýma**, 766; **týres**, 105.

1467. **hāles.** *Hāl* as noun does not occur, and the form may be taken as adj. here, agreeing with **liechoman**. K., 'commanded his body to enjoy safety,' Root, 'bade him once again soundness enjoy,' and Simons, p. 82, take **hāl** as a noun.

1469. **mægene rōf.** Also l. 1676; cf. *Beow.* 2084: mægnes rōf.

1469-1477. Cf. *Jul.* 589<sup>b</sup>-594<sup>a</sup>:

Dā gēn sīo hālgæ stōd  
ungewemde wite;    næs hyre wlōh ne hrægl,  
ne feax ne fel    fýre gemæled,  
ne lic ne leoþu.    Hfō in līge stōd  
æghwæs onsund,    sægdealles þonc  
dryhtna Dryhtne.

Also *Dan.* 437-440:

næs hyra wite gewemmed    ne nānig wrōht on hrægle,  
ne feax fýre beswæled,    ac hīc on frīde Driltnes  
of Sām grimman gryre    glæde treddeðon  
glæawmōde gumān    on Gastes hyld.

1470. Translate 'from his prison he gave thanks unto the Lord, healed of his grievous tortures.' A parallel to **heardra wīta** occurs in *Jul.* 56. Grein, *Dicht.*, translates this line as follows: 'heil von der Haft der harten Qualen'; K., 'whole from his captivity, of the savage torments'; Root, 'freed from the bondage of his grievous pains'; Hall, 'Freed from the baleful bondage of torture.' But **of**

**haefte** connects logically with L. 1466<sup>b</sup>, not with **hal** or **heardra wita**. **Heardra wita** is gen. pl. dependent on **hal**, as e.g. *Beow.* 1074: headolaces hal.

1474. Apparently there has been a general transposition of the parts of this passage in the MS.; it should read **laðe gelenge ne hees dæl**. A parallel to **laðe gelenge** is *Jal.* 371: *laðtrum gelenge*; with **hees dæl** cf. *An.* 1421. The sense of the passage is, 'not bloody wound, of harmful nature, nor part of his body made wet with gore from sword wound.' See my note, *Med. Phil.* II, 408.

1476<sup>b</sup>. So *Ch.* 808.

1477. Fritzsche, *Engl.* II, 411, calls attention to the break in the narrative after L. 1477, due, he thinks, either to the fact that the poet grew weary of his subject and laid the poem aside for a time, or that the second part, ll. 1478 ff., was written by a different person from the first part. There is nothing in the poem to support either supposition. W., L. 1478, note, states incorrectly that Fritzsche, followed by B., assumes an omission in the text after L. 1477 (W. also gives the line incorrectly as L. 1478), but both assume merely a break in the narrative. See *Introd.*, p. lviii.

1478-1487. Translate 'Lo, I now for a time have set forth in words, in song, the story of the saint, the praise of that which he wrought—a story (**wyrd**) famous and beyond my power. Much is yet to tell, a lasting lore, that which he performed in life, all after the beginning. That shall a wiser man upon earth than I count myself find in his heart, that from the beginning he knows all the hardships, the grim conflicts, which he endured.' This passage has been variously punctuated and interpreted. The difficulties, with the main suggestions that have been made, will be considered as they occur in the notes following.

1478. **haliges lare**. That is, 'the story of the saint'; cf. the equivalent phrase **langsum leorning**, L. 1482, and with this cf. *Ch.* 41, *Ch.* 700; *lare* longsume. In the *Christ* the allusion is to the fulfilment of prophecy; in *Ch.* the words are appositive to *wordum and oðrum wordum larege*, L. 705.

1479. Gm., p. 137, translates this line 'so weit ich bisher den preis des liedes winkte, dichtete.' But the more probable reading is that of Gm. (*S.* II, 574), 'laudem eius quod ille fecit.' Pogatscher (*Engl.* XXIII, 274) lists this passage as an example, though doubtful, of the omission of a subject after the relative **þe**. The subject of **worhte**, according to this explanation, would be Andrew. Perhaps **he** should be inserted before **worhte**; at any rate it must be supplied in sense. **Leoðgiddinga** is best taken not as gen. pl. but as inst. sg., appositive to **wordum**, 1480<sup>b</sup>. The present and *L.* 67 are the only occurrences of this compound; *gidding* is also of rare occurrence as simplex.

1480. **wemde**. Cf. L. 740; and *S.* 61: *wemman mid wordum*. Gm., followed by K. and B. F., p. 1187, explains this word as it occurs in *Andreas* as derived from *wemmen*, 'spot, defilement,' a meaning which suits *S.* 61, but not the other passages. **Wemman**, 'resound, make known,' cf. *S.* II, 657, may be compared with **woma**, 'sound, tumult'. W. has a period after **undyrne**, thus uniting the phrase **ofer mun gemet** closely with what follows; so also Hall in his translation. *Cos.* (*PRF* XXI, 18) would read with the other Fdd. **wyrd undyrne, ofer mun gemet**. Cf. *L.* 42<sup>b</sup> for the meaning of **wyrd**.

1481. **seeganne**. See 1100, note.



1481-1482. Cf. *Beow.* 2879: ofer mīn gemet; and *Gn.* 502-503:

micel is tō secgan  
eall after orde    þæt hē on elne ādrēag.

With l. 1482<sup>b</sup> cf. l. 1486<sup>b</sup>. Cf. also *El.* 1154: eall after orde.

1482. **langsum feorning.** See 1478, note. Not 'wearisome'; cf. 'the long home.' Cf. *Ap.* 20<sup>a</sup>.

1485. **findan on ferðe.** The phrase means, freely translated, 'compose,' cf. *Ap.* 1-2: **findan on seorum sefan**; and, in a more literal sense, *El.* 641: *findan on fyrhðe*. **Fand**, *Ap.* 1, is in apposition to **sammode**, 'compose,' *Ap.* 2; for a discussion of this use of *sammian*, see Barnouw. *Herrig's Archiv* CVIII, 371-375. — **þæt fram fruman eumme.** A clause appositive to **þæt**, 1483. The commentators (including myself, *Med. Phil.* II, 409) have been much troubled over the disposition of **þæt**. *Gn.* (*Spr.* I, 353) translates **þæt** by *qui*, a nom. sg. masc. relative, subject of **eumme**, its antecedent being **mann**, 1484<sup>a</sup>. But this is plainly impossible. Cosijn (*PWB.* XXI, 18) explains **þæt** as equivalent to *æd æglēare þæt (hē)*, etc., deriving this meaning from *aglewwra*, 1483<sup>b</sup>. Pogatscher (*Anglia* XXIII, 266) translates correctly: 'Das soll ein klügerer mann auf erden, als ich mich halte, im geiste finden, dass er (nämlich) vom anfang alle die leiden kenne.' The poet wishes to condense, and in order to give some excuse, he makes the conventional literary disclaimer that he does not know the whole story of St. Andrew, adding that he leaves it to some wiser or better instructed man to tell the whole story some day (Kittredge). It is not necessary to suppose that he actually gave over his task at this point, or even that it suffered a temporary interruption.

1486. Cf. *Chr.* 1201: and eal ðā earfeðu þe hē fore ældum ādrēag; *Jul.* 496: eal þā earfeðu, þe ic ær and sif gefremede tō fæne.

1487<sup>b</sup>. *Gm.*, p. li, taking **gīt** as dual of the pronoun, suggests that the two referred to are Ine, king of Wessex, and Æðelburg, his wife, the author himself being Aldhelm; but, p. 182, he notes the correct view: 'nimmt man **gīt** für 'adhuc,' so fällt alles auf die dualform gebaute weg.' The usual form of this adverb in *Andreas* is **ðā gīt**, cf. *Glossary*, but **gīt** is probably used here for the alliteration. — **secolon.** Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 285, cites *Cædmon's Hymn* 1: *nū scyran hergan*, for similar omission of the subject.

1490-1495. Cf. *Beow.* 2542-2546:

Gesæh ðā be wealle,    sē ðe worna fela  
gumcystum gōd    gūðā gedigde,  
hildeblenna,    þonne hnitā tēðan,  
stondan stānbogan,    strēam ut þonan  
brecan of beorge.

Also *Beow.* 2715-2719:

  ðā sē æðeling giong,  
þæt hē bi wealle    wīshygende  
gesæt on sesse;    seah on enta geweorc,  
hū ðā stānbogan    stapulum fæste  
ēce eorðreced    innan healde.

1491<sup>c</sup>. Cf. *El.* 83: heardre hilde; *Fight at Finnesburh* 28: heordra hilda.

1492. *fæste*. An adj. agreeing with *swēras*, 1493. B., p. 77, would retain the MS. reading, taking *fæste* as appositive to *wealle*; he translates 'He wondrously saw by the wall, by the fortress,' etc. But neither the syntax of the passage nor the form of the word admits this construction.

1493. *under sælwāge*. 'In the hall or prison.' B., retaining the MS. reading, translates, p. 77, 'at the foot of the hall-plane'; W. translates 'aus dem felde heraus, vor der ebene.' But, as Cosijn points out (*PBB.* XXI, 18), *under sælwāge*, as in *Rid.* IV, 2, means 'under the earth.' A comparison with the Greek justifies the emendation: καὶ θεασάμενος ὁ Ἀνδρέας εἰς μέσον τῆς φυλακῆς εἶδεν στῦλον ἰστώτα, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν στῦλον ἀνδριάς ἐπικείμενος ἀλαστρονός (Bonnet, p. 109, l. 8); and cf. *Legend*, p. 125, ll. 14-15: hē geseah on middum lāem carcerne swer standan, and ofer þone swer stānenne anlicnesse. It seems best to take *under* in the sense here of 'in' (cf. ll. 95, 141, 940, 1005, 1038, 1065, 1071, 1253, and *Spr.* II, 618, for other examples) rather than, with Cosijn, *PBB.* XXI, 18, in the sense 'dicht unter,' 'close by'; the *swēras* are within the prison, and Andrew himself is of course still in the prison, cf. 1458 ff.

The image mentioned in the *Ἠράξεις* and the *Legend* does not appear in *Andreas*, probably because the poet, following as he does the *Beowulf* (cf. *An.* 1490-1495, note), conceives of the *swēras* as pillars which hold up the roof of the prison. That *swēras* and not *sferas* is the right reading is of course confirmed by the reading of the Greek and the prose version.

1494. *storne bedrifene*. Cf. *Wand.* 76: winde bewāune weallas stondaþ.

1495<sup>a</sup>. See 1235, note.

1498-1503. Cf. *Legend*, p. 125, ll. 17-21: Ondræd þē Drihten and his rōde tācn, beforan þāem forhtigað heofon and eorþe. Nū þonne, anlicenes, dō þæt ic bidde on naman mīnes Drihtnes Hēlendes Crīstes; send mycel wæter þurh þīnne mūþ, swā þæt sien gewenmede ealle þā on þisse ceastre syndon. The change in the poem, of *þīnum stāpole*, l. 1503, was necessary, since the poet omits all mention of an image; cf. 1493, note.

1500-1501. Grein's interpretation of *heofonas* and *eorðan* as genitives after *fæder* is the correct one. Perhaps *heofonas* should be changed to *heofones*, but see 523, note. W., note to 1501, takes *heofonas* and *eorðan* as amplification of *gesceafte*, 1499; this, however, supposes an improbable plural *eorðan*.

The allusion of the passage is to the day of judgment; cf. *Vision of the Cross* 103-111:

Hē nā on heofonas āstāg;    hider eft fundað  
on þysne middangeard    mancynn sēcan  
on dōmdage    dryhten sylfa,  
ædmihtig God    ond his englas mid,  
þæt hē þonne wil- dēman,    sē ah dōmes gewæld,  
ānra ge- hwylum,    swā hē him ætur hēr  
on þyssum lēnum    līfe gecearnaþ;  
ne mæg þær ænig    unforht wesan  
for þām worde,    þe sē Wealdend cwyð!

1504<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Gen.* 231-232: Tigris . . . ēa inlede. — 1504<sup>b</sup>. Perhaps *hāteð*, 1505<sup>a</sup>, should be placed in this half-line.

1507. **wīdrynig.** The only occurrence of the compound.

1508. **geofon.** See 393, note. Retaining the MS. reading, Hall translates 'A streaming heaven.'

1508-1509. Gn., p. 133, 'wie glanzest du von golde!'; he cites also NIIG. 'von golde sein.' But K., correctly, 'Lo thou art than gold or gift of treasure more precious.' The translations all agree with K.

1511. **recene.** Translate 'awful mysteries.' The form **recene**, not mentioned by B.T., is glossed by Gn., *Spr.* II, 370, and Simons, p. 113, as adverb; *Dicht.* translates 'offenbar,' K., 'at once.' But **recene** is better taken as adjective. Cf. *Ps.* CV, 18: *þe on Egiþptom aþele wundur . . . and recene wundur on þām Rōdan Sæ*, translating 'Deus qui fecit magnalia in Ægypto, terribilia in Mari Rubro'; B.T., p. 789, explains the word here as meaning 'coming swiftly and so causing terror,' and cites, in support of this meaning, *fēr* and its compounds. This meaning is also the one appropriate to the passage in the *Andreas*.—

1511<sup>1</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 671: *reccan ryhte æ*; *El.* 280-281: *þā ðe dēoplicost dryhtnes gerfno þurh rihte æ reccan cūðon*.

1514. **swā hit.** See 327, note.

1515-1516. There is nothing in the sources to account for the mentioning of Joshua and Tobias here. The allusion to Joshua, the successor of Moses (cf. *Numbers* XXVII, 18 ff.), is intelligible, but why should Joshua and Tobias be mentioned together? Professor Hart makes the very plausible suggestion that Tobias is a blunder for Caleb, who is intimately connected with Joshua in the Old Testament narrative, cf. *Numbers* XIV, 6; XXXII, 12. The Vulgate spelling of Joshua is *Josue*; of Moses it is *Moyse*s in the nom., *Moyse*n in the acc., the other forms being *Moyse*i, *Moyse*.

1520<sup>1</sup>. Cf. 1586; *El.* 86: *þurh þæs hālgan hāes*.

1525. **mid ærdæge.** Cf. 1527<sup>1</sup>. There is no allusion to the morning in the *Legend*, but the ἡμέρας, p. 110, l. 9, mentions the time, *πρωίας*.

1526. **meoduscserwen.** The passage is an evident imitation of *Beow.* 767-769: *Dēnum callum wearð . . . eorlum caluscserwen*, of the Danes on the occasion of Grendel's visit to Heorot. In both passages the general idea of **meoduscserwen**, *caluscserwen*, is 'terror,' 'fright,' but the specific meaning or figure is uncertain, Gn., pp. xxxvi-xxxvii, taking *sceerwen* as participle, settles on the meaning 'effusum,' 'evomitum': the mead or ale was spewed forth as result of the fright. K. translates *sceerpen* of his text by 'spilled.' Gn., *Spr.* II, 401, glosses *sceerwen* as part. under *sceerwan*, 'vergeuden,' 'verschütten?'; *Dicht.*, 'der Meth ward vergossen nach dem Schmausgelage.' B. reads *sceerpen* and translates, p. 78, 'The mead became sharp,'—i.e. terror arose because the mead became sharp or spoiled after the feast day.

Gn., note, suggests holding the two elements of his text, **meodu sceerwen**, together as compound, and Bugge, *Tidskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik* VIII, 293-295, follows the suggestion of Grein's note, taking the word as compound noun formed like *edwenden* and compounds with *rāden*, in the sense 'mead-pouring,' Gn., 'methvergeudung?'. The passage would thus be an ironical allusion to the flood: 'there was a sufficient mead-pouring for all after the feast-day.' Heyne, *Beowulf*<sup>2</sup>, p. 93, accepts the word as compound but interprets it





1581. **smeolt was se sigewang.** So *P.* 33; *Gn.* 714.  
 1585. **heofon.** B., p. 78, retaining **heofon**, translates 'the lamentation ceased'; 'these words,' he says, 'continue the thought in **þa was . . . æfter gyrne.**' Cf. ll. 1015, and 105, 533.  
 1589. **flod fædmian.** So *Beow.* 3133.  
 1591. **bisenete.** The only occurrence of the prefix **bi-** in the poem.  
 1596<sup>1</sup>. See 1510.  
 1598. **ðrāge hnāgram.** Genitive after **wendan.**  
 1599. **mane fān.** So *Beow.* 978: **maga mane tāh.**  
 1602. **ðæt þe.** The usual form of this conjunction is **þatte**, cf. *Spr.* II, 572. Cf. the pronoun **ðette**, l. 510.  
 1603. Cf. *C.* 687: **cynig alwihtra craftum weorðað.**  
 1604. As the line stands, the alliteration is defective. Perhaps one should read **þider** or **pyder** for **hider**, the action being conceived of from the point of view of the one who sends.  
 1606. **gumcystum.** Translate as adverb, 'virtuously,' 'righteously,' or with B. F., p. 402, as adv. phrase, 'with virtuous zeal.' **Gumcyst** is found a number of times with adjectives, e.g. *Beow.* 1480: **gumcystum gōdne**; *Gen.* 1700: **gumcystum god**; *ibid.* 1810: **gumcystum til**. No other example of the adverbial use of *gumcystum* is recorded; but cf. *Had.* 50: **hū me cynegode cystum dohten.** K. translates **gumcystum** as *adj.*, 'that we this excellent man should gladly hear.' But there is no authority for an *adj.* *gumcyst*. Cf. 1030 for another example of the absolute use of **hýran** (Kittredge).  
 1609. **curen.** The verb is plural to agree with the collective subject **cynn**, 1010.  
 1610<sup>1</sup>. So *A.* 711; *C.* 1510: **swylt þrowiað.**  
 1612. **gif ge feala hyegað.** Cf. *Beow.* 280: **se þe wec þenceð**, likewise in a didactic passage. See 158-100, note.  
 1616<sup>1</sup>. So *A.* 58; *Gen.* 1730; *M.* 133: **feorh seleð**, *Beow.* 1370.  
 1617. **gode orfeorme.** Cf. 400, note.  
 1618. **in wita forwyrd.** So *Fl.* 701; *Sermo on Ps.* 28 (*Bibl.* II, 108) 10; *Jnl.* 550. 1618<sup>1</sup>. So *Gn.* 110.  
 1619. **in feonda gewæld.** Cf. ll. 1273, 1317. The phrase of l. 1619 is also found in *Beow.* 808, 903; *C.* 1410; *Jnl.* 151.—**gefered ne wurden.** Not a Christian-like prayer as the MS. reads.  
 1621. **hāliges gastes.** See 1000, note.  
 1626<sup>1</sup>. So *A.* 25: mine gefēge, *Beow.* 770, 837, 1055, 2085, 2837; *Gen.* 1173; *Fl.* 308; *P.* 170; *Had.* 71; *Radgar.* 6, 34; *M.* 27; *M.* XX, 82, XX, 218.  
 1627. Cf. *Beow.* 835-830: **þær was eal geador Grendles grāpe.** For the omission of the initial *g*, cf. *Gen.* 2557: **cill andon**; and see *Gram.*, § 212, note 2; *PRR.* IX, 208. One expects here a plural verb, agreeing with **eatoran**, l. 1627, and **hne**, l. 1628; but apparently for the moment the poet thinks of the members of the throng individually—'each was then all united both body and soul.' Cf. *Fl.* 887-880:  

hē sōna aras  
 gaste gegearwod,    geador bū samod  
 he ond sawl,

**1628-1629.** Note the rime **ær:fær**; also the rime in l. 1631. In l. 1627 there is assonance of the four stressed vowels **ea**, in l. 1624 of the three vowels **eo**, the fourth being **ea**, almost an assonance.

**1629.** Cf. *Jud.* 177-178<sup>v</sup>: **fæt hi færinga feorh æleton þurh ædra wylm.**

**1633. cyninges craeftiga.** Cf. Bonnet, p. 111, ll. 9-10: *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐχάραξε τύπον ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἐποίησεν οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*; and *Legend*, p. 127, ll. 5-7: And æfter þissum se haliga Andreas hæf cyrican gefimbrīan on fære stowe fær sē swer stōd. These passages show that **modiga**, l. 1632, and consequently **craeftiga**, l. 1633, must refer to Andrew, **cyninges**, l. 1633, meaning God. K., reading *craeftiga*, translates 'then commanded the bold one, than a king more powerful'; Grein's suggested reading **craeftigan** makes the word accusative — 'then the valiant one commanded the king's architect,' etc.; but this reading is not carried over into *Spr.* l. 168, as W., note to l. 1633, states, the word there being glossed **craeftiga**, nom. sg. Cf. *Chr.* 11-14:

Nū is þān weorce þearf  
 þæt sē Craeftga cume      and sē Cyning sylfa,  
 and þonne gebete —      nū gebrosnad is —  
 hūs under hrole.

**1635. þurh fæder fulwiht.** Grein's emendation *fullum*, accepted by Simons, p. 46, is a slight improvement in the sense of the passage, but the change is not necessary; cf. ll. 1630-1631.

**1636<sup>b</sup>.** So *EL* 271.

**1637<sup>b</sup>.** So *Chr.* 394; *Gu.* 854; *Gen.* 10; *Vision of the Cross* 81; *Ps.* LV1, 6; LV1, 13; side and wide, *EL* 277; *Gen.* 118; *Ph.* 167.

**1640. fullwihhtes bæð.** So *EL* 490, 1032; *Sat.* 546.

**1643.** Cf. *EL* 889-890: fær was lof hafen fæger mid þȳ folce.

**1645<sup>a</sup>.** So *Chr.* 1066; *Gu.* 1286.

**1647. se ār.** The change from the MS. **sio** is probably necessary: but cf. *Gram.*, § 337, note 2.

**1649<sup>a</sup>.** So (**in, tō**) *Chr.* 519; *Jud.* 327; *EL* 821.

**1650. Se., hine gehālode.**

**1651. þurh apostollhād.** The phrase refers to Andrew, not Platan; cf. Hall, 'Through his [Andrew's] power as apostle (he was Platan entitled)' — **Plātan**. No mention whatever is made of the appointing of a bishop in the *Πράξεις*; cf. Bourne, p. 81. But the *Legend*, p. 127, ll. 9-10, reads: And ænne of heora aldormannum tō biſcōpe hē him gesette, and hē [Andrew] hī gefullode and cwæð, 'Nū þonne ic com gearo fæt ic gange to mīnum discipulum.' The name Platan was evidently derived from the lost Latin source of the poem. It is found frequently in the *Martyrium Matthaei*, Bonnet, pp. 217-262, in the Latin version in the form Plato (cf. p. 228, l. 22), in the Greek version in the form Πλάτων (cf. p. 222, l. 14), as the name of the bishop of the Mermedonians. Cf. Lipsius, l. 616. For the quantity of the word, see Sievers, *PBB.* X, 493.

**1654. Siegde his fūse hige** = *sagde þat his hige fūs wære*; for similar construction with *seegan*, cf. *Gu.* 90; *Chr.* 137; *EL* 588. See also l. 1661<sup>b</sup>.

**1656<sup>a</sup>.** Cf. *Rid.* LXIV, 1: Oft ic seega seledrēame sceal fagre onþēon.

1659. **weore**. 'That was to the band a grief to endure.' Gm., Gn. *Spr.* II, 077, B. I., p. 1109, all retain the MS. reading **weor** as positive degree of *weora*, the present being the only occurrence of the form. W., l. 1050, note, would change to *weora*, adj., citing *Beene* 1,417: weorce on mōde tō geþolianne; *Gen.* 2701: weorce on mōde; also *weorce*, *Jnl.* 72, 135. But these constructions are not parallel to the present passage, and as Sievers (*ZfA. f. d. Phil.* XXI, 358) points out, *weorce* in such constructions as *weorce on mōde* is primarily adverbial; the adjective form should be *weora*. The right reading **weore** was suggested by Kluge, *Anglia* IV, 100, and is accepted by Bright, *MLA*, I, 11, and Cosijn, *PhB.* XXI, 20. Kluge points out the parallel passage in *Jnl.* 509: þæt þam weligan was weore tō þolianne.

1660 1661. **Hie** is object of **gewinnian**; for other examples of this construction, cf. *Beene* 22; *Ph.* 481.

1663. Comparison with the *Legend* and the *Πράξεις* shows that the omission in the MS. here is inconsiderable; the *Legend*, p. 127, ll. 10-27, reads: Him ætīwde Drihten Hēlend Crist on þām wege on ansīne fægeres cildes, and him tō cwað. 'Andreas, for hwam gēst þū swā būton wastne þīnes gewinnes, and þū forleste þa þe þe hēdon, and þū nate miltsiende ofer heora cild þā þe þe wēron fyllende and wepnde? Þara cīm and wop tō me astāh on heofonas. Nū þonne hwyrf eft on þā ceastre, and beo þær seofon dagas, oþ þæt þū gestrangie heora mod on minne geleafan.' This passage is a close translation of the *Πράξεις*, p. 115, ll. 6-13. B., reading as the MS., without interruption, places l. 1004<sup>b</sup> within parentheses and remarks (p. 78): 'As the MS. shows no vacant space, I have endeavored to get the following out of this passage: Then to him the God of glory appeared on the journey, and this word spoke the Lord of hosts: "The people in consequence of their evil deeds (their mind is ready (for death?)) go mourning, they lament their grief, men and women together; their weeping goes hastening forth, their mourning mood etc. makes itself heard."' B.<sup>2</sup>, p. 66, retains this reading, remarking, in answer to W.'s objection that l. 1004<sup>b</sup> refers to the departure of Andrew: 'is **him fus hyge**, their mind is sad, does refer to the departure of Andrew. For **fus** = sad, tristis, see *Sprachschatz*: I, 350, under **fūs**. Grein quotes this passage and understands it as I do. But he is mistaken, I think, in supposing that they are not also sad "on account of their sins" (**of firenum**). What would be so likely to occur to them on the eve of his departure as the remembrance of their former evil deeds and unholy lives, from which they had been rescued by Andrew? Hence they thought if he should leave them they should relapse into their former sinful state.' But the MS. is plainly defective here. Grein, *Doct.*, supplies two lines after l. 1003:

Warum verlässest du die Leute denn so schnell,  
Da kaum erst ist bekehrt von seinen Sünden —

Root follows Grein; K. and Hall do not fill in the passage.

1664. **fole of firenum**. In the complete form this phrase was probably part of an interrogative sentence. See the corresponding passage of the *Legend*, 1663, note. W. retains the MS. reading **his** = is on the ground that the form **his** is sometimes found in the Kentish dialect; but **his** is here more probably a scribal



error; cf. l. 323<sup>b</sup>, where *is* is written for *his*. — *fūs*. K., B. (cf. 1663, note), Root, and Hall translate 'ready for death'; but Grein, *Dicht.*, 'Ihnen ist freudlos der Sinn.' Other instances are given *Spr.* I, 359.

1666<sup>a</sup>. So *Jud.* 163.

1667. *murnende mōd*. So *Beow.* 50; *Rid.* I, 15.

1668. *mē fore sneowan*. Cosijn's reading is confirmed by the *Legend*, p. 127, l. 24: *Fāra cirm and wōp tō mē āstāh on heofonas*. For the order of words, cf. *El.* 577, *Jul.* 277: *mē fore standāþ*. It is probable, however, that *mē* is only part of the omitted passage; there is nothing in the *Andreas* to correspond to the phrase *on heofonas* of the *Legend*, and the alliteration in the half line *mē fore sneowan* should fall on *f*, not *m*, as comparison with *El.* 577, *Jul.* 277, cited above, and *Gu.* 217: *sweā ic eow fore stonde*, proves. An omission is therefore indicated after l. 1667<sup>a</sup>. For the construction of *sneowan*, cf. l. 242.

1669. *ēowde*. There is no equivalent to this word in the *Legend* or the *Ηράκλεις*; the figurative use of *ēowde*, meaning the Christian congregation, aside from the translations of the *Psalms*, is found elsewhere in the poetry only in *Chr.* 257.

1670. *nīowan*. Lichtenfeld, p. 364, finds only one other example of a weak adj. after *sweā*: *Mald.* 319, *be swā lēofan men*. *Swā* has here almost demonstrative force.

1677<sup>b</sup>–1678<sup>a</sup>. See 568<sup>b</sup>–569<sup>a</sup>.

1679. *sāwon*. The subject is unexpressed after *syððan* (Pogatscher, *Anglia* XXIII, 263).

1681. *tīrēadigra*. The word is a genitive dependent on *weorod*, 1682. Grein, *Dicht.*, reading *tīr eadigra*, translates 'Er unterwies drauf die Leute in dem Weg zum Glauben, glanzvoll begründend *der Beglückten Ruhm*'; Hall follows Grein, 'To the saints' honor [Andrew] added mightily.' K. and Root take the word as compound; so also Cosijn (*PBB.* XXI, 20).

1685. *in þrinnesse þrymme*. So *El.* 177; *Chr.* 599; *Gu.* 618; *Jud.* 86. For the quantity of *þrinnesse*, cf. *Gram.*, § 230, note 1.

1686. *in woruld worulda*. So *Ps.* LXXVIII, 14; CX, 5 (and frequently, translating *in sacculum sacculi, in saccula sacculorum*); *El.* 452; *Jurh woruld worulda* occurs *Chr.* 778 and *Ph.* 662. The whole passage, ll. 1683–1686, is an evident reminiscence of the closing formula usually found at the end of sermons, as in the following examples from the Wulfstan homilies: *An is aelmihtig God on þrym hādum, þæt is Faeder and Suna and Hālig Gāst; ealle þā þry naman befehð ān godeund miht and is ān ēce God, waldend and wyrhta ealra gesceafta. Him symle sȳ lof and weorðmynt in ealra worulda woruld ā butan ende, amen* (Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 107); *biddan wē . . . þæt wē magan and mōtan becumian tō ðām ēcan life þæs heofoncundlican rīces, ðær wē mōtan ā orsorhlice libban and rixjan mid ūrum Hēlende and mid eallum his hālgum, mid Faeder and mid Suna and mid þām Hālgan Gāste ā in ealra worulda woruld ā butan ende, amen* (ibid. p. 215); *wē wēron þider gehātene and gelaðede tō ðām hālgan hām and tō ðām cynelican frīðstōle, þær Drihten Crīst wunað and rixað mid eallum hālgum sāwlum aa butan ende in ealra worulda woruld, amen* (ibid. p. 265). For other examples, cf. Wulfstan, pp. 87, 190, 205, 242, 291, and the *Blickling Homilies*, and the homilies

of Ælfric. Kluge, *Eng. Stud.* VI, 324, commenting on the concluding passage of the *Seafarer*, points out its similarity to the set form found at the end of sermons, citing examples from the *Flickling Homilies*. Cf. also *Hy.* IV, 43-47 (*Bibl.* II, 110); and *Ap.* 107, note.

**1687. herigeas.** This whole passage, ll. 1687-1694, is the addition of the poet; the *Ἡράξεις* says merely: καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖ ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὰ διδάσκων καὶ ἐπιστηρίζων αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν (Bonnet, p. 116, ll. 9-11); the *Legend* (p. 128, ll. 5-7) repeats the *Ἡράξεις*; and hē þær wunode mid him seofon dagas, lārende and strangende hira heortan on gelfāfan āres Drihtnes Hælandes Cristes. The word *herig*, the more usual form of which is *hearg*, *hearth*, is used in both the senses 'idol' and 'heathen temple,' see B.T., p. 522. The allusion to **holltrafum**, 1691, indicates that the word is to be taken in the second sense here. The exact meaning of the word in the sense 'temple' has been much discussed; see *Chr.* 485, and Cook's note; Golther, *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie*, p. 590 ff.; De la Saussaye, *The Religion of the Teutons*, tr. Vos, pp. 355-362; Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, pp. 440-444.

**1688.** Cf. *El.* 1040: dēofulgildum, ond gedwolan fylde.

**1689. geþoliennē.** See 1160, note.

**1690<sup>a</sup>.** So *Jul.* 718.

**1693<sup>b</sup>.** See 508<sup>a</sup>, note.

**1694-1695.** Perhaps a recollection of *Beow.* 1402-1404: *Lāstas wæron æfter wealdswaþum wīde geḡfne, gang ofer grundas*, where the allusion is to Grendel's mother.

**1696. dagas on rīme.** So *Gu.* 1108. Cf. l. 1673, and l. 1687, note.

**1697. wederburg.** 'Pleasant city.' This is the only occurrence of the word. It is glossed by *Gu.* *Spr.* II, 954, 'dem Wetter ausgesetzte Burg'; *Dicht.* translates 'die Wetterburg'; K., 'the city of storms'; B.T., p. 1182, 'a town exposed to storms, a weather-beaten city.' But *weder* means specifically not only 'bad weather,' 'storm,' but also 'good weather,' 'warm weather'; see the examples cited by B.T., p. 1182. Cf. *weder* also in compounds: **wedercandel**, 'sun,' 372 and *Ph.* 187; *wearme wederdagas*, *As.* 96; *wedertācen*, 'sun,' *Gu.* 1267; *weder-wolcen*, *Ex.* 75, the pillar of fire which guided the children of Israel. The compound **wederburg**, since the poet is here giving a favorable description of the city of the Mermedonians, means 'city exposed to (pleasant) skies.' Cosijn (*PRB.* XXI, 20) and Simons, p. 150, define the word as 'sun-city,' but there is no warrant for assigning the meaning 'sun' to *weder*. In using the epithet the poet may have thought of Mermedonia as situated in Ethiopia; cf. **Ælmyrena**, 432 and note, and *Ap.* 64: **mid Sigelwarum**.

**1698.** Cf. *El.* 225-226: Ongan þā ōfstlice eorla mengu tō flote fȳsan.

**1699<sup>b</sup>.** So *El.* 1137; *Ph.* 126, 502; *Gu.* 1070.

**1702-1705.** The poet looks forward to the martyrdom of Andrew; cf. *Ap.* 10-22.

**1704. syððan.** The metre of the half-line demands the full form **syððan**; the MS. form **syð** occurs only in this passage, although the form **syððan** is found twenty-one times in the poem. See *Introd.*, p. xlviii.

**1709. hāt æt heortan.** So *El.* 628; *Gu.* 1182, 1310; *Chr.* 500, 530.

**1710-1722.** This description of the departure of Andrew is considerably elaborated in the poem; neither in the *Πράξεις* nor the *Legend* is there any mention of a journey by water. The *Πράξεις* (Bonnet, p. 116, ll. 11-15) reads: *καὶ πληρωθέντων τῶν ἐπτὰ ἡμερῶν ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸν μακάριον Ἀνδρέαν, συνήχθησαν πάντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ παιδίου ἕως πρεσβυτέρου, καὶ προέπεμψαν αὐτὸν λέγοντες. Εἰς θεὸς Ἀνδρέου, εἰς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.* The *Legend* (p. 128, ll. 8-14) follows the *Πράξεις* closely, except that the city of the *anthropophagi* is mentioned by name: *Mid þi þe þā wæron gefyllede seofon dagas, swā swā him Drihten bebēad, hē fērde of [Mar]madonia ceastre efstende to his discipulum. And eall þæt folc hine lædde mid gefēan, and hīe cwædon, 'An is Drihten God, sē is Hlælend Crīst, and sē Hālgā Gāst, þām is wuldor and gewæld on þære Hālgan brynesse þurh ealra worulda woruld sōðlice ā būtan ende. Amen.'*

In the poem, l. 1718, *ofer middangeard*, is antithetic to l. 1720, *in heofon-brymme*, the latter phrase being paralleled by l. 1721, *on wuldre*; for this sense of *wuldor*, cf. l. 356, note. In l. 1722 *mid englum* is parallel to *hālgum*, l. 1720.

**1713. æðelinga wunn.** Cf. l. 1223, note. The form *wunn* is late; cf. *Gram.*, § 72, note, and see *Ap.* 42, *wurd*.

**1714. ofer seolhpæðu.** Cosijn rejects both *-paðu* and *-waðu*, reading *seolh-baðu*, with *Rid.* XI, 11: *ofer seolhbabo*, on the ground that *pað* is masculine; but cf. l. 788, *ofer mearepaðu*.

**1722. Ðæt is æðele cyning.** The phrase is reminiscent both of the opening of the *Beowulf*, cf. l. 11: *þæt wes gōð cyning* (cf. *El.* 13<sup>b</sup>, *hē wes riht cyning*), and of the close, ll. 3179-3183:

Swā begnornodon    Gēata lēode  
hlāfordes hryre,    heorðgenēatas;  
cwædon þæt hē wære    wyruldcyninga,  
manna mildust    ond monþwærust,  
lēodum līðost    and lofgeornost.

Cf. also *Beow.* 1885: *þæt wes ān cyning*; *Hy.* III, 120: *stiwle is mære cyninge*, also at the end of the poem; *Panther* 74<sup>b</sup>: *þæt is æþele stene*; *Jul.* 224<sup>b</sup>: *þæt is sōð cyning*; and the concluding passage in *Sat.*, 295-298:

Swā wuldres weard    wordum herigað  
þegnas ymb þeoden;    þær is þrym micel,  
sang æt selde:    is sylf cyning,  
ealra aldor    in ðære écan gesceft.

## THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES

1 ff. For the epic formula, cf. *An.* 1, note. Sievers (*PBB.* IX, 134) points out the general similarity of the opening of the *Ap.* to the opening of the *Beow.*, inferring from the genitive of l. 8<sup>v</sup>, dependent on l. 6<sup>v</sup>, that the poet of the *Ap.* read in the parallel passage in the *Beow.* a genitive *caferan*, l. 19, and not a nominative *cafera*, as the MS. reads. The poet again alludes to his sources in ll. 23, 63, and 70.

1<sup>b</sup>. *sīðgēomor*. Brandl (*Archiv* C. 330-334) understands this word literally, 'reiseseigend,' and takes the poem, as a whole, as a traveler's charm. He compares it with the charm printed in *Bibl.* I, 328-330, and supposes that the story of the fates of the Apostles was chosen as the subject of the body of the poem because the Apostles had all traveled widely. He considers it, therefore, as an independent poem which follows a native literary tradition. 'Die Gattung der Reisesegen war eine altgermanische; wir finden sie, samt der dafür charakteristischen Ausmalung der Beschützer, im Ahd. und Altn. (vgl. Kögel, *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur* I, 2, 158 ff.); Cynewulf hat ihr wohl nur einen höheren Ton und christlicheren Sinn gegeben' (p. 331). But Brandl surely was not acquainted with the sources of the poem, or with the type of ecclesiastical composition to which it belongs; for comparison of the poem with the approximate sources, and with related forms, deprives his theory even of its slight degree of probability. — For the meaning of *fand*, cf. *An.* 1485, note. K. connects l. 2<sup>a</sup> with 2<sup>b</sup>, placing a comma after *fand*; but cf. the examples given under *An.* 1485, to which add *Soul* 133: funden on ferhðe; *Gen.* 266: æt his hige findan.

2. Cf. *Gu.* 1050: ne bēo þū on sefan tō sēoc. — *samnode wīde*. Cf. *Ph.* 547: lēoð somnige, wīte wōðcræfte.

3. Cf. *Beow.* 3: hū ðā æþelingas ellen fremedon; *Beow.* 2695: ellen cȳðan.

4<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *An.* 2; *Partridge* 10: torhte tīrēadge.

5<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *dryhtne gecoren*, *Dan.* 150, 736; *Gen.* 1818.

6<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Beow.* 18: blæd wīde sprang; *ibid.* 1588: hrā wīde sprong; *Jul.* 585: lēad wīde sprong.

8<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *An.* 3, note.

9<sup>a</sup>. Cf. l. 90; and *Ev.* 382, 568; *hālige hēapas*, of the children of Israel.

10. Cf. *An.* 1104, and note.

11. *Rōmebyrig*. Simons also, p. 115, separates the elements of this word; but the combinations *Rōme*, *Rōma-burh* are frequent in the prose; see B.-T., p. 801, for examples.

11<sup>b</sup>-15. Cf. *Men.* 120-130<sup>a</sup>:

Wīde is geweorðod, swā þæt wel gerīst,  
hāligra tīd geond hæleða bearn

Petrus ond Paulus.    Hwæt! Jā apostolas,  
 þēoden holde,    þrowedon on Rome  
 ofer midne sumor    miccle gewisse  
 furðor tif nihtum    folcbealo þrēalīc,  
 mǣrne martyrdōm.    Hæfdon mænige ær  
 wundra geworhte    geond warþēoda,  
 swylce hī æfter þām    unrim fremedon  
 swutelra ond gesýnra    þurh sunu meotudes  
 ealdorþegnas.

**11–22.** The subject proper of the poem begins with l. 11. There is an evident reminiscence of the theme of *The Fates of the Apostles* in *Jul.* 302–311, in a passage in which Satan gives a list of his evil deeds:

Nēlde ic nearobregdum,    þær ic Neron biswēc,  
 þæt hē ācwellan hēt    Crīstes þegnas  
 Petrus and Paulus.    Pilatus ær  
 on rōde āhēng    rodera waldend  
 meotud meahtigne    mīnum lārum.  
 Swylce ic Egias    ēac gelēorde,  
 þæt hē unsnytrum    Andreas hēt  
 āhōn hāligne    on hēanne bēam,  
 þæt hē of galgan    his gæst onsende  
 in wuldres wlite.

A ME. version of the whole subject is found in *Cursor Mundi*, ed. Morris, App. I, vol. III, p. 1587.

**12<sup>a</sup>.** So *Beow.* 1641; 2476; cf. *An.* 8.

**13.** *purg.* See *An.* 769<sup>b</sup>, note. — **13<sup>b</sup>.** Cf. *El.* 1108: þurh nearusearwe.

**14<sup>b</sup>.** Note the strong demonstrative force of *sē*; cf. *An.* 613, 1561.

**15.** Cf. *An.* 543, and note.

**16–22.** Cf. *Mæn.* 215–218<sup>a</sup>:

ond þæs embe seofon niht    sigedrihtne lēof  
 æþele Andrēas    ūp on roderum  
 his gāst āgeaf,    on Godes wære  
 fūs on forðweg.

**17<sup>b</sup>.** Cf. *An.* 1351<sup>b</sup> and note.

**19<sup>a</sup>.** So *Chr.* 200; *Ph.* 136.

**21<sup>b</sup>.** So *An.* 1202; *El.* 205. Cf. *An.* 1271<sup>b</sup>, note.

**22<sup>a</sup>.** So *Chr.* 573. — **22<sup>b</sup>.** So *An.* 966.

**23–33<sup>a</sup>.** Cf. *Mæn.* 115<sup>b</sup>–119:

þænne wuldres þegn  
 ymb þrēotýne,    þēodnes dýrīng,  
 Iohannes in gēardagan    wearð ācenned,  
 tyn nihtum ēac:    wē þa tiid healdað  
 on midne sumor    mycles on æþelum.

**24.** *æglēawe.* Cf. *An.* 802, *forlātan* = *forlēton*. — *aðelo reccean.* John was the son of Zebedee and the brother of James (cf. *Matt.* IV, 21). K., Gn., and W. have only a comma after *reccean*; but the force of *sē*, l. 25, is demonstrative rather than relative.

25<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *An.* 262, 885. — 25<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *An.* 1626<sup>b</sup>, note.

26<sup>b</sup>. **Crīste lēofaſt.** See *John* XIII, 23; XIX, 26; XXI, 7, 20; and *Introd.*, p. xxx.

27<sup>a</sup>. So *El.* 72.

28<sup>a</sup>. See *An.* 146<sup>a</sup>, note.

29<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 425: þurh his mōdor hriif.

30<sup>b</sup>. So *Jud.* 237; *Wid.* 88; *P's.* CI, 25.

31. Cf. *An.* 170.

32. Cf. *An.* 641 and note, and, for the phrase **sīðe gesōhte**, *An.* 845<sup>a</sup>, note. — 32<sup>b</sup>. As a descriptive epithet **swegl** usually occurs as the first element in compounds (see *Spr.* II, 504). But **swegledrēamas**, as K. reads, is impossible; the form should be **swegl-**, or **swegeldrēamas**. **Swegl** as adj. occurs once, however, beside the present passage, *Beow.* 2749: swegle searogimmas.

33<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *An.* 524, note.

33<sup>b</sup>-37<sup>a</sup>. James and John, according to *Matt.* IV, 21, were the sons of Zebedee. James was put to death by Herod (*Acts* XII, 1-2). See below, ll. 70-74, note. Cf. *Men.* 130<sup>b</sup>-136<sup>a</sup>:

Fæne ædre cymð  
emb twā mih̃t    þæs tīdlice ūs  
Iulius mōnað,    on þām Iacobus  
ymb fēower niht    feorh gesealde,  
ond twēntigum,    trum in brēostum,  
frōd ond fastræd    folca lārēow,  
Zebedes afera.

34. Cf. *An.* 204, note. — **sweordes bite.** Cf. *Beow.* 2060: æfter billes bite; *ibid.* 2259: bite irena; *Jul.* 603: þurh sweorðbite.

37<sup>b</sup>-41. In the *Menologium*, ll. 80-82, Philip and James, brother of Jesus, are mentioned together:

Swā þā ylcan dage    æfele gefēran,  
Philippus ond Iacob    feorh āgēfan,  
mōdige magoþegnas    for meotudes lufan.

40-41. Cf. *El.* 179-180: on galgan wearð godes āgen bearn āhangen.

42<sup>b</sup>. **wurd.** The MS. reading is supported by *An.* 1713, **wunn**. Cf. also *An.* 1480.

43<sup>b</sup>. **aldre gelædde.** Grein's suggestion, *genēðde* for **gelædde**, is repeated by Simons, p. 56. The construction is plainly influenced by the construction with *genēðan*, which regularly takes the instrumental. But the construction *gelæddan* with the instrumental probably resulted from the use of *gelæddan* in the sense of *genēðan*, as in *Gen.* 1911: Fordon wit læddan sculon, tēon wit of þisse stōwe, ond unc staðolwangs rūmor sēcan.

44<sup>a</sup>. So *Craft.* 40.

46<sup>b</sup>. So *Jul.* 604.

47. **hýran.** A more appropriate word would be **herian**, 'praise,' parallel to **weorðian**, l. 48. Klaeber, *Modern Philology* II, 146, makes the same suggestion.

48<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Dan.* 208: ne þysne wīg wurðigean.

50-62. Cf. *Men.* 221-225:

Swylce emb eahta ond twelf  
 nihtgerimes, þætte Nergend sylf  
 þriðthýdigum Thomase forgeat  
 wið earfeðum ēce rice  
 bealdum beornwigan bletsunga his.

51. The phrase **ōðre dālas** is apparently equivalent to 'the farther—i.e. the eastern—parts.' Kemble translates 'So Thomas also boldly adventured in India, on the other hand.' But **ōðre dālas** probably represents the phrase *ad orientalem plagam* of the *Breviarium*, cf. *Introd.*, p. xxxi. The same phrase occurs in the *De vita et obitu utriusque Testamenti Sanctorum* of Isidorus Hispalensis, quoted by Bourauiel, p. 105: *Thomas . . . evangelium prædicavit Parthis . . . et Indis, tenens orientalem plagam, ibique . . . lanceis transfixus occubuit in Calamia Indiae civitate.*

53<sup>b</sup>. The Edd. have only a comma after **word**.

55. **āwehte**. Cf. *An.* 584<sup>a</sup>, and B.-T., p. 61, for examples of **āweccan** in the sense of 'raise from the dead.' For the source of this episode, see *Introd.*, p. xxxii.

58<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *An.* 1616<sup>b</sup> and note.

59<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *An.* 1531<sup>b</sup>, note.

60<sup>a</sup>. B. and W. put a semicolon after **hand**.

61<sup>b</sup>. So *Sat.* 141, 253, 449, 617, 650; cf. *Sat.* 68: dryhtnes liht; *Sat.* 28: swegles lēoht; *Sat.* 85; wuldres lēoman.

62<sup>a</sup>. **sāwle**. Other examples of a nominative **sāwle** are *Chr.* 1327; *Soul* 10; *Metr.* XX, 162; cf. *Spr.* II, 162. — 62<sup>b</sup>. So *Beow.* 1021.

63. So *El.* 364, 670, 852.

63-69. The death of Matthew is recorded in the *Menologium*, ll. 169-173, as follows:

þænne dagaen worn  
 ymbe þrēotýne þegn unforcūð,  
 godspelles glēaw gāst onsende,  
 Māthēus his tō metodsceaft  
 in ēcne gefean.

64<sup>a</sup>. **Sigelwarum**. This name, which is of frequent occurrence as a designation of the Ethiopians (cf. B.-T., p. 873; Bourauiel, p. 127; and see *An.* 432, note), appears in the forms *Sigel-hearwa*, *Sil-hearwa*, *Sigel-waras*. The first element of the compound is **sigel-**, 'sun' (cf. *sigel-hweorfa*, 'heliotrope'), the whole word meaning 'sun-people.' The blackness of the Ethiopians is frequently mentioned in Anglo-Saxon allusions to them, and this would be connected with the idea of the heat of the sun. See Ovid, *Met.* II, 235-236 (Kittredge); and cf. also **wederburg**, *An.* 1697 (and note), as the epithet applied to the city of the Mermedonians, which is placed by the poet of the *Andreas* in Ethiopia. — 64<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *El.* 435: gif ðis yppe bið.

66<sup>a</sup>. So *Jul.* 378; lēohte (lēohtne) gelēafan, *El.* 191, 1137; *Gu.* 624, 1084; *Jul.* 653; *Metr.* V, 26; *Ph.* 479. Cf. *An.* 335<sup>b</sup> and note; *Ap.* 20<sup>b</sup>. — 66<sup>b</sup>. **gefælsod**. The same word is used of Beowulf when he destroys Grendel and Grendel's mother, *Beow.* 825, 1176, 1620.

68<sup>b</sup>. So *Chr.* 620; *El.* 685 (*corne*).

69<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *An.* 72<sup>a</sup>, note.

70-74. The New Testament mentions, besides James son of Zebedee (cf. above, ll. 33<sup>b</sup>-37<sup>a</sup>), a James son of Alphaeus (*Matt.* X, 3; *Mark* III, 18), and a James brother of Jesus (*Mark* VI, 3). Whether or not these two latter are the same person has been a subject of dispute in the church since the second century (see Lipsius, III, 229). Tradition has very little to say about James son of Alphaeus, but the legendary history of James brother of Jesus, is extensive. He was made the first bishop of Jerusalem; he was thrown from a pinnacle of the temple at Jerusalem by the angry Jews, and was then beaten on the head with a flogging-staff until he was dead; see Lipsius, III, 241, and Bede's *Martyrology*: *fullonis in cerebro percussus fuste occubuit*.

71<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *An.* 1610<sup>b</sup> and note.

73. for *aefestum*. So *An.* 610; *El.* 496; *Gu.* 684; *Gen.* 982; *Mod.* 37.

75-84. Cf. *Men.* 189<sup>b</sup>-193<sup>a</sup>:

Wē jā aþelingas  
fyrn gefrūnan,    þæt hȳ foremātre,  
Simon ond Judas,    symble wāron  
drihtne dȳre:    for þon hī dōm hlutan,  
ēadigne upweg.

77<sup>a</sup>. So *An.* 641. — Thaddeus, also called Lebbaeus and Judas (Jude) (see *Matt.* X, 3, *Acts* I, 13), was the brother of James.

78<sup>a</sup>. So *An.* 848.

80<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Rd.* LXXII, 13: *wecore þrōwade*, appositive to *earfoða dæl*, l. 14; *Beow.* 1721: *wecore þrōwade*, appositive to *lōðhealo longsum*, l. 1722.

81<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Gu.* 1238: *tō þām sōþan gefēan sāwel fundað*; *Chr.* 151; *sægdon sōðne gefēan*. See *An.* 598<sup>a</sup>, note.

83<sup>a</sup>. So *Beow.* 733.

87<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Crafl.* 1-3: *Fela bið on foldan . . . geongra geofona þā jā gāstberend wegað in gewitte*; *El.* 61: *mōdsorge wæg Romwara cyning*; *El.* 655: *gnornsorge wæg*; similarly *Chr.* 1577; *Gen.* 2238. Sievers (*PBB.* XII, 178) distinguishes between *wegan*, 'bear,' and *wegan*, 'oppose, fight' (as in *Beow.* 2400). **Wegan** = **wāgon**; cf. *An.* 198, 601, 932, 1532, etc. — 87<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *An.* 726<sup>b</sup>, note.

88-95. Cf. 107-122, and, for the significance of this double ending, see *Intro.*, p. xlv.

90. Cf. l. 9; *An.* 1566.

91<sup>b</sup>. K. changes **hū** to **nū**, translating 'Now I am in need of friends favorable on my course, when I must the long home, an unknown land, seek alone,' etc. Siev. also changes **hū** to **nū** and puts only a comma after **fuldomes**; Skeat, p. 419, follows Siev. in his translation of the passage, **nū** = 'now that.' The readings of Siev. and Skeat make a very cumbersome and ill-joined sentence. There is, moreover, no reason why the MS. reading should be altered here. For an example of **hū** = exclamation 'lo, behold,' cf. *An.* 63, and note. The complaint of loneliness and of the need of friends at death (cf. l. 110<sup>a</sup>) occurs also in the *Vision of the Cross*, 131 ff.

92<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *An.* 276. — 92<sup>b</sup>. Cf. *Chr.* 1464: *þæt longe lif*, 'eternal life'; similarly, *Gu.* 1063, 1281: *tō þām longan gefēan*; *Gu.* 91: *þā longan gōð herede on heofenum*, antithetic to *þās corþan . . . lāne under lyfte*.



94<sup>a</sup>. W. retains the MS. reading *līet* (as also *gesēce* in l. 93, omitting *seceal* in l. 92), and accounts for the loss of the inflectional *e* on the supposition that *ie* is to be understood as following the verb. A second reason which W. gives, that the *e* was omitted in order to enable the scribe to insert the following *mē* before a rent in the parchment, may be disregarded, inasmuch as the rent follows the *mē* of l. 89 and not the *mē* of l. 94. — 94<sup>b</sup>. So *Gu.* 1340, appositive to *bānhūs ābrocen*, l. 1341, and antithetic to *wuldres dēl*, l. 1342.

96-122. An exact copy of the passage on f. 54<sup>v</sup> is given by Napier, *Haupt's Zs.* XXXIII, 71-72; by Wülker, *Bibl.* II, 566-567, and *Cod. Ver.*, p. viii. As Napier's keener vision enabled him to decipher several letters that were illegible to Wülker, his readings are here given. The copy reproduces the MS. literally. Italics are used to indicate letters that are somewhat faded, but still, according to Napier, plainly legible; italicized letters enclosed in parentheses are either very much faded or only partly legible, so that the reading is somewhat uncertain. The probable number of letters that have been rendered entirely illegible in each line is indicated by colons; the colons represent the greatest number of letters that could have stood in the respective passages if the passages had been occupied by single words; if the passages were occupied by several words with the usual spacing between them, the number of letters would be less.

Her mæg findan for þances gleaw, seðe ðine lysteð leoð gid dunga. Hwa þas fitte fegde .(P). þær on ende standað eorlas þæs oneorðan *h(r):caþ*. Nemoton hie awa æt somne woruld wunigende .(P). sceal gedreosan .(P) . on eðle after to *(h)* ::::: *(l)* :ne lices fratewa efne swa .(P) . to glideð . *(swa)* . *(H)* . *(H?)*. cræftes neotað. nihtes nearowe on him. ::::: ::::: ninges þeo dóm. Nv ðu cunnon miht. *(h)* ::::: ::::: *(r)* :dum was werū on cyðig Sie þas ge myndig ::::: ::::: *(lu)*fige þisses gal dres begang þæt he georce ::::: ::::: re fricle ic sceall feor heo nan án elles *(f?)* ::::: ::::: *rdes* neosan. sið asettan. Nat ic sylfa hwar. *o* ::::: *(i)* :se worulde wíc sindon un cuð eard 7 eðel. Swa *(h)* :ð ælcū menn. nemþe he god cundes gastes bruce. *(A)h(u)*u we þe geornor togode cleopigan sendan usse bene. on þa beorhtan gesceaft. þæt we þæs botles brucan motan hames in hehðo þær is hihta mæst þær cyning engla. clænum glideð. lean un hwilen nu ahis lof standeð mycel 7 mære 7 his miht seomaþ ece 7 ed giong. ofer ealle gesceaft. finit.

The passage, so far as he attempted its restoration, is translated as follows by Sievers (*Anglia* XIII, 10): 'Nun kann hier, wer da will, des dichters namen finden. An dessen ende steht ein *feoh*. Des *feoh* bedienen sich die menschen hier auf erden: aber keinem von ihnen, den weltbewohnern, ist es beschieden, sein ewig zu geniessen. Vergehen wird der wonnigliche besitz, das gut im erbsitze, und zerfallen wird des leibes vergänglicher schmuck, wie eine woge zergleitet. Dann suchen C und Y nach kraft nachts in bedrängung: aber über ihnen steht gottes verhängniss. Nun kannst du sehen, wer in diesen worten den menschen zu erkennen war.'

Trautmann's translation (*Kynewulf*, p. 51) is as follows:

Hier kann der denkende und weise mann,  
der lust an dichtungen hat, finden,  
wer diesen sang gefügt hat. Ein FEOH (der laut f) steht da am ende,

Des FEOL (besitzes) genießen die menschen auf der erde; doch keiner der weltbewohner kann es immerfort; der REICHTUM muss vergehn, das GUT im erbsitze; zerfallen muss später des leibes flüchtiger schmuck, gerade wie die woge zergeht. Wenn SORGE und LEIDENSCHAFT die kraft [der menschen] verzehren in der bedrängniss der nacht, legt ihnen die not den dienst des herren auf. Jetzt kannst du wissen, wer in diesen worten den menschen zu erkennen war.

Skeat (*English Miscellany*, pp. 418-419) translates the whole passage as follows:

Here may one who is skilled in penetration discover,  
one who takes delight in poetic strains,  
who it was that composed this Fit. *Feoh* [wealth] stands at the end thereof,<sup>1</sup>  
which men enjoy while upon earth; but they cannot always be together  
while dwelling in this world. *Hwæn* [joy] must fade,  
*Eor* [ours] though it be in our home. So must finally decay  
the transitory trappings of the body, even as *Leaga* [water] glides away.  
Then shall *Eor* [bold warrior] and *Wæl* [the wretched one] seek for help  
in the anxious watches of the night. *Nýd* [constraint] lies upon him,  
the service due to the King. Now mayst thou discover  
who in these words has been revealed to men.

Let him who loves the study of this poem  
be mindful of one thing, namely, to give me help  
and desire my comfort. I must needs, far hence,  
all alone seek elsewhere a new habitation,  
and undertake a journey, I myself know not whither,  
out of this world. My new chambers are unknown,  
my new dwelling-place and home. So will it be for every man,  
unless he cleave fast to the divine Spirit.  
But let us the more earnestly cry unto God,  
let us send up our petitions to the bright heaven,  
that we may enjoy the habitation,  
the true home on high, where are the greatest of joys,  
where the King of angels grants to the pure  
an everlasting reward. Now his praise shall endure forever,  
great and all-glorious, and his power with it,  
eternal and freshly young, throughout all creation.

Gollancz (*Cynewulf's Christ*, p. 183) translates:

- A man of cunning thought may here discover,  
if he taketh pleasure in song,  
F. who wrought this lay. *Hwæð* cometh last,  
the friend of man on earth, while he dwelleth in the world,  
but they cannot keep together always.  
U. W. Our earthly joy shall fade, and the frail gauds of the flesh  
L. Shall afterwards decay, even as *water* glideth away.  
C. Y. *Bold warrior* and *afflicted wretch* shall then crave help,  
N. in the anxious watches of the night; but *Destiny* o'errules,  
the King exacts their service. Now thou canst know,  
who was revealed to men in these words.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. at the end of the name, viz. Cynewulf, which ends with *Feoh* or *F*. (Skeat's note.)

The three well-known passages, besides the present one, in which Cynewulf gives his name in runic letters, are *Jul.* 695-710; *El.* 1257-1271; and *Chr.* 796-806. It has never been questioned that these are genuine signatures of the poet, although the methods of interpreting the runes differ widely. They have been explained as standing (1) merely for the letters of the alphabet forming the name Cyn(e)wulf; (2) for the names of the runes, e.g.  $\text{F}$  (or **F**), **feoh** (money);  $\text{L}$  (or **L**), **lagu** (water, sea), etc. But since in certain passages the names of the runes, e.g.  $\text{U}$  (or **U**), **ūr** (bull), were meaningless, the runes have been taken to stand (3) for words similar in sound to their names; e.g.  $\text{U}$  = **ūr** (of old), **ūre** (our), **ūr** (possession, wealth); and finally, (4) for other words beginning with the letters of the alphabet to which the runes respectively correspond; e.g.  $\text{U}$  = **ufan** (from above), **unne** (possession). For a summary of the discussion of the Cynewulf runes, cf. Trautmann, *Cynewulf*, pp. 43-70; a briefer summary is given by Cook, *Christ*, pp. 151-165. For a general discussion of the runes and runic inscriptions, cf. Wimmer, *Die Runenschrift*; Sievers, in Paul's *Grundriss* I, 238 ff; Stephens, *Handbook of the Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England*; and for further bibliography see Kahle, *Altisländisches Elementarbuch*, pp. 2-3.

The order of succession of the runes in the other passages is consecutive: *Jul.*, C Y N E W U L F; *Chr.*, C Y N W U L F; *El.*, C Y N E W U L F. The order in the *Ap.* is as follows: F W U L [C] [Y] [N]. The runes will be considered in their context as they occur. It should be observed that the reader is not left without help in determining the proper order of the letters in *Ap.* They are given in three groups, first F, second, W U L, and third C Y N. F, we are told, stands at the end (of the name). L, 99<sup>b</sup> may have a twofold meaning, dependent on the double meaning of **mōton**: (1) they, wealth (**feoh**) and mankind (**eorlas**), may not always remain together; (2) they, the letter F and those which follow it, W and U, need not or must not stand together, that is, you must separate the F from the W and the U. Then 'after' the U comes the L, completing the second group. The poet then turns to his third group (cf. **Donne**, 103). The order is normal, first C and Y, then 'on' them lies or follows (cf. the common use of *liegan* in the sense of 'flow') the third letter, N. The first and alliterating syllable of 105<sup>a</sup> then unites these three letters in the syllable **cyn-**. Given the groups C Y N, W U L, and F, no Anglo-Saxon would have felt any uncertainty as to how they were to be joined.

96. **foreþances**. The MS. form **forþanc** does not occur elsewhere; for **foreþanc**, cf. *El.* 356; *Jul.* 227; *Bevo.* 1060.

98<sup>b</sup>.  $\text{F}$ . All commentators are agreed as to the value and the name of this rune. It is equivalent to F and its name is **feoh**, 'money,' 'wealth.' In the present passage it has the value both of a letter and of the word which is its name: 'F (or the letter **feoh**) stands at the end (of the name); earls enjoy it (i.e. **feoh**, wealth or property, on earth.)'

Napier ends l. 98 with **ende**. His next line extends from **standeþ** to **brūcað**, followed by **ne . . . ætsumne**, which is made a full line by the insertion of *cardian* between **āwa** and **ætsumne**. By this line-division Napier gains one line in the numbering over Sievers and Trautmann, whose line-division is followed in the text.

99. The line as it stands makes a good hypermetric verse, and Napier's insertion of *cardian* is unnecessary. Ll. 98 and 102 are also hypermetric verses; cf. Sievers, *Anglia* XIII, 1.

99<sup>b</sup>-100<sup>a</sup>. **ne mōton.** The meaning of the verb is to be completed by **wesan**, understood. Sievers (*Anglia* XIII, 2) would infer **brūcan** as completing the meaning of **mōton**, although he points out the possibility of the alternative construction, **mōton** sc. **wesan**. **Ætsonne** he understands in the sense of 'all,' as in *Sat.* 41: *ƿæt wē sceolon ætsonne sūsl ƿrowian*; *Beow.* 2847: *tȳne ætsonne*; and cf. *An.* 994. **Ne . . . hīe . . . ætsonne** he accordingly translates 'none,' 'not a one.' No other example of *ne . . . ætsonne* occurs. Trautmann (*Cynewulf*, p. 54) follows Sievers. Skeat and Gollancz (see translations above) understand **wesan** as completing the meaning of **mōton**. This seems the natural and unforced meaning of the passage. The subject of **mōton** is **hīe**, i.e. **feoh** and **eorlas**; **woruldwunigende** is an appositive to **hīe**, 'wealth and mankind, these dwellers in the world, may not always be or remain together.' The succeeding lines maintain the parallel: wealth shall pass away, then afterwards the transitory graces of the body, i.e. mankind, **eorlas**, shall perish.

100<sup>b</sup>. **ƿ.** All editors agree in supplying the rune **ƿ** = **W**, in order to obtain an alliterating letter in the second half-line. Sievers (*Anglia* XII, 3-4), Cosijn (*Verslag*, III, vii, p. 50) and Gollancz (*Cynewulf's Christ*, p. 178) understand the rune as meaning **wyn**, 'joy' (Sievers, 'wonniglicher besitz'). Trautmann (*Cynewulf*, p. 52) interprets it as **wela**, 'riches.' **Wyn**, 'joy,' gives an appropriate meaning.

101. **ŋ.** The commentators differ widely in their interpretation of this rune, but the most reasonable explanation of it is that it stands for the letter **U** and for the poss. pronoun **ūn**, referring back to **wyn**. The proper name of the rune in the runic alphabet is *ūn* = the *urus*, a species of wild ox; cf. the description in the *Runic Poem* 4-6 (*Bibl.* I, 331):

ŋ (ūn) byþ annōd and oferhyrned,  
fela-frēcne dēor, feohtet mid hornum  
māre mōrstapa: ƿæt is mōdig wuht.

The meaning '*urus*,' however, is appropriate to none of the *Cynewulf* passages. The following substitutions have been proposed for the passage in the *Ap.* Cosijn (*Verslag*, III, vii, p. 50) substitutes **ūn** = 'our,' the possessive pronoun, noting (p. 57) that **ūn**, instead of **ūre**, is a form of the possessive pronoun in the Vespasian Psalter. Gollancz (*Cynewulf's Christ*, pp. 181-182) follows Cosijn, adding the evidence 'that in a runic alphabet (*Domitian*, A, o) the rune is actually glossed "*noster*."' The alphabet is printed in Hickes, *Thesaurus* I, 136. Sievers (*Anglia*, XIII, 7) understands **ūn** as a synonym of **feoh**, strengthening his position by the citation of *Chr.* 806 ff.: *ūn was longe lagulōdum bilocen, lifwynna dæl, feoh on foldan*; and *Æl.* 1266 ff.: *ūn was gēara, geoguðhādes glām: nū synt gēardagas . . . forð gewitene, lifwynne geliden*. His translation is 'das gut.' In both the above passages, however, the word is represented by the rune; no example of *ūn*, 'wealth,' as an Anglo-Saxon word, is known. Trautmann (*Cynewulf*, p. 52) rejects the reading of Cosijn and Gollancz on the ground that the runes never stand for other parts of speech than nouns. He suggests **unne**, 'permission,' 'what is granted,' 'grant,' extending (without sufficient authority) the meaning of the word to

'possessions,' 'property,' 'die habe'; Sievers's reading he rejects on the ground that the existence of *ǣr* = 'wealth' as an Anglo-Saxon word cannot be proved. To Trautmann's substitution *unne* as an appositive to *wyn* and *feoh* we may make the same objection that he makes to Sievers's *ūr*, — the word does not occur; to his statement that the runes never stand for any words except nouns the gloss cited by Gollancz is a sufficient answer. The interpretation of Cosijn and Gollancz is altogether the most reasonable. — 101<sup>b</sup>. *tōhrēosan*. Sievers (*Anglia* XII, 7) notes that the rime with *gedrēosan* confirms the restoration *tōhrēosan*, rather than Napier's *tōhrēosaþ*, observing also that the infinitive here gives a smoother sentence-structure.

102<sup>b</sup>. *ᚠ*. The equivalent of this rune is L. All commentators agree in the substitution of *lagu* = 'water, wave, sea,' as its name. The half-line occurs again, also with the rune, in *EL*. 1268<sup>b</sup>.

103. The first half-line is almost illegible in the MS. Napier (p. 71) says: 'Das swa selbst ist sehr undeutlich und ich bin keineswegs sicher, richtig gelesen zu haben. Darauf folgt ein punct und hinter diesem glaube ich das runenzeichen *h* erkennen zu können. Dahinter sind undeutliche spuren eines zweiten runenzeichens sichtbar, die darauf schliessen lassen, dass *h* hier gestanden habe: es sind dies ein 7½ mm. langer senkrechter strich, ein 3 mm. langer querstrich, der mit dem oberen ende des ersten einen winkel von ca. 57° bildet, und ausserdem vier kleine puncte. Zwischen den beiden runenzeichen ist raum für einen buchstaben (etwa 7), es braucht aber keiner da gestanden zu haben.' Sievers (p. 9) doubts the reading *swā*; if it is to be accepted he thinks the abbreviation for *ond* must have stood before it. Better than *swā*, however, as he points out, is the reading *poñ* = *ponne*, as in *Chr.* 707 and *Jul.* 705. Gollancz, p. 176, and Trautmann, p. 50, follow Sievers's second reading.

All agree in the insertion of the two runes in the first half-line; the alliteration demands the rune *h* = C; the equivalent letter of the second rune is Y. As to the interpretation of the two runes there is wide divergence of opinion. It is evident that l. 103<sup>a</sup> must have contained the subject of the verb *nēosað*, and it is probable that the runes in this half-line stand for nouns which could fulfil that function. These nouns would naturally be parallel to *eorlas*, 99, and *world-wunigende*, 100. The most plausible interpretation is that the runes stand for *cēne*, 'bold,' and *yfel*, 'wretched,' adjectives used as nouns.

Napier does not attempt the restoration of this and the following line. Sievers (p. 10) says: 'Mit C und Y weiss sich nichts anzufangen: sie werden bloss die geltung von buchstabennamen haben, welche hier die zu fordernden subjecte ("sie" = "die menschen") andeuten.' According to Gollancz (p. 178), 'the words represented by the C-Rune and the Y-Rune, which are co-ordinated, must evidently be the same part of speech; if C = *cēne*, "the bold warrior," in the same sense as in the other passages [i.e. the other runic signatures of Cynewulf], one would expect Y to stand for an adjective or substantive, in any case of masculine gender; but in passage A [*Chr.* 706-806] the Y-Rune is co-ordinated with the N-Rune; concerning the meaning of this latter rune there is no doubt; it represents the abstract noun *nȳd*, "necessity"; therefore the Y-Rune in this latter passage must, I think, stand for some similar abstract noun. Judging by A [i.e. *Christ*] and C [C = the present passage], the Y-Rune represents a *y*-word that can discharge

the two-fold functions of a masculine adjective (or noun) and of an abstract noun. The only Anglo-Saxon word that satisfies these requirements is **yfel** = (1) "wretched"; (2) "affliction"; and there is, I venture to think, strong reason for favoring this interpretation of the Y-Rune in the three passages. In passage A, **yfel** and **nȳd** = "affliction and distress"; in passage B [*EL* 1257-1271], **yfel** *guernode nȳdgerera* = "afflicted, mourned the companion of sorrow"; in passage C, **cēne** and **yfel** = "the bold warrior and the afflicted wretch." Trautmann (p. 53) differs from both Sievers and Gollancz: 'Da ihnen [i.e. the two runes] das selbe prædicat gemein ist, werden sie doch wohl ähnlichen sinn haben; und da von ihnen ausgesagt wird **craftes nēotað nihtes nearwe**, "sie verzehren die kraft in der bangigkeit der nacht," so müssen sie doch wohl so etwas wie "angst, sorge, gram, leidenschaft, not," bedeuten. Da ergeben sich denn sofort **cearn**, "sorge, kummer," und **ȳst**, "leidenschaft," als die mit C und Y gemeinten worte.' To this it may be answered that the words represented by the runes need not be synonyms, but may be, as Gollancz suggests, antithetic; and second, that Trautmann's interpretation depends upon an impossible meaning for **nēotað**, see 103<sup>b</sup>, note. Unless one prefers, with Sievers, to regard the runes as standing for letters only, and not words, the explanation of Gollancz is to be accepted. The chief difficulty in the way is the meaning assigned to **yfel**. The meaning 'bold (warrior)' for **cēne** is a probable one and finds numerous parallels; see Glossary. But **yfel**, usually 'wicked,' but also 'miserable,' is not used, like **cēne**, as an adjective noun; neither is the antithesis between 'bold' and 'wretched' quite a perfect one. Nevertheless it must be remembered that this runic passage is somewhat of the nature of a riddle, that the language of riddles is not always unconstrained and natural, and that the number of *y*-words which the poet had to choose from was a very limited one. — **nēosað**. The MS. reads plainly **nēotað**. Trautmann (p. 53) retains the MS. reading, extending the meaning of *nēotan* = 'use,' 'enjoy,' to the meaning 'consume,' 'devour,' 'verzehren.' For this, however, there is no authority. Sievers (pp. 8-9), Gollancz (p. 176), and Skeat (see translation above) change to **nēosað**, 'inquire for,' 'search out,' 'seek.' Sievers cites the parallel in *An*. 184; his translation of the passage is as follows: 'Wenn so alles dahingeht, dann suchen C und Y nach **craft** (einen rettenden ausweg, oder schützende stärke?) in angstvoller bedrängniß: (aber vergebens), denn über ihnen steht ihres herren chernes verhängniß.'

104. **nihtes nearowe**. Plainly an adverbial phrase limiting the idea contained in **nēosað**. The phrase occurs twice elsewhere in similar construction: *EL* 1238-1239: *geþam neode nihtes nearwe*, in the personal epilogue of that poem; and *Gu*. 1181-1183: *gēomor sefa gehpa gemanode . . . nihtes nearwe*. — All agree in the insertion of the rune **†** = **N**, which is demanded by the alliteration. Its equivalent word is **nīed**, **nȳd**, 'fate,' 'necessity,' an appositive to **þeodōm**. 105. This is the interpretation of Sievers (p. 7), Gollancz, and Skeat. Trautmann (p. 54) understands **nȳd** in the sense of 'distress' and **þeodōm** in the sense of 'service,' the former being nominative case and the latter accusative; instead of **ligeð** he also reads **legeð**. He translates 'auf sie [die menschen] legt die not den dienst des herren, d.h. die not fuhr die menschen zu gott.' The other reading, however, preserves the sequence of thought much better. All agree in the restoration **cyninges**.

Napier (p. 72) suggests the possibility that two runes are to be supplied in l. 101<sup>b</sup>,  $\mathfrak{F}$  = N and  $\mathfrak{M}$  = E. There appears, however, to be hardly sufficient space in the obliterated part of the MS. for this second rune,  $\mathfrak{M}$ . In the runic signature to the *Cir.*, also, Cynewulf spells his name without the *e*. Sievers (p. 11) points out that the fuller form *Cynew* is relatively the earlier of the two, and that syncopation of *e* takes place in proper names before *l*, *r*, *æ*, and *h*, although examples of the full form *Cynew* are found throughout the whole Anglo-Saxon period. 'Auf alle Fälle ist die Namenform **Cynwulf** als gut Ags. für das 8. Jahrhundert bezeugt, und man braucht also auch von dieser Seite her an dem Schwanken *Cynewulf's* in der Wiedergabe seines Namens keinen Anstoss zu nehmen. Leider lässt sich weder die Entstehungszeit noch das Verbreitungsgebiet der Form *Cyñ*-genauer bestimmen. Belegt ist sie für Northumbrien, Mercia, und Kent; dem rein-Sächsischen scheint sie dagegen bis auf das stereotype *Cynric* fremd zu sein.'

106<sup>b</sup>. **onefōðig**. 'Revealed, made known.' A word *unefōðig* occurs *EL* 960, in the sense 'ignorant, unknowing' (although *Cosijn Verslag*, p. 59, would give it the opposite meaning), and in *Gu.* 1109, where it means 'lacking, wanting,' in the phrase *elnes unefōðig*. In *EL* 724 the form *onefōðig* occurs in the same phrase as *Gu.* 1109. **Onefōðig** in the sense 'revealed, manifest,' does not occur elsewhere; but cf. *Vesp. Psalter* XXIV, 7, *unodfōðigus*, translating *ignorantia*. Napier translates 'jetzt kannst du wissen, wer durch diese (die vorhergehenden) worte den menschen bekannt gemacht werden sollte.' So also Sievers, Skeat, and Gollancz.

107-122. Cf. ll. 88-95, and, for the similarity of these endings to the concluding paragraphs of sermons, see *An.* 1686, note.

107<sup>b</sup>. For the restoration, cf. 88<sup>b</sup>.

110. **ān elles forð**. The idea of loneliness at the last day is dwelt on also in the *Vision of the Cross*, 122-136. **Elles forð**, parallel to *elles heowor, hwærgen, hwauder*, does not occur elsewhere.

111. **sīð āsettan**. See *An.* 1704, and *Spr.* I, 31, for other examples of this phrase.

115. **utu**. For the contracted form, see *Gram.*, § 360, 2. Napier restores **Ah** before **utu**.

116. **on þā beorhtan gesceaft**. 'Into heaven.' So *EL* 1088; cf., with the same meaning, *EL* 1031: þurh þā hālgan gesceaft; *Jul.* 728: þurh þā scīran gesceaft. Cf. also l. 122<sup>b</sup>.

118. **hihta mæst**. Cf. Wulfstan, ed. Napier, p. 139, l. 25: and ðonne mōt habban heofonan rice, þæt is hihta mæst; *EL* 196-197: was him frōfra mæst ond hyht[a] niht (perhaps to be read *hȳhst*); *Gu.* 31: hyhta hȳhst; *Hy.* VI, 252 (*Bibl.* II, 209): heofonan rice, þæt is hihta mæst.

121. **seomap**. The word as a verb, 'await,' 'endure,' parallel to **standeð**, l. 120, gives a satisfactory meaning here; cf. *An.* 183; *Jul.* 709: seomað sorgcearig; *EL* 691: siomode in sorgum. Sievers (p. 23) changes to **somaþ**, 'together,' 'together with,' remarking, 'die form *somaþ* statt des sonst üblichen *somod*, *samod*, ist northumbriisch; *somcþ*, *Rushw. Marc* XV, 41. Das verbum *somaþ* gibt keinen befriedigenden sinn.' Skeat in his translation follows Sievers.

122<sup>a</sup>. Cf. *Ph.* 607-608: þær sē longa gefēa, ēce and edgeong, æfre ne sweðrað.





# GLOSSARY

TO

## ANDREAS AND THE FATES OF THE APOSTLES

The vowel *e* is treated as equivalent in rank to *a*; initial *ð* follows *t*; the order otherwise is alphabetic. Arabic numerals indicate the classes of the ablaut verbs according to Sievers' classification; W1, etc., the classes of the weak verbs; R the reduplicating, PP the preteritive-present verbs. When the designations of mood and tense are omitted, ind. pres. is to be supplied; when of mood only, supply ind. if no other has immediately preceded, otherwise the latter. When a reference or group of references is given without grammatical indication, the description of the preceding form is to be understood. Optatives are so classified only when the forms are distinctive for that mood. The citations are intended to be complete, except for the commonest forms of the pronouns and for the conjunctions and adverbs *and*, *ne*, *nē*, and *þā*. References are to *Andreas* unless AP. is prefixed.

### A

**ā**, adv. 1. *ever, always*: 64, 541, 959, 1193, 1267, 1379, 1384, AP. 120. —

2. *ever, at any time*: 203, 569. — 3. *ne . . . ā, by no means, not*: 1467.

**ā**, f., *law*: ns. 1644; as. 1403, 1511, AP. 10; ā 1194.

**ābēodan**, 2, *announce, declare, command*: pret. 3 sg. ābēad 96; pp. āboden 231.

**āberan**, 4, *endure*: imp. 2 sg. āber 956.

**āblendan**, W1, *blind*: pp. āblended 78.

**Abrahām**, pr. n., *Abraham*: as. Hābrahām 793; ds. Ābrahāme 753, Hābrahāme 756, 779.

**ābreccan**, 5, *break, crush*: inf. 150; pp. ābrocen 1240.

**ābregdan**, 3, *remove, carry away*: pret. 3 pl. ābrugdon 865.

**ābrēotan**, 2, *destroy*: pret. 3 pl. ābrēoton 51.

**ac**, conj., *but*: 38 634, 637, 736, 1476, AP. 19, 34, ah 23, 232, 281, 569, 1083, 1209, 1670, 1703, AP. 115, ach 1592.

**ācennan**, W1, *bear, bring forth*: pp. ācenned 566, 685.

**ach**, *see ac*.

**Achaia**, pr. n., *Achaia*: ds. Achaia 169, 927, Achagia AP. 16; as. Achaie 1700.

**āclāccraeft**, m., *magic power*: dp. āclāccraeftum 1362.

**āclian**, *see geāclian*.

**ācol**, adj., *terrified*: nsm. 1266; npm. ācle 1339.

**ācolmōd**, adj., *terrified*: nsm. 1595; npm. ācolmōde 377.

**ācsigan**, W2, *demand*: inf. 1134. *See geāscian*.

**ādre**, adv., *immediately, forthwith*: 110, 189, 803, 936; ēdre 401, 643, 950.

**ādrēogan**, 2. 1. *practice, show forth*: pret. 3 sg. ādrēg 164. — 2. *endure, suffer*: pret. 1 sg. ādrēah 969; pret. 3 sg. 1486, ādrēag 1482; inf. 369; ger. ādrēoganne 73.

**ādrēopan**, 2, *flow, drip*: pp. ādropen 1425.

**āfēran**, W1, *affright, terrify*: pp. npm. āfærde 1340.

**āfēdan**, W1. 1. *feed*: pret. 3 sg. āfēdde 589. — 2. *rear, bring up*: pp. āfēded 684.

**āfen**, n., *evening*: ns. 1245.

- āferian**, Wl, *lead out*: pret. 3 sg. āferede 1177.  
**æfest**, fn., *hate, dissension*: dp. æfestum Ap. 73; æfstum 610.  
**æfre**, adv., *ever, at any time*: 300, 493, 499, 553, 1012, 1057.  
**āfrefran**, Wl, *comfort, console*: pp. āfrefred 638.  
**æfter**, prep. w. dat. 1. *after*: 37, 78, 88, 133, 156, 229, 408, 503, 600, 620, 701, 1020, 1210, 1483, 1527, 1508, 1585, 1621, 1712, Ap. 22, 82. — 2. *through, throughout, over*: 335, 581, 1232, 1237, 1420. — 3. *according to*: 1447, 1605.  
**æfter**, adv. 1. *afterward, then*: 124, 182, 738, 904, 1228, Ap. 101. — 2. *after, from behind*: 1712.  
**āfyrrtan**, Wl, *frighten*: pp. āfyrrted 1520.  
**āgan**, PP., *own, possess*: 3 sg. āh 518.  
**āgān**, anv., *pass*: pp. āgān 147.  
**āgan**, adj., *own*: asm. āgenne 330.  
**āgend**, m., *Lord*: ns. 210; as. 760, 1715. *See dōmāgende.*  
**āgeotan**, 2. 1. *shed, pour out*: pret. 3 sg. āgēt 1419. — 2. *bespinkle*: pret. 3 sg. āgēt 1441.  
**āgetan**, Wl, *injure, destroy*: pret. 3 pl. āgetton 32; inf. 1143.  
**ægflota**, m., *ship*: is. ægflotan 258.  
**æghwā**, pron., *every one*: dsm. æghwām 320.  
**æghwæðer**, pron., *each*: nsm. 1015; ægðer 1051.  
**æghwyle**, pron., *every one*: gsm. æghwyles 508; dsm. æghwylecum 350; asm. æghwylene 20.  
**āgīfan**, 5. 1. *give, entrust*: pret. 3 sg. āgef 180, 285, 572, 617, 628, 643, 1184, 1345, 1375; pret. 3 pl. āgefān 401; pp. āgifen 200; inf. 1410. — 2. *depart from*: pret. 3 sg. āgeaf 1578.  
**ægleca**, m. 1. *warrior, foe*: ns. 1312; np. æglecan 1131. — 2. *magician*: ds. ægleccan 1350. *See ælececeft.*  
**ægleaw**, adj., *learned in the law*: comp. nsm. ægleāwra 1483; apm. ægleāwe Ap. 24.  
**āgrafan**, 6, *engrave, carve*: pp. apn. āgræfene 712.  
**ægðer**, *see æghwæðer.*  
**ah**, *see ac.*  
**āhebban**, 6, *raise*: pret. 3 sg. āhōf 344, 416, 521, 561, 674, 1322, 1497.  
**āhleapan**, R, *leap, run*: pret. 3 sg. āhleop 736; pret. 3 pl. āhleopon 1202.  
**āhliehan**, 6, *laugh, rejoice*: pret. 3 sg. āhloh 454.  
**āhōn**, R, *crucify*: pp. āhangen Ap. 41.  
**æht**, f., *council*: as. 410, 608.  
**æht**, f., *possession, power of possession*: ns. 1718.  
**æhtgewald**, n., *power, possession*: as. 1110.  
**æhtwela**, m., *riches*: ap. æhtwelan Ap. 84.  
**āhweorfan**, 3, *turn*: inf. 957.  
**āhwettan**, Wl. 1. *excite*: inf. 303. — 2. *satisfy, supply*: 1 sg. āhwette 339.  
**ālētan**, R, *give up*: pret. 3 pl. ālēton 1620.  
**Albānum**, pr. n., *Albania*: ds. Albāno Ap. 45.  
**æle**, pron., *every, each*: dsm. ælecum 1531; Ap. 113.  
**aldor**, m., *leader, prince*: ns. 708, 913; as. 55, 354, 800; vs. 70.  
**aldor**, *see caldor.*  
**æled**, m., *fire*: ns. 1550.  
**ælfæle**, adj.,  *baleful*: nsm. 770.  
**āliegan**, 5, *fail*: pret. 3 sg. ālæg 3.  
**almihtig**, adj., *almighty, the Lord*: nsm. 240, 365, 445, 1376, 1504; ælmihti 260, ælmihtiga 1190; vsm. ælmihtig 76, 902, 1287.  
**Ælmyrean**, pr. n., *Ethiopians*: gp. Ælmyreca 432.  
**ælwihte**, *see callwihte.*  
**ālȳsan**, Wl. 1. *redeem, release*: 1 sg. ālȳse 100; 3 sg. ālȳseð 112; opt.

- pres. 3 sg. *ālȳse* 1373; opt. pres. 1 pl. *ālȳsan* 1564; pp. *ālȳsed* 1149; inf. 944. — 2. *tear off*: pp. *ālȳsed* 1472.
- āmearcian**, W2. 1. *set boundaries to*: pret. 3 sg. *āmearcode* 750. — 2. *de-lincate*: pp. *āmearcod* 724.
- ān**, num. 1. *one, certain one*: nsm. 326, 703, 1555, 1717, Ap. 79; gsm. *ānes* 327, 483, 1040; gsf. *āne* 475; asm. *āne* 1495, 1617, *āne* 1104; asf. *āne* 1091; gp. *ānra* 933, 1283. — 2. *alone*: nsm. *ān* Ap. 110; *āna* 68, 636, 1007, Ap. 93; gsm. *ānes* 525; dsm. *ānum* 81, 1320; asf. *āne* 1591. — 3. *unique, admirable*: ism. *āne* 258. *See āne, ānforlētan.*
- and**, *see ond.*
- andgit**, n., *meaning, purport*: as. 509.
- Andrēas**, pr. n., *Andrew*: nom. *Andrēas* 169, 189, 270, 285, 299, 315, 352, 383, 572, 617, 628, 643, 818, 1020, 1058, 1184, 1199, 1375, Ap. 16; voc. 203, 859, 914, 950, 1208, 1316, 1362; acc. 110, 379, 1175; gen. 1692; dat. *Andrēa* 1135, 1569.
- andswaru, andswarian, andswerian**, *see ondswaru etc.*
- andweard**, adj., *present*: asm. *andweardne* 1224; apm. *andweard* 783.
- āne**, adv., *once*: 492.
- ānforlētan**, R, *forsake, abandon*: pret. 2 sg. *ān ne forlēte* 1451; inf. 1287, 1642, 1669.
- ānhaga**, m., *recluse*: ds. *ānhagan* 1351.
- anig**, adj. pron., *any*: nsm. 15, 377; nsn. 1439; gsm. *āniges* 199, Ap. 19; dsm. *ānigum* 178; asm. *ānigne* 493, 517, 1081; asf. *ānige* 1521; dpm. *ānigum* 888.
- āninga**, adv., *suddenly, straightway*: 220, 1141, 1370, *āninga* 1392.
- anlienes**, f., *image, statue*: ns. 717, onlienes 731; ap. *anlienesse* 713.
- annmōd**, *see onnmōd.*
- ānmōd**, adj., *unanimous*: np. *ānmōde* 1565, 1601.
- anried**, adj., *resolute*: nsm. 232, 983.
- apostollhad**, m., *apostleship*: ns. Ap. 14; as. 1651. [Lat. *apostolus*.]
- ār**, m., *messenger, attendant*: ns. 1647; as. 1601, 1679; np. *āras* 298; ap. 400, 829?.
- ār**, f., *favor, mercy*: ns. 979; ds. *āre* 76; as. *āre* 1129.
- ār**, adv., *before*: 188, 695, 949, 1070, 1266, 1274, 1341, 1449, 1476, 1615, 1624, 1628; sup. *ārrest*, *first, at first*: 12, 132, 756, 1020, 1100. *See ār þan.*
- ār**, conj., *before*: 1050, 1354, 1439.
- āræfnan**, W1, *endure*: inf. 816.
- āræran**, W1, *set up, establish*: pret. 2 sg. *ārærddest* 1318; pp. *āræried* 967, 1645.
- ārðæg**, m., *early part of the day*: ds. *ārðæge* 220, 235, 1388, 1525.
- āreccan**, W1, *recount*: inf. 546.
- æren**, adj., *of brass*: asm. *ærenne* 1062.
- ærrende**, n., *errand, message*: ns. 230, 1620; gs. *ærendes* 215; ap. *ærendu* 776.
- ærrest**, f., *resurrection*: as. 780.
- ærrest**, *see ār.*
- argeblond**, n., *sea*: as. 383.
- ærgeweore**, n., *ancient work*: np. 1235.
- ārīsan**, I. 1. *arise*, pret. 3 sg. *ārās* 450, 695, 1011, 1236, 1393, 1469; imp. 2 sg. *ārīs* 936. — 2. *rise (from the dead)*: pret. 3 sg. *ārās* 1634, Ap. 56; inf. 1623. [cf. *ærrest*.]
- ārlēas**, adj., *impious*: npm. *ārlēasan* 559.
- ār þan**, conj., *before*: 1031.
- ārwela**, m., *sea*: as. *ārwelan* 853.
- ārȳð**, f., *warve*: gp. *ārȳða* 532.
- æse**, m., *spear*: ip. *æscum* 1097.
- æscherend**, m., *spear-bearer, warrior*: np. 47, 1076, 1537.
- āscian**, *see geāscian.*
- āsettan**, W1. 1. *place, transfer*: pp. *āseted* 208. — 2. *with sīð, to make a journey*: pret. 3 sg. *āsette* 1704; inf. Ap. 111.

**āspēdan**, W1, w. dat., *survive, escape from*: pp. npm. āspēdde 1631.  
**Assēas**, pr. n., *Asiatics*: dp. Assēum Ap. 38.  
**āstandan**, 6. 1. *arise*: pret. 3 sg. āstōd 443. — 2. *rise from the dead*: pret. 3 pl. āstōdon 1625; inf. 792.  
**āstigan**, 1. *rise up*: pret. 3 sg. āstāg 708, āstāh 1125.  
**Astrīas**, pr. n., *Astrages*: ns. Ap. 45.  
**āsundrian**, W2, *separate*: pp. āsundrad 1243.  
**āswebban**, W1, *kill*: opt. 3 pl. āswebban 72; inf. Ap. 69.  
**aet**, prep. w. dat. 1. *at, in (time, place and circumstance)*: 221, 403, 412, 414, 553, 797, 1325, 1330, 1353, 1356, 1436, 1658, 1700, 1710, Ap. 59. — 2. *cf. from (with verbs of receiving)*: 908, 1130.  
**æt**, m., *food*: ds. æte 132; as. æt 1073.  
**æta**, *see sylfaeta*.  
**aetfæstan**, W1, *influct*: inf. 1347.  
**aetgædere**, adv., *together*: 992.  
**atol**, adj., *dire, hateful*: nsm. 1312, atola 1296; asm. atolne 53.  
**ātor**, n., *person*: ns. āttor 770; gs. ātres 53; is. āttre 1331.  
**aetsomme**, adv., *together*: 994, 1091, Ap. 99.  
**aetðringan**, 3. *expel, destroy*: pres. opt. 3 pl. aetþringan 1371.  
**aetȳwan**, W1, *appear*: pret. 3 sg. aetȳwde 1168, 1296, 1662; inf. 729.  
**aðeleýning**, m., *noble king, Christ*: gs. aþekýninges 1679.  
**aðele**, adj., *noble, glorious*: nsm. 360, 1722; nsn. 1242, 1644; gsm. aðeles 756; dsm. aðelum 230, 360; asf. aðelan 642, 1476; asm. aðelne 871, 1020; npm. aðele Ap. 79.  
**aðelīc**, adj., *noble, glorious*: nsn. 888.  
**aðeling**, m., *hero, prince, lord*: ns. 853, 911, 990, 1575; gs. aðelīnges 44, 649; ds. aðelīnge 568; as. aðeling 680, 793, 1272, 1459; np. aðelingas 805,

857, Ap. 3, 85; gp. aðelinga 277, 623, 655, 1174, 1223, 1713.  
**aðeln**, npl. 1. *family, race*: n. 683, aðelo 734; d. aðelum 689; a. aðelo Ap. 24. — 2. *excellences, virtues*: ip. aðelum 636, 882.  
**āwa**, adv., *forever*: Ap. 99. Cf. ā.  
**āwāgan**, W1, *annul*: pp. āwāged 1439.  
**āweallan**, R, *flow*: pret. 3 sg. āwēoll 1523.  
**āweccan**, W1, *awake, bring to life*: pret. 3 sg. āwehte 584, Ap. 55.  
**āweccan**, W1, *move*: inf. 503.  
**āwellan**, W1, *well up, be stirred*: pp. āwelled 1019.  
**āwergan**, W1, *curse*: pp. āwerged 1299.  
**āwritan**, 1. 1. *write*: pp. āwriten 135, 149. — 2. *carve*: pp. āwriten 726.

## B

**bārl**, n., *fire*: gs. bāres 1186.  
**bald**, *see firebald, beald*.  
**baldan**, W1, *encourage, incite*: 2 sg. bældest 1186.  
**baldor**, m., *prince*: vs. 547.  
**bām**, *see bēgen*.  
**bān**, n., *bone*: ns. 1422, 1473.  
**bana**, m., *murderer*: gs. banan 617; ds. 1702; as. 1203; gp. bonena 17.  
**bāncofa**, m., *body*: as. bāncofan 1276.  
**bāngebree**, n., *breaking of a bone*: as. 1442.  
**bānhring**, m., *vertebra*: ap. bānhringas 150.  
**bānhūs**, n., *body*: ns. 1240, 1405.  
**bannan**, R, *summon*: inf. 1094.  
**Bartholamēus**, pr. n., *Bartholomew*: ns. Ap. 44.  
**bāsnian**, W2. 1. *await*: pret. 3 sg. bāsnode 1065. — 2. *remain, abide*: pret. 3 sg. 447.  
**bāt**, m., *boat*: ns. 496; gs. bātes 444. *See mere-, sē-, wudubāt*.  
**bæð**, n., *bath*: as. 203, 1640.  
**bæðweg**, m., *sea*: as. 223, 513.

- be**, prep. w. dat. 1. *beside, by*: 360, 405, 831, 1061, 1063, 1492. — 2. *ac-  
cording to*: 1366, 1611. — 3. *concern-  
ing*: AP. 23.
- bēacen**, n., *sign, token*: ns. 1201; as.  
720; gp. *bēacna* 242.
- beadu**, f., *battle*: ds. *beaduwe* 982,  
*beadowe* 1186.
- beadueræft**, m., *skill in battle*: as.  
219.
- beadueræftig**, adj., *skilful or strong  
in battle*: nsm. AP. 44.
- beadnewealm**, m., *death in battle*: as.  
1702.
- beadulāc**, n., *battle*: ds. *beadulāce* 1118.
- beadurōf**, adj., *bold in battle*: asm.  
*beadurōfne* 145; dsm. *beadurōfum*  
96; npm. *beadurōfe* AP. 78; apm.  
*beadurōfe* 848.
- beaduwang**, m., *battle-field*: ds. *beadu-  
wange* 413.
- bēag**, m., *ring*: gp. *bēaga* 271, 303, 476.
- bēagsel**, n., *hall in which rings are  
distributed*: ap. *bēagselu* 1657.
- beald**, adj., *bold*: nsm. 602. *See eire-  
bald*.
- bealu**, n., *evil*: ds. *bealuwe* 947. *See  
ðeodbealo*.
- bearn**, n., *child, son*: ns. 576; ds.  
*bearne* 560; as. *bearn* 747, 1028, 1613;  
np. 409; dp. *bearnum* 1328. *See  
cyne-, frum-, god-, ðrȳðbearn*.
- bearn**, m., *grove*: ap. *bearwas* 1448.
- bēatan**, R. 1. *beat upon*: 3 sg. *bēated*  
496; pret. 3 pl. *bēoton* 442. — 2.  
*clash*: pret. 3 pl. *bēoton* 239; ptc.  
nsn. *bēatende* 1543.
- bebēodan**, 2, *command*: 1 sg. *bebēode*  
729, 1328; pret. 3 sg. *bebēad* 322,  
773, 789, 845, 1045, 1652, 1696.
- bebod**, n., *command*: as. 735.
- bebūgan**, 2, *reach, extend*: 3 sg. *be-  
būgeð* 333.
- becuman**, 4, *come, reach*: pret. 3 sg.  
*becōm* 788, 1666, *becwōm* 827; 3 pl.  
*becōmon* 666; inf. 929.
- becweðan**, 5, *say*: 2 sg. *becwist* 193,  
304, 418; 3 sg. *becwið* 210.
- bed**, *see gebed*.
- bedāelan**, W1, w. dat., *deprive of, be-  
reave*: pp. *bedāeled* 309.
- bedd**, *see hildbedd*.
- bedrīfan**, 1, *beat upon*: pp. apm. *bedri-  
fene* 1494.
- befēolan**, 3, *consign, commit*: pret. 3  
sg. *befealg* 1326.
- befōn**, R, *confine, encompass*: pret. 3  
sg. *befēhð* 327; pp. *befangen* 1057.
- beforan**, prep. w. dat., *in the presence  
of*: 571, 619.
- beforan**, adv., *openly*: 606.
- bēgan**, *see forbēgan*.
- begang**, m. 1. *extent, circuit*: ns. 530;  
as. 195. — 2. *study, practice*: as. AP.  
89, 108.
- bēgen**, adj., *both*: npm. *bēgen* 1016,  
1027; dpm. *bām* 1014, AP. 78.
- begitan**, 5. 1. *reach*: pret. opt. 3 sg.  
*begēte* 378. — 2. *secure, obtain*: inf.  
480.
- behabban**, W3, *comprehend*: inf. 817.
- behelan**, 4, *cover, bury*: pp. *beheled* 791.
- behweorfan**, 3, *exchange for*: pp.  
*behworfen* 1703.
- belegan**, W1, *place upon, cover*: 3 pl.  
*beleggað* 1211; pret. 3 sg. *belegde*  
1192; pret. 3 pl. *belegdon* 1560; inf.  
1295.
- belōsan**, 2, *deprive of*: pp. npm. *be-  
lorene* 1079.
- belīðan**, 1, only in pp., *lifeless*: pp. apm.  
*belidenan* 1089.
- belūcan**, 2, *confine*: pp. *belocen* 164.
- bemiðan**, 1, *conceal*: pp. *bemiðen* 856.
- bemurnan**, W1, *grieve, have regard  
for*: pret. 3 pl. *bemurndan* 154.
- bēn**, f., *prayer*: ds. *bēne* 476; as. or p.  
1028, 1613, AP. 116.
- bēna**, m., *suppliant*: np. *bēnan* 348.
- bend**, mfn., *bond*: dp. *bendum* 184,  
1357, *bennum* 962, 1038. *See leodu-,  
witebend*.

- benēah**, anv., w. gen., *possess*: pret. 3 sg. benohte 1705; pret. 3 pl. benohton 1150.
- benēotan**, 2, *deprive of*: inf. AP. 46.
- benn**, f., *wound*: np. benne 1405. *See* **dolga**, **sārben**.
- benohte**, **benohton**, *see* **benēah**.
- bēodan**, 2. 1. *announce, command*: pret. 3 sg. bēad 340; inf. 779. — 2. *make known*: pp. boden 1201. *See* **ā**-, **be**-, **gebēodan**.
- bēodgast**, m., *guest at meal*: gs. bēodgastes 1088.
- bēon**, *see* **wesan**.
- beorg**, m., *hill*: ns. 1587; np. beorgas 840; ap. 1306. *See* **sārebeorg**.
- beorgan**, 3, *save, protect*: inf. 1538.
- beorht**, adj. 1. *shining, bright, radiant*: nsf. 1247; dsf. beorhtan 1649; asm. beorhtne AP. 33; asf. beorhtan AP. 116; vsm. beorht 903; npm. beorhte 867; apn. beorht 1657; superl. nsm. beorhtost 103; nsf. 242. — 2. *clear, loud*: isf. beorhtan 96. — 3. *glorious, illustrious*: nsm. 84, 145, 447, 656, 937; dsf. beorhtre 647; asm. beorhtne 335, 524.
- beorhte**, adv., *brightly*: 789.
- beorn**, m. 1. *man, hero*: ns. 239, 602, 982, AP. 44; gs. beornes 1247, 1270; ds. beorne 1120; as. beorn AP. 88; vs. 937; np. beornas 390, 447, 660, 1094, 1160, AP. 78; gp. beorna 219, 305, 768, 1543; ap. beornas 848; dp. beornum 588. — 2. *children, sons*: np. beornas 690.
- bēorþegu**, f., *beer-drinking*: ns. 1533.
- beorþor**, *see* **hysebeorþor**.
- berēdan**, W1, *deprive of*: pret. 3 sg. berēdde 1326; inf. 133.
- beran**, 4. 1. *bear, carry*: pret. 3 sg. bar 265; pret. 3 pl. bēron 1221; inf. 216. — 2. *make known*: 3 pl. berað 1295; inf. 1070. *See* **ā**-, **geberan**.
- berēafian**, W2, *berave*: pp. berēafod 1314.
- berend**, *see* **ase-**, **reordberend**.
- berēofan**, 2, *deprive of*: pp. npm. berofene 1084.
- bescūfan**, 2, *thrust*: pret. 3 sg. bescēaf 1191.
- bescyrian**, W2, *deprive of*: pp. npm. bescyrede 1618.
- besēon**, 5, *look, observe*: pret. 3 sg. beseah 1446.
- besettan**, W1, *surround, encompass*: 1 sg. besette 1133; pp. beseted 943, 1255.
- besittan**, 5, *sit (in council), hold (council)*: 3 pl. besittaþ 410; pret. 3 pl. besætton 608, 627.
- besnyððan**, W1, *deprive of*: pret. 3 sg. besnyðede 1324.
- bestēman**, W1, *vet*: pp. bestēmed 1239, 1475; pp. wk. dsm. bestēmdon 487.
- beswīcan**, 1, *deceive*: pret. 3 sg. beswāc 613; pp. npm. beswicene 745.
- beteldan**, 3, *cover, surround*: pp. betolden 988.
- betera**, adj., *better*: asm. beteran 1088; asf. beteran 588. *See* **gōd**, **sētra**.
- betwēonum**, prep. w. dat., *among*: 1099, betwīnum 1103, be . . . twēonum 558.
- beðeccan**, W1. 1. *cover*: pret. 3 sg. beþehte 1046. — 2. *embrace*: pret. 3 sg. beþehte 1015.
- beðurfian**, 3, w. gen., *have need of*: pret. 1 sg. beþearf AP. 91.
- bewāelan**, W1, *afflict*: pp. bewāled 1361.
- bewindan**, 3. 1. *encompass, surround*: pp. bewunden 19, 267, 535, 772. — 2. *implant, fix*: pp. 58.
- bewrecan**, 5, *drive, impel*: pp. npm. bewrecene 269.
- bīdan**, 1, w. gen. 1. *await*: pret. 3 sg. bād 201; pret. 3 pl. bidon 1042; inf. 145. — 2. *remain*: inf. 833. *See* **gebīdan**.

- biddan**, 5, w. acc. and gen., *ask, pray*:  
1 sg. bidde 1415, Ap. 88; pret. 3 sg.  
bæd 1030, 1614; opt. pres. 3 sg.  
bidde Ap. 90; opt. pres. 1 pl. biddan  
1566; inf. 84, 271, 353, 476. *See*  
**gebiddan**.
- bill**, n., *sword*: gs. billes 51; ip. billum  
413.
- billhete**, m., *sword hostility, warfare*:  
ds. billhete 78.
- bilwit**, adj., *kind, gracious*: asm. bil-  
wyne 997.
- bindan**, 3, *bind*: 3 sg. bindeð 519;  
pret. 3 sg. band 1255. *See gebindan*.
- bīryhte**, prep. w. dat., *beside*: 848.
- bisceop**, m., *bishop*: as. bisceop 1649;  
np. bisceopas 607. [Lat. *episcopus*.]
- bisencan**, W1, *cause to sink*: pret. 3 sg.  
bisencte 1591.
- bite**, m., *bite, wound*: as. bite Ap. 34.
- biter**, adj., *bitter*: nsf. 1533; asm.  
biterne 616; asf. bitran 1160.
- bitere**, adv., *bitterly*: 33.
- blæc**, adj., *black*: asf. blæc 1262.
- blæc**, adj., *shining*: ism. blācan 1541.
- blæd**, m. 1. *glory*: ns. 1719; as. 535;  
gp. blæda 103. — 2. *prosperity, hap-  
piness*: gs. blædes 17; as. blæd 356;  
dp. blædum 769. — 3. *flowers, fruit*:  
dp. blædum 1449.
- blædgifa**, m., *dispenser of happiness*,  
*Lord*: ns. 656; vs. 84.
- blandan**, *see onblandan*.
- blæst**, m., *flame, torch*: ns. 837; np.  
blæstas 1552.
- blāt**, gend. not determinable, *sound*,  
*cry*? ns. 1270.
- blāt**, adj., *pale*: gsm. blātes 1088.
- blēað**, adj., *timid, fearful*: nsm. 231.
- bledsian**, *see gebledsian*.
- blendan**, *see āblendan*.
- bletsung**, f., *blessing*: as. bletsunge 223.
- blēan**, 1, *shine, gleam*: pret. 3 sg. blāc  
243; inf. 780, 838.
- blind**, adj., *blind*: npm. blinde 581. *See*  
**hyge**, **mōdblind**.
- blinnan**, 3, w. gen. 1. *desist from*:  
pret. 3 sg. blon 1265. — 2. *forfeit*:  
pret. 2 sg. blunne 1380. [be + lin-  
nan.]
- bliss**, f., *joy, bliss*: ns. blis 1014; gs.  
blisse 1064; ds. 588; is. 647; gp.  
blissa 886; dp. blissum 1699.
- blissigean**, W2. 1. *make happy*: inf.  
1607. — 2. *rejoice*: 3 sg. blissað, 634;  
pret. 3 sg. blissode 578. *See geblis-  
sian*.
- blīð**, *see higeblīð*.
- blīðe**, adj. 1. *happy*: asm. blīðne 833;  
npm. blīðe 867, 1583. — 2. *gracious*,  
*favorable*: nsm. blīðe 903; asm.  
blīðne 971.
- blīðheort**, adj., *blithe of heart*: nsm.  
1262; npm. blīðheorte 660.
- blōd**, n., *blood*: ns. 954, 1240; as. 23,  
1449.
- blōdfāg**, adj., *blood-stained*: nsm. 1405.
- blōdig**, adj., *bloody*: nsf. 1473; asf.  
blōdige 1442; ipm. blōdigum 159.
- blōdlifer**, f., *clot, blood-clot*: ip. blōd-  
lifrum 1276.
- blondan**, *see geblondan*.
- blōwan**, R, *bloom*: 3 sg. blōweð 646.  
*See geblōwan*.
- bōc**, f., *book*: ap. bēc Ap. 63.
- bōcere**, m., *scribe*: np. bōceras 607.
- bod**, *see bebod*.
- bodian**, W2, *announce, proclaim*:  
imp. 2 pl. bodiað 335; pp. bodad  
1120.
- bolea**, m., *gangway*: ds. bolcan 305;  
as. 602.
- bold**, n., *house, habitation*: as. 656; gs.  
botles Ap. 117.
- boldwela**, m., *glorious habitation*: ns.  
103; as. boldwelan 524, Ap. 33.
- bolgenmōd**, adj., *angry*: npm. bolgen-  
mōde 128, 1221.
- bona**, *see bana*.
- bora**, *see rēsbora*.
- bord**, n., *shield*: ip. bordum 1205. *See*  
**ȳðbord**.

- bordhrēoða**, *n.*, *shield*: ap. bordhrēoðan 128.
- bordstæð**, *n.*, *ship-rope, cordage*: ap. bordstæðu 442.
- bōsm**, *m.*, *bosom*: ds. bōsme 444.
- bōt**, *f.*, *help*: ns. 947.
- botl**, *see bold*.
- brēce**, *see unbrēce*.
- brandhāt**, *adj.*, *very hot, fiery*: nsm. brandhāta 768.
- brant**, *adj.*, *steep*: ism. brante 273.
- brec**, *see gebrec*.
- brecan**, *v.* 1. *break, shatter*: inf. 504.  
— 2. *go, make way*: 1 pl. brecañ 513; inf. 223. *See ā-, gebrecan*.
- bregdan**, *see a-, ofer-, tōbregdan*.
- brego**, *m.*, *prince, lord*: ns. breogo 305; as. brego 61; vs. brego 540.
- brehtu**, *m.*, *shout, clamor*: is. brehtme 1202, 1271, byrhtme AP. 21; ip. brehtmum 867.
- brēme**, *adj.*, *famous*: nsm. brēme 209; sup. gsm. brēmestan 718.
- brēme**, *adv.*, *famously*: 1719.
- breogo**, *see brego*.
- breogostōl**, *m.*, *city, principality*: ns. 209.
- brēost**, *n.*, *breast, heart*: ns. 647; as. brēost 768, 1247, 1279, 1574; dp. brēostum 51, 1118.
- brēostgehygd**, *f.*, *thought*: dp. brēostgehygdum 997.
- brēotan**, *see ābrēotan*.
- brim**, *n.*, *sea, deluge*: ns. 442, 1543, 1574; gs. brimes 444, 1710; as. brim 504; ap. brimu 519, breomo 242.
- brimhengest**, *m.*, *sea-steed, ship*: ip. brimhengestum 513.
- brimrād**, *f.*, *sea*: ns. 1587; as. brimrāde 1262.
- brimstæð**, *n.*, *shore*: ap. brimstæðo 496.
- brimstrēam**, *m.*, *ocean stream*: ds. brimstrēame 903; np. brimstrēamas 239; ap. 348.
- brimpisa**, *m.*, *boat*: as. brimpisan 1657; ds. 1699.
- bringan**, W1, *bring*: pret. 3 sg. brōhte 259. *See gebringan*.
- brōga**, *see wæterbrōga*.
- brondstæfn**, *adj.*, *steep-proved*: asm. brondstæfne 504.
- brōðor**, *m.*, *brother*: ns. 940, AP. 33; as. AP. 54. *See ge-, sigebrōðor*.
- brōðorsybb**, *f.*, *relationship between brothers*: ip. brōðorsybbum 690.
- brūcan**, *v.* w. gen., *enjoy, partake of*: 3 pl. brūcañ 280, AP. 99; opt. pres. 3 sg. brūce AP. 114; inf. 17, 106, 220, 886, 1467, AP. 117; ger. brūconne 23, brūcenne 1160.
- brūn**, *adj.*, *brown, dark*: apf. brūne 519.
- brūnwann**, *adj.*, *dark, dusky*: nsf. brūnwann 1306.
- brycgian**, W2, *form a bridge*: pret. 3 sg. brycgade 1261.
- bryne**, *m.*, *flame, fire*: as. bryne 616.
- bryrdan**, *see onbryrdan*.
- brytta**, *m.*, *dispenser*: ns. 822, 1170.
- bryttian**, W2, *give*: pret. 3 sg. bryttode 754.
- būgan**, *see hebūgan*.
- burg**, *f.*, *city*: ds. byrig 40, 287, 973, 1491, 1649; as. burg 111, burh 982, 1120, 1541; dp. burgum 78, 231, 335, 1155, 1235, 1547. *See gold-, Rome-, weder-, wīnburg*.
- burggeat**, *n.*, *city gate*: dp. burggeatum 840.
- burgloca**, *m.*, *city prison*: das. burglocan 940, 1038, burhlocan 1065.
- burgwaru**, *f.*, *citizen, the body of citizens, i.e. the city*: as. burgwaru 1094; np. burgware 1583; dp. burgwarum 184, 200, 718.
- burhsittend**, *m.*, *citizen*: dp. burhsittendum 1201.
- burhstede**, *m.*, *city*: dp. burhstedum 581.
- burhweall**, *m.*, *city wall*: ds. burhwealle 833.



**burhweard**, m., *defender of the city*:  
gs. burhweardes 660.

**būtan**, prep. w. dat. 1. *except*: 148.  
— 2. *without*: 679.

**būtan**, conj., *unless*: 188.

**-byrd**, *see* **muadbyrd**.

**byrhtu**, *see* **brehtu**.

**byrig**, *see* **burg**.

**byrle**, m., *cupbearer*: np. byrlas 1533.

**byrðen**, *see* **sorgbyrðen**.

**bȳsen**, f., *example*: as. bȳsne 971.

**bysgian**, W2, *of press, afflict*: pp. gebysgod 395.

**bysmrian**, W2, *mock, scorn*: pret. 3 pl. bysmredon 962; opt. pres. 1 pl. bysmrigen 1357; inf. 1293.

## C

**C** = *rune* **h** **Ap.** 104; *for meaning, see* *Notes*.

**cald**, adj., *cold*: asn. 201, 222, 253; apn. 310; ip. cealdum 1260, cealdan 1212.  
*See* **winterceald**.

**caldheort**, adj., *cold-hearted, cruel*:  
npm. caldheorte 138.

**camp**, m., *battle*: ds. campe 234, 1325.

**campræden**, f., *battle*: ds. camprædenne 4.

**candell**, *see* **dag-**, **heofon-**, **weder-**  
**candell**.

**carcern**, n., *prison*: gs. carcernes 1075;  
ds. carcerne 57, 90, 130, 991, 1082,  
1250, 1460, 1560; as. carcern 1578.  
[Lat. *carcer* and A.S. *cern*.]

**ceafl**, m., *jaw*: as. 1703; ip. ceafum 159.

**ceald**, *see* **cald**.

**cearig**, adj., *troubled*: isf. cearegan 1108.

**cearo**, *see* **lifcearo**.

**ceaster**, f., *city*: ns. 207; ds. ceastre 281, 719, 828; as. ceastre 41, 929, 930, 1058, 1174, 1677.

**ceasterhof**, n., *house in the city*: dp. ceasterhofum 1237.

**ceasterware**, pm., *citizens*: gp. ceastrewarena 1125; dp. ceasterwarum 1646.

**cempa**, m., *warrior*: ns. 461, 538, 991, 1446; ds. cempān 230; np. cempān 1055; dp. cempum 324.

**cēne**, adj., *bold*: ns. 1578; np. 1204.

**cennan**, W1, *bear, bring forth*: pp. cenned 757. *See* **ācennan**.

**cēol**, m., *ship*: gs. cēoles 310; ds. cēole 450, 555, 854; as. cēol 222, 349, 361, 380, 899; is. cēole 273; ip. cēolum 253, 256.

**cēosan**, 2, *choose, seek*: opt. pret. 3 pl. curen 1609, curon 404. *See* **gecēosan**.

**Channanēas**, pr. n., *dwellers in Canaan*: dp. Channanēum 778.

**Cheruphim**, pr. n., *Cherubim*: ns. 719.

**cīgan**, W1, *name, call*: 2 pl. cīgað 746.

**cildgcong**, adj., *young as a child*: nsm. 685.

**cirebald**, adj., *bold in decision*: dsm. cirebaldum 171.

**cīrice**, f., *church*: ns. 1646; as. ciricean 1633.

**cīrm**, m., *tumult, outcry*: ns. 41, 1237, cym 1125, 1156.

**cīрман**, W1, *make outcry*: pret. 3 pl. cīrmdon 138.

**clāene**, adj., *pure*: asm. clāenan 978; dpm. clāenum **Ap.** 119.

**cleofa**, *see* **clustorcleofa**.

**cleopian**, W2, *call*: pret. 2 sg. cleopodest 1410; pret. 3 sg. cleopode 1108; pret. 3 pl. cleopodon 1716; inf. 1398. cleopigan **Ap.** 115, clypian 450.

**clif**, n., *cliff*: ap. cleofu 310.

**clingan**, 3, *shrink, freeze*: pret. 3 sg. clang 1260.

**clomm**, m., *fetter, bond*: is. clamme 1192; ip. clommum 130, 1212, 1378, 1560.

**clūstorcleofa**, m., *prison*: ds. clūstorcleofan 1021. [Lat. *claustrum*.]

**clyppan**, W1, *embrace*: pret. 3 pl. clypton 1016.

**cnāwan**, *see* **ge-**, **onenāwan**.

-**cniāwe**, *see* **orecniāwe**.

**cneomag**, m., *kinsman*: dp. cneōmā-gum 685.

**cneoriss**, f. 1. *family, race*: as. cneorisse Ap. 26. — 2. *country*: as. cneorisse 207.

**cniht**, m., *boy*: gs. cnihtes 912, 1121.

**cofa**, *see* **bān-**, **mōrdor-**, **neadeofa**.

**cōliān**, W2, *become cold*: pret. 3 pl. cōledon 1256.

**collenferhð**, adj., *courageous, bold-spirited*: nsm. 538, 1168, collenferð 1578, Ap. 51; npm. collenfyrhðe 319.

**cōrdor**, n., *crowd, troop*: ns. 138; ds. cōrdre 1075, 1716; is. 1121, 1204. *See* **hildeccōrdor**.

**cost**, adj., *tried, excellent*: npm. coste 1055.

**craft**, m., *skill, craft, power*: gs. craeftes 484, 585, Ap. 103; as. craft 500, 631, 1204; is. craefte 49, 327, 939, 1196; gp. craefta 700, 1460; ip. craeftum 1603. *See* **āetæc-**, **beadu-**, **drȳ-**, **dwol-**, **galdor-**, **hell-**, **mōrdor-**, **rīm-**, **searō-**, **wundorcraft**.

**craftig**, *see* **beadu-**, **mācraftig**.

**craftiga**, m., *builder, architect*: ns. 1033.

**cringan**, 3, *fall*: opt. pret. 3 sg. crunge 1031. *See* **gecringan**.

**Crīst**, pt. n., *Christ*: ns. 322, 1322; gs. Crīstes 57, 991, 1337; ds. Crīste 1016, 1250, Ap. 26; as. Crīst 880. [Lat. *Christus*.]

**Crīsten**, adj. as n., *Christian*: gp. Crīstenna 1677.

-**crod**, *see* **gecrood**.

**cuman**, 1, *come*: 3 sg. cymeð 512; pret. 3 sg. cōm 88, 124, 241, 837, 1219, 1245, 1269, 1311, 1388, 1462, cōm 738, 1278; pret. 2 pl. cōmon 256; pret. 3 pl. 658, 863, 1060, 1091; opt. pres. 2 sg. cyme 188, 400; opt. pret. 3 pl. cōmon 247, 1017; pp. cumen 11, 880, 1165, 1581; inf. 783. *See* **feorrancumen**, **be-**, **foreman**.

**cumbol**, n., *banner*: np. 4; dp. cumbolum 1204.

**cunnan**, PP. 1. *know*: 2 sg. canst 68, 508, const 1282; 3 sg. con 195; pret. 3 pl. cūdon 752; opt. pres. 2 sg. cunne 1485; inf. 341, Ap. 105. — 2. *be able*: 3 sg. cann 980, 1151; pret. 1 sg. cūde 901; pret. 2 sg. 928; pret. 3 pl. cūdon 1194; opt. pres. 2 sg. cunne 557.

**cunnian**, W2. 1. *examine, find out*: inf. 129. — 2. *experience, endure*: 3 sg. cunnaþ 314. — 3. *essay, attempt*: pret. 1 pl. cunnedan 439.

**cūð**, adj., *known*: nsn. cūð 380, 527, 682, 1562; npm. cūde 198; npf. cūde 201. *See* **un-**, **unforcūð**.

**cūðlice**, adv., *kindly, friendly*: 322.

**cwahn**, *see* **swyltewahn**.

**cwānian**, W2, *lament*: pret. 3 pl. cwānedon 1539.

**cwealm**, m., *torture, death*: ns. 182; gs. cwealnes 1597; ds. cwealme 1507; as. cwealm 281, 1121, 1186, Ap. 39. *See* **beaducwealm**.

**cwellan**, W1, *kill*: pret. 3 sg. cwealde 1624.

**cwēðan**, 5, *say*: pret. 2 sg. cwēde 1411; pret. 3 sg. cwað 62, 173, 329, 354, 539, 716, 727, 743, 850, 913, 1109, 1206, 1280, 1450; pret. 3 pl. cwēdon 1601, 1639, 1716. *See* **be-**, **ge-**, **oncwēðan**.

**cwie**, adj., *alive*: asm. cwīene 1082; npm. cwide 129; gpm. cwicera 912.

**cwide**, m., *speech*: ds. cwide 1021. *See* **gen-**, **hearn-**, **hleodor-**, **lār-**, **sār-**, **sōð-**, **tēon-**, **wordcwide**.

**cylegicel**, m., *icicle*: ip. cylegicelum 1260.

**cyme**, m., *approach, arrival*: is. cyme 660. *See* **hiderecyme**.

**cȳmlie**, adj., *comely, fair*: comp. asm. cȳmlīcor 361.

**cȳnebearn**, n., *royal child*: as. 566.

**cȳnerōf**, adj., *noble, illustrious*: nsm. 585; vsm. 484.

**cynestōl**, m., *capital city*: ds. cynestōle 666.

**cynedrym**, m., *royal dignity*: as. 1322.

**cyning**, m.s., *king*: ns. 120, 145, 324, 459, 700, 1325, 1505, 1509, 1517, 1603, 1722, Ap. 27, 69, 119, cining 416, 828, 880, 912, 978, 1192; gs. cyninges 527, 778, 1633, Ap. 54, 105; as. cyning 538, 1055, cining 880; vs. cyning 903; gp. cyninga 555, 851, 899, 978, 1192, cininga 171, 1411. *See* ædel-, heah-, heofon-, ðeod-, ðrȳð-, wuldorecning.

**cynn**, n., *race, stock, kind*: ns. 560, 1610; gs. cynnes 545, 582, 590, 1374; ds. cynne 567, 757, 907; as. cynn 1519. *See* engel-, manneynn.

**cyrnan**, *see* ge-, oneyrnan.

**cysan**, Wl. *kiss*: pret. 3 pl. cyston 1016.

**cyst**, *see* gumeyst.

**cȳðan**, Wl. *make known, reveal*: 2 pl. cȳðað 680; pret. 3 sg. cȳðde 571, 575, 585, 606, 625, 704, 812, 1510; pret. 3 pl. cȳðdon Ap. 3; imp. 2 sg. cȳð 1212. *See* ge-cȳðan.

**-cȳðig**, *see* one-cȳðig.

**cȳðð**, f., *race, country*: d. or as. cȳððe 734.

## D

**dæd**, f., *deed*: as. dæde 67; dp. dædum Ap. 5; ip. 596. *See* one-cȳððæd.

**dædfruma**, m., *performer of deeds, hero*: ns. 75, 1455.

**dafenian**, *see* gedafenian.

**dæg**, m., *day*: ns. 1397; gs. dæges 1407, 1535, Ap. 65; ds. dæge 1385, 1436; as. dæg 818, 1245, 1274, 1385; np. dagas 1696; ap. 1414. *See* ær-, ende-, fyrr-, gear-, gystran-, sym-beldæg.

**dægcandell**, f., *day-candle, sun*: as. dægcandelle 835.

**dæghwæmlice**, adv., *daily*: 682.

**dægreðwōma**, m., *daten*: ns. 125.

**-dāl**, *see* gedāl.

**dæl**, m. 1. *part, division*: ns. 1421, 1474; as. dæl 570, 1122, 1488, Ap. 94. — 2. *region*: ap. dælas Ap. 51.

**dælan**, Wl. *part, deal out*: 2 sg. dælest 548; pp. dæled 952. *See* be-, ge-, tōdælan.

**daroð**, m., *spear*: gp. daroða 1444.

**Dāuid**, pr. n., *David*: ns. 878.

**dead**, adj., *dead*: ap. dēade 1077, 1090.

**dēaf**, adj., *deaf*: np. dēafe 577.

**deall**, adj., *proud*: npm. dealle 1097.

**dēað**, m., *death*: as. 87, 431; ds. dēaðe 583, 600, 955, 1217, Ap. 56, 82.

**dēaðræs**, m., *sudden death*: ns. 995.

**dēaðrēow**, adj., *deadly cruel, savage*: nsm. 1314.

**dēaðwang**, m., *field of death*: as. 1003.

**dēma**, *see* sikedēma.

**dēman**, Wl. 1. *appoint*: inf. 75. — 2. *acknowledge, glorify*: inf. 1194, 1403, Ap. 10.

**dēmend**, m., *judge, Lord*: as. 1189; vs. 87.

**dēoful**, n., *devil*: ns. 1168, 1314, dīoful 1298; gs. dēofles 43, 141, 611, 1189.

**dēofolgild**, n., *idolatry*: as. 1688, dīofolgild 1641.

**dēogollice**, adv., *secretly*: 621.

**dēop**, adj., *deep*: asn. 190; asm. dēopne 611; dp. dēopum 1244.

**dēope**, adv., *deeply*: 394, 1529.

**dēor**, adj., *brave, bold*: nsm. 1308. *See* hildedēor.

**deore**, adj., *dark*: dsf. deorcan 1462.

**dēormōd**, adj., *bold, brave*: nsm. 626; asm. dēormōdne 1232.

**dīgol**, n., *secret, secret place*: ds. dīgle 626.

**dīgol**, adj., *secret*: asn. dīgol 698.

**dim**, adj., *dim, dark*: dsf. dimman 1270; asn. dimme 1308.

**dimscua**, m., *darkness*: ds. dimscuan 141.

**dolg**, *see* heora-, seonodolg.

- dolgbenn**, f., *wound*: ip. dolgbennum 1397.
- dolgslege**, m., *stroke, blow*: as. dolgslege 1475; dp. dolgslegum 1244.
- dōm**, m. 1. *decision, judgment, decree*: ds. dōme 653, 796, 1695; as. dōm 330. — 2. *glory, power*: ns. 541, Ap. 65; gs. dōmes 959; as. dōm 1151. *See dryhten-, ðeo-, wīsdōm.*
- dōmāgende**, adj., *exercising judgment*: nsm. 570.
- dōmfæst**, adj., *illustrious*: npm. dōmfæste Ap. 5.
- dōmgeorn**, adj., *ambitious, noble*: nsm. 1308; npm. dōmgeorne 603, 878.
- dōmleās**, adj., *inglorious*: npm. dōmleāse 995.
- dōmlice**, adv., *gloriously*: sup. nsm. dōmlicost 1267.
- dōmweorðung**, f., *glory*: as. dōmweorðunga 355, dōmweorðinga 1006.
- dōn**, anv. 1. *make, perform*: pret. 2 sg. dydest 927; pret. 3 pl. dydan 27. — 2. *do* (pro-verb): pret. 3 sg. dyde 1321. *See forðen-, gedōn.*
- dragan**, 6. *drag*: pret. 3 pl. drōgon 1232.
- drēam**, m., *joy*: ns. 874, Ap. 48; as. Ap. 82; ap. drēamas 641, 800, Ap. 32. *See man-, sele-, swegldrēam.*
- dreccan**, *see gedreccan.*
- drēfan**, *see gedrēfan.*
- drēogan**, 2. *endure*: inf. 1244. *See ādrēogan.*
- drēopan**, *see ādrēopan.*
- drēor**, m., *blood*: as. 969; is. drēore 1003, 1475.
- drēorig**, *see heorodrēorig.*
- drēosan**, 2. *fall, die*: pret. 3 pl. druron 995. *See gedrēosan.*
- drīfan**, *see be-, for-, tō-, ðurhdrīfan.*
- drihten**, *see dryhten.*
- drohtað**, m. 1. *condition, lot, life*: ns. 313, 1385; as. 1281, drohtaþ 360. — 2. *place of abode*: as. drohtað 1539.
- drohtigan**, W2, *pass life, live*: opt. pres. 2 pl. drohtigen 682.
- drohtnoð**, m., *condition of life*: as. 1402.
- druncen**, adj., *drunk*: npm. druncne 1003.
- drȳ**, m., *magician*: np. drȳas 34.
- drȳcraft**, m., *magic*: ip. drȳcraftum 765.
- drȳge**, adj., *dry*: nsf. 1581.
- dryht**, *see willgedryht.*
- dryhten**, m., *prince, lord*: ns. 5, 202, 317, 343, 355, 435, 510, 621, 698, 727, 835, 1206, 1462, 1663, 1696, drihten 173, 248; gs. dryhtnes 431, 667, 721, 1034, 1194, 1403, Ap. 10, 56; ds. dryhtne 959, 1006, 1151, 1641, Ap. 5; as. dryhten 600, 626, 874, 1267, 1455; vs. 190, 541, 897, 1281, 1407, drihten 73; gp. dryhtna 874, 1151. *See sig-, winedryhten.*
- dryhtendōm**, m., *glory, majesty*: as. 999.
- dryhtlic**, adj., *glorious*: nsm. Ap. 65.
- dryne**, m., *drink*: ns. 22, 1535; as. 34, 53, 313.
- drype**, m., *stroke, blow*: as. 955, 1217.
- dūfan**, *see gedūfan.*
- dugan**, anv. *avail, hold out*: pres. 3 sg. dēah 460.
- duguð**, f. 1. *benefit, sustenance*: ds. dugoðe 313; dp. duguðum 342. — 2. *power, glory*: dp. duguðum 1314. — 3. *host, multitude*, in the singular; *men, warriors*, in plural: ns. duguð 125, 394, 1270, 1529; gs. dugoðe 1227, dugoðe 1105; ds. dugoðe 152, dugoðe 1168; is. dugoðe 1122; np. dugoð 693, 878; gp. dugoda 87, 1189, dugeða 75, 248, 608; dp. duguðum 682.
- dumb**, adj., *dumb*: npn. dumban 67; dpm. dūmbum 577.
- dung**, f., *prison*: ds. dīng 1270.
- dūnscreaf**, n., *mountain cave*: dp. dūnscreafum 1232, 1539.
- durran**, anv., *dare, have courage*: 2 sg. dearest 1350; pret. 3 sg. dorste 735; pret. 3 sg. dorste 735; pret. 3 pl. dorsten 800.

**duru**, f., *door*: ns. 999; as. 1075. *See* **blinduru**.

**duruðegn**, m., *door-keeper*: dp. duruðegnum 1090.

**-dwola**, *see* **gedwola**.

**dwolereft**, m., *magic*: as. 34.

**dynnan**, W1, *resound*: pret. 3 sg. dynnede 739.

**dynnan**, W1, *conceal*: inf. 693.

**dyrne**, *see* **undyrne**.

## E

**ēa**, f., *stream*: as. 1504.

**ēac**, adv., *also*: 584, 1592, AP. 23, 50.

**ēaca**, m., *addition*: ds. ēacan 1039.

**ēadfruma**, n., *author of prosperity*, *Lord*: vs. 1292.

**ēadgifa**, m., *dispenser of good*, *Lord*: ns. 451; vs. 74.

**ēadig**, n., *happiness, prosperity*: gs. ēadiges 680.

**ēadig**, adj., *happy, blessed*: nsm. 54, 463, 879, AP. 73; npm. ēadige 599; apm. 830. *See* **tīrēadig**.

**eador**, *see* **geador**.

**ēadwela**, m., *joy, blessedness*: ds. ēadwelan 808.

**eafora**, m., *descendant*: as. eaforan 1110; np. 1627; dp. eaforum 779.

**eafoð**, n., *strength, power, violence*: ns. 30; dp. eaueðum 142.

**ēage**, n., *eye*: gp. ēagena 30; dp. ēagum 910; ip. 759, 1224, 1679.

**ēagorstrēam**, m., *stream*: ns. 258; as. 379; np. ēagorstreamas 441; ap. 492.

**ēagsyne**, adj., *visible*: nsm. 1550.

**eahtigan**, W2, *meditate*: inf. 1162.

**ēalā**, interj., *alas*: 203.

**ēalād**, f., *water-way, ocean*: np. ēalāda 441.

**ēaland**, n., *island*: as. 28.

**eald**, adj., *old*: asm. 1495; npm. ealde 1537; apm. 1642; sup. npm. yldestan 763. *See* **efeneald**.

**ealdegmōða**, m., *arch-enemy*: ns. 1341; np. ealdgenīðlan 1048.

**ealdegstōð**, m., *chieftain, leader*: gp. ealdegstōða 1104.

**ealdor**, n., *life*: gs. ealdres 1131; ds. ealdre 1721, aldre 938; is. ealdre 1137, 1324, AP. 36, aldre 1351, AP. 17, 43.

**ealdorgeard**, m., *home of life, body*: as. 1181.

**ealdorman**, m., *elder, magistrate*: np. ealdormenn 608.

**ealdorsacerd**, m., *chief priest*: ns. 670.

**ealgian**, W2, *defend*: pret. 3 pl. ealgodon 10.

**ēaliðend**, m., *voyager*: dp. ēaliðendum 251.

**eall**, adj., *all, the whole of*: gsm. ealles 1150; asm. ealne 1245; asf. ealle 101, AP. 30, 122; asn. eall 1320, 1434, 1519, 1719, eal 945; npm. ealle 762, 1565, 1601; npf. 1499; gp. ealra 68, eallra 326, 703, 978, 1717; dp. eallum 568, 1091, 1292; apm. ealle 332, 676, 805, 994, 1623, AP. 84; apf. 327; apn. eall 1359, 1486.

**eall**, adv., *completely, entirely*: 1097, 1146, 1483, 1590, 1627, eal 19.

**eallgrēne**, adj., *entirely or very green*: asf. 798.

**eallwealda**, adj., *omnipotent, Lord*: nsm. ealwalda 751, 925; dsm. ealwealdan 1620, eallwealdan 205.

**eallwihte**, npl., *all creatures*: gp. eallwihta 1603, a-lwihta 118.

**eard**, m., *land, habitation*: ns. AP. 113; gs. eardes 280, 1025, AP. 110; ds. earde 400; as. eard 176, 599.

**eardwīc**, n., *habitation*: as. AP. 93.

**earfeð**, n., *suffering, hardship*: ap. earfeðo 1486.

**earfoðlice**, adv., *hardly, unfortunately*: 514.

**earfoðsið**, m., *toilsome journey, hard-ship*: gp. earfoðsiða 678; ap. earfeðsiðas 1283.

**earh**, n., *arrow*: as. 1331.

- earhārn, f., *flight of arrows*: ds. earh-lanc 1048.
- earm, m., *arm*: is. earne 1015.
- earm, adj., *poor, wretched*: npm. earne 670; gpm. earmia 744.
- earmlic, adj., *wretched, miserable*: nsm. 182; nsn. 1555; asn. 1135.
- earmsceapen, adj., *wretched, miserable*: nsm. 1129, 1345.
- earn, m., *eagle*: np. earnas 803.
- eastream, m., *water-stream*: ap. ēa-streamas 1261.
- ēade, adv., *easily*: 125, 859, 933, 1179, 1352, 1370; comp. eað 104, 368. *See* unneade.
- eaðmedum, adv. 1. *humbly*: 321. — 2. *loyally*: 979.
- eaðmōd, adj., *humble*: nsm. 270.
- eaueð, *see* eafod.
- Ebreas, pl.n., *Hebrews*: dp. Ebrēum 105.
- ecan, *see* iean.
- ece, adj., *eternal*: nsm. 202, 249, 329, 343, 395, 519, 703, 1717; nsf. 1722, Ap. 122; gsm. ecan 721; asn. ece 747, 1064, Ap. 19, 38, 73; vsm. 1287, 1292.
- ecen, adj., *endowed*: asf. ecne 630; apm. 882.
- eeg, f. 1. *edge*: ns. 1132; ds. eege 51; ip. eegum 71. — 2. *sword*: gp. eega 1148.
- eegheard, adj., *hard of edge*: asn. 1181.
- edgiong, adj., *with vent renewed*: nsf. Ap. 122.
- edlean, n., *reward*: ns. 1228.
- edniwe, adj., *renewed*: nsf. 1014.
- edniwinga, adv., *straightway*: 783.
- edre, *see* adre.
- edwitspræc, f., *scornful speech*: as. edwitspræc 81.
- efeneald, adj., *of equal age*: ds. efencaldum 553.
- Efessia, pr. n., *Ephesus*: ds. Ap. 30.
- efne, adv., *even, east, indeed*: 294, 1104, 1234, Ap. 102, enne 114, 221, 333.
- eft, adv. 1. *then, again, afterwards*: 277, 655, 706, 763, 1240, 1274, 1302, 1344, 1476. — 2. *back*: 400, 466, 531, 604, 1078, 1356, 1675.
- egesa, m., *fear*: ns. 445, 532; ds. egesan 457; is. 805, 1266. *See* wieteregesa.
- egeslic, adj., *fearful*: nsm. 1550; nsn. 1588.
- Egias, pr. n., *Egias*: as. Ap. 17.
- egle, adj., *horrible*: npm. 1148, 1459; npf. 441.
- eld, f., *time, age*: dp. eldum 1057.
- ellefne, num. adj., *eleven*: npm. 664.
- ellen, n., *strength, courage*: ns. 460; gs. elnes 1001, 1263; ds. elne 54, 1486; as. ellen 1208, 1242, Ap. 3; is. elne 983.
- ellenheard, adj., *courageous*: nsm. 1254.
- ellenrof, adj., *brave, bold*: gsm. ellenrofes 1392; npm. ellenrōfe 350, 410, 1141.
- ellenweore, n., *courageous deed*: gs. ellenweorces 232; ip. ellenweorcum 1370.
- elles, adv., *otherwise, elsewhere*: Ap. 110.
- ellorfus, adj., *ready or anxious to depart*: asm. ellorfusne 188, 321.
- ellreordig, adj., *speaking a strange language*: gp. ellreordigra 1081.
- ellðeod, f., *foreign nation*: ds. ellðeode 972.
- ellðeodig, adj., *foreign, hostile*: gsm. ellðeodiges 678; asm. ellðeodigne 1454, 1559; npm. ellðeodige 63, 199, 280; gpm. ellðeodigra 16, 1175, ellðeodigra 26, ellðeodigra 940; dpm. ellðeodigum 163, ellðeodigum 1073.
- enne, *see* efne.
- ende, m. 1. *end*: ns. 1382; ds. 221, Ap. 98; as. 649, Ap. 85; is. 1057. — 2. *Lord, the Omega*: ns. 556.
- endedæg, m., *day of death*: ns. Ap. 79.
- endeleas, adj., *endless*: nsn. 605.
- endestref, m., *end, doom*: as. 135.

**engel**, m., *angel*: ns. 194, 1540; as. 365; np. englas 874; gp. engla 74, 83, 119, 149, 278, 290, 434, 451, 525, 642, 713, 828, 900, 1007, 1064, 1112, 1517, Ap. 28, 119; dp. englum 249, 599, 1722; ap. englas 823. [Lat. *angelus*.] *See* **up-**, **heahengel**.

**engeleyn**, n., *race of angels*: gp. engelcynna 717.

**ent**, m., *giant*: gp. enta 1235, 1495.

**eode**, **eodon**, *see* **gan**.

**rogod**, *see* **geugod**.

**collstede**, m., *temple, altar*: ap. collstedas 1642.

**eorl**, m., *chief, hero*: ns. 1254, 1263; gs. eorles 508; as. eorl 460; vs. 475; np. eorlas 199, 251, 401, 731, 1638, Ap. 99; gp. eorla 1051, 1105, 1352; dp. eorlum 1575, 1644; ap. eorlas 463.

**corre**, *see* **yrre**.

**eorde**, f., *earth*: ns. 1438; gs. eorðan 332, 1501, 1540, Ap. 94, eorðan 1595; ds. eorðan 460, 604, Ap. 19, 99; as. 7, 87, 328, 734, 748, 798, 970, 1255, 1525, Ap. 28.

**eorðscraf**, n. **1.** *cave, sepulchre*: ds. eorðscrafe 780; ap. eorðscrafu 803. **2.** *crustace*: ns. eorðscraf 1588.

**eorðware**, mpl., *inhabitants of the earth*: dp. eorðwarum 368.

**ēowde**, n., *flock*: as. 1669.

**ēower**, poss. pron., *your*: asf. ēowre 295; asm. cowerne 339.

**ermðu**, *see* **yrmðu**.

**ern**, *see* **moldern**.

**Essäg**, pl. n., *foxes*: gs. Essāges 879.

**est**, f., *favor, grace*: as. 339, 517, 1215, 1374.

**este**, adj., *gracious*: nsm. 483; asf. 1692.

**estlice**, adv., *willingly*: 292.

**et**, conj., Lat., *and*: 719.

**ēðel**, mn., *home, native land*: ns. 24, 525, Ap. 113; gs. ēðles 16, 830; ds. ēðle 1162, Ap. 104; as. ēðel 176, 226, 274, 642, 1258.

**ēðelleas**, adj., *homeless*: dsm. ēðelleasum 74.

**ēðelrice**, n., *native land, country*: ds. ēðelrice 120, 432.

**exl**, f., *shoulder*: as. exle 1575.

## F

**F** *rune*  $\text{F}$  Ap. 98; *for meaning, see* NOTES.

**faa**, *see* **fah**.

**fec**, n., *time, interval*: gp. faca 1374.

**fæcen**, n., *crime, treachery*: gs. fæcnes 1294; is. fæne 20.

**fæder**, m., *father*: ns. 330, 687, 846, 937, 1405, 1684, Ap. 29; gs. 824, 1635; ds. 1346, 1440; as. 804, 997, 1500; vs. 83, 1112; np. fæderas 752. *See* **healfæder**.

**fæg**, adj., *discolored, spotted*: nsf. 1134. *See* **figel-**, **blod-**, **stānfæg**.

**fæge**, adj., *doomed to death*: gsm. fæges 154, 1182, 1332; npm. fæge 1539; gpm. fægra 1085.

**fægen**, adj., *fair, glad*: nsm. fægn 255; npm. fægen 1041.

**fæger**, adj., *fair, pleasant*: dsm. fægern 598, 1693; superl. nsm. fægrost 103.

**fægðo**, f.,  *feud, strife*: as. fægðe 284, fahðo 1386.

**fäh**, adj., *hostile*: nsm. 1346, 1705, fäg 769, 1188; npm. faa 1593, 1599; gpm. fäa 139, 1023, 1060.

**fæle**, *see* **allfæle**.

**fælsian**, *see* **gefælsian**.

**fämig**, adj., *foamy*: npm. fämige 1524.

**famigheals**, adj., *foamy necked*: nsm. 197.

**femur**, f., *woman*: gs. fēman Ap. 29.

**fer**, m., *sudden peril*: as. 1530, 1629.

**faran**, 6, *go, fare*: 3 sg. fareð 197; imp. 2 pl. farað 332; inf. 773, 796, 864, 954, 1279.

**feran**, *see* **āferan**.

**farod**, n., *surge, ocean*: ds. faroðe 255, 1658. *See* **mere-**, **waroðfarod**; *see also* **waroð**.

**farodflācende**, adj., *seafaring*: nsm. 507.

**farodfridende**, adj., *seafaring*: npm. 140.

**farodstræt**, f., *ocean*: ds. farodstraete 311, 808.

**færspell**, n., *bad news*: ds. færspelle 1086.

**faru**, *see earh-, stream-, wæg-, yðfaru*.

**fast**, adj. **1.** *fixed, fastened*: nsm. 1107; asm. fastne 184, 962, 1038, 1357; npm. faste 130; apm. 1402.— **2.** *steadfast*: asf. faste 83.— **3.** *sound, heavy*: dsm. faetan 795. *See dōm-, sōð-, stādol-, ðrym-, wær-, wīsfast*.

**faetan**, *see atfaetan*.

**faete**, adv., *firmly*: 58, 1671.

**faesten**, n., *inclosure, fortress*: ds. faestenne 1034, 1068, 1177, 1541. *See lagufæsten*.

**faestlic**, *see sōðfaestlic*.

**faestniam**, W2, *fasten, secure*: pret. 3 pl. faestnodon 40. *See gefaestnian*.

**fæt**, *see sīðfæt*.

**fæted**, adj., *ornamented*: asn. 301.

**fætedsinc**, n., *treasure*: gs. fætedsinces 478.

**fæðm**, m. **1.** *outstretched arms, embrace*: ds. fæðme 610; as. fæðm 1616; ip. fæðmum 824.— **2.** *bosom (of ship), hold*: as. fæðm 444.— **3.** *expanse*: as. 252, 336.

**fæðme**, *see wīðfæðme*.

**fæðnian**, W2, *expand, spread*: pret. 3 pl. fæðmedon 1572; inf. 1589.

**fear**, adj., *few*: ipm. fēam 605.

**-fear**, *see gefear*.

**feala**, indecl. n., *many*: 564, 584, 600, 710, 961, 969, 975, 1213, 1301, 1363, 1490.

**feallan**, R, *fall*: pret. 3 sg. fēoll 918.

**fealu**, adj., *yellow, dull-colored*: asm. fealone 1538, fealuwne 421; apm. fealewe 1589.

**feasceaft**, adj., *destitute, wretched*: nsm. 1128, 1556; asm. feasceafne 181; apm. feasceafte 307.

**fedan**, *see āfedan*.

**fegan**, W1, *join, unite*: pret. 3 sg. fēge Ap. 98.

**fel**, n., *skin, hide*: as. 23.

**feld**, *see herefeld*.

**fell**, m., *fall, destruction*: as. 1609.

**-feng**, *see onfeng*.

**feohgestreōn**, n., *money, treasure*: as. 301.

**feoht**, *see gefeoht*.

**feohte**, f., *fight, battle*: as. 1023, 1350.

**feohtend**, *see wīðferohtend*.

**feolan**, *see befeolan*.

**feon**, *see gefeon*.

**feoud**, m., *enemy, devil*: gs. fēondes 20, 49, 1106, 1204, 1693; gp. fēonda 1610.

**feor**, adj., *far away, distant*: nsm. 898; nsn. feor 423; asm. feorne 191, 252, 1173.

**feor**, adv., *far*: 512, 638, Ap. 109.

**feorh**, n. **1.** *life*: ns. Ap. 37; gs. fēores 133, 179, 1101, 1107, 1130; ds. fēore 1538, **to wīðan fēore** = *ever, forever* 106, 810, 1152; as. feorh 210, 282, 430, 954, 1117, 1134, 1371, 1616, 1629, **wīðan feorh** = *forever* 1383, Ap. 12, feorg Ap. 58; is. fēore 284.— **2.** *soul*: ns. feorh 1288; as. 151.

**feorhgedāl**, n., *death*: ns. 181, 1427.

**feorhhord**, m., *body*: as. 1182.

**feorhried**, m., *salvation*: as. 1054.

**-feorme**, *see orfeorne*.

**feorndian**, *see gefeorndian*.

**feorran**, adv., *from afar*: 265, 282.

**feorrancumen**, m., *one come from afar, stranger*: gp. feorrancumenn 24.

**feorreund**, adj., *foreign*: gp. feorrcundra 1080.

**feorða**, num. adj., *fourth*: ism. fēorðan 1158.

**feorweg**, m., *distant way or region*: ap. feorwegas 928.

**feowertig**, num. adj., *forty*: 1036.



**feowertȳne**, num. adj., *fourteen*: 1503.

**-fera**, *see* **gefera**.

**feran**, W1, *go*: 2 sg. *fērest* 1071; pret. 3 sg. *ferde* 662; opt. pres. 2 sg. *fēre* 224; inf. 171, 330, 786, 928, 931. *See* **geferan**.

**ferend**, *see* **scip**-, **wīðferend**.

**ferian**, W2. 1. *bear, carry, convey*: pret. 3 sg. *ferede* 853, 906; pret. 3 pl. *feredon* 866; inf. *ferian* 347, *ferigan* 203, *ferigean* 824. — 2. *deal in, carry on*: pret. 2 sg. *feredes* 1363. *See* **ā-**, **geferian**.

**ferð**, mn. 1. *spirit, mind*: ns. *fyrhð* 638; ds. *fyrhðe* 507, *ferðe* 1485. — 2. *life*: as. *ferð* 174, 1332. *See* **collen-**, **forht-**, **stīð-**, **stærceð-**, **wērigferð**.

**ferðgefeonde**, adj., *rejoicing in spirit*: nsm. 915; npm. *ferhðgefeonde* 1584.

**ferðlocan**, m., *breast, heart*: ds. *ferðlocan* 1071, *fyrhðlocan* 58, 1570.

**fetorwraesen**, f., *jetter, chain*: dp. *fetorwraesnum* 1107.

**fēða**, m., *troop, infantry*: as. *fēðan* 1188; np. 591.

**fēðer**, f., *wing*: ip. *feðerum* 864.

**fex**, n., *hair*: ns. 1427.

**fif**, num. adj., *five*: 590, 591.

**fiftig**, num. adj., *fifty*: 1040.

**findan**, 3. 1. *find, discover*: 2 sg. *findest* 1349; pret. 3 pl. *fundon* 1076; inf. 1120, 1231, AP. 96. — 2. *attain*: inf. 980, 1154. — 3. *invent, compose*: pret. 1 sg. *fand*, AP. 1; inf. 1485. *See* **ontindan**.

**finif**, Lat., AP. 122.

**fīras**, mpl., *men*: gp. *fira* 24, 160, 291, 409, 590, 920, 964, 980, 1286.

**fīren**, f., *crime, sin*: dp. *fīrenum* 1664.

**firgendstrēam**, m., *mountain stream*: ns. 1573; as. *firigends-trēam* 390.

**first**, *see* **fyrst**.

**fise**, m., *fish*: gs. *fisces* 293; dp. *fixum* 580. *See* **hornfise**.

**fitt**, f., *song, poem*: as. *fitte* AP. 98.

**fix**, *see* **fise**.

**flāse**, n., *body*: ds. *flāse* AP. 37.

**flāschoma**, m., *body*: np. *flāschaman* 1085; ap. *flāschoman* 24, 154, 160.

**flēam**, m., *flight*: ds. *flēame* 1386; as. *flēam* 1340; is. *flēame* 1544.

**-flēde**, *see* **inflēde**.

**flēogan**, 2, *fly*: pret. 3 pl. *flugon* 1546.

**flēon**, 2, *flee, escape from*: inf. 1538.

**flitan**, 1, *oppose, dispute*: 3 sg. *fliteð* 1199.

**flōd**, m. 1. *ocean*: gs. *flōdes* 252, 367, 1530; ds. *flōde* 265; as. *flōd* 421; ap. *flōdas* 906. — 2. *flood, deluge*: ns. *flōd* 1546, 1573, 1635; gs. *flōdes* 1616, 1629; ds. *flōde* 1582; as. *flōd* 1589. — 3. *stream*: is. *flōde* 954. *See* **lago-**, **wæter-**, **merelflōd**.

**flōdwyrm**, m., *raging flood*: ns. 516.

**flot**, n., *sea*: ds. *flote* 1698.

**flota**, m., *ship*: as. *flotan* 397. *See* **æg-**, **sā-**, **wāgflota**.

**flōwan**, R, *flow*: pret. 3 sg. *flēow* 1524, 1573.

**flyht**, m., *flight*: ds. *flyhte* 864; is. 866.

**foddorðegn**, f., *food*: ds. *foddorþege* 160, *foddurþege* 1101.

**fole**, n., *people, nation*: ns. 653, 804, 1023, 1664?; gs. *folces* 29, 619, 662, 1068, 1086, 1301, 1570, 1596; ds. *folce* 784, 796, 1080, 1130, 1144, AP. 58; as. *fole* 430, 1196, 1506, 1556; is. *folce* 1643; gp. *folca* 330; dp. *folcum* 409, 606.

**folemægen**, n., *company of people*: as. 1060.

**foleræd**, m., *public benefit*: as. 622.

**folescearn**, f., *people, land*: ds. *folesceare* 681.

**folesceaða**, m., *evil-doer*: np. *folesceaðan* 1593.

**folestede**, m., *land*: ns. 20; ds. 179.

**foletoga**, m., *leader, prince*: np. *foletogan* 8, 1458.

**folde**, f. 1. *earth, world*: gs. *foldan* 336. — 2. *ground, soil*: ns. *folde* 1582; ds. *foldan* 737, 918, 969, 1427, 1524.

- foldweg**, m., *earth*: ds. foldwege 206; as. foldweg 775.
- folgian**, W2, *follow*: pret. 1 pl. fol-godon 673.
- folm**, f., *hand*: ds. folme 1133; ip. folnum 522. [Cf. Lat. *palma*.]
- fōn**, *see* **be-**, **for-**, **onfōn**.
- for**, prep. w. dat., inst., and acc. 1. *before, in the presence of*: w. dat. 165, 509, 586, 767, 881, 924, 1127, 1168, 1200, 1209, 1298, AP. 55, 61; w. acc. 880, AP. 17. — 2. *for, on account of, because of*: w. dat. 39, 457, 610, 1086, 1285, AP. 73; w. inst. 1266. — 3. *for the sake of*: w. dat. 431, 633.
- fōr**, f., *journey*: as. fōre 191, 216, 337, 846.
- foran**, *see* **beforan**.
- forbēgan**, W1, *humble*: opt. pres. 2 pl. forbēgan 1333; pp. forbēged 1571.
- forēman**, 4, *overcome, conquer*: pret. 3 sg. foreōm 1325.
- foreūð**, *see* **unforeūð**.
- fordēn**, pp., *corrupt, wicked*: gp. fordēnera 43.
- fōrdrīfan**, 1, *drive*: pret. 3 sg. fōrdrāf 269.
- fore**, prep. w. dat. and acc. 1. *before* (local): w. dat. 728, 736, 840, 910, 993, 1032, 1650; AP. 11, 36, 71; w. acc. 1028, 1613; case indeterminate 721, 1499, 1668. — 2. *because of, through*: w. dat. 186, AP. 18.
- fore**, adv., *beforehand, yet, still*: 185.
- foreðanc**, m., *deliberation, perception*: gs. foreðances AP. 96.
- forfōn**, R, *seize, come upon suddenly*: pret. 3 sg. forfēng 995.
- forgifan**, 5, *give, grant*: pret. 3 sg. forgef 486, forgeaf 1586; pres. opt. 3 sg. forgife 355; imp. 2 sg. forgif 76.
- forgiltan**, 3, *repay*: pres. opt. 3 sg. forgilde 387.
- forgrindan**, 3, *hack, injure*: pp. for-grunden 413.
- forht**, adj., *afraid*: nsm. 98, 1085; np. forhte 448, 1340, 1500, 1609; ap. 457, 1041.
- forhtferð**, adj., *timid, fearful*: nsm. 1549, 1596.
- forhyegan**, W3, *despise, disdain*: pret. 2 sg. forhogedes 1381; pret. 3 pl. forhogodan AP. 84.
- forhyman**, W1, *neglect*: inf. 735.
- forlēcan**, R, *mislead*: pret. 2 sg. forleolce 1364; pret. 3 sg. forleolc 614.
- forlēran**, W1, *mislead, instruct wrongly*: pret. 2 sg. forlærdest 1364; pret. 3 sg. forlærde 614.
- forlētan**, R. 1. *leave, abandon*: 2 sg. forlætest 1413; 3 sg. forlæteð 459; pret. 3 sg. forlēt 1037; pret. 3 pl. forlētan 802; opt. pret. 3 pl. forlēton 403. — 2. *let, grant, permit*: pret. 3 sg. forlēt 835, 968, 1588.
- forlor**, m., *loss, destruction*: ds. forlore 1423.
- formeltan**, 3, *melt away, be consumed*: inf. 1146.
- forniman**, 4, *carry off, destroy*: pret. 3 sg. fornām 994, 1531, AP. 59.
- forst**, m., *frost*: ns. 1257.
- forstandan**, 6. 1. *defend*: pret. 3 sg. forstōd 1143, 1335. — 2. *oppose, deny*: pret. 3 sg. forstōd 1540.
- forswelgan**, 3, *swallow up*: pret. 3 sg. forswealg 1590.
- forð**, adv. 1. *forth, forwards*: 775, 1506, 1584. — 2. *still, yet, henceforth*: 54, AP. 110.
- forþan**, conj. 1. *therefore, thereby*: 458, 526. — 2. *because*: 529, AP. 47.
- forwyrd**, n., *destruction*: as. 1594, 1618.
- fōt**, m., *foot*: ns. 1582.
- fracoð**, adj., *hateful, despised*: npm. fracoðe 400.
- fram**, adj., *see* **from**.
- fram**, prep. w. dat., *from*: 697, 738, 1034, 1037, 1243, 1485, 1535, 1582, 1691.

**fræct**, adj., *obstinate, proud*: dsf. frætre 571; asn. fræte 1506.

**fræctwe**, fpl., *treasures, ornaments*: ap. fræctwe 337, fræctewa Ap. 102.

**fræctwian**, *see* gefræctwian.

**frēa**, m., *lord*: ns. 662, 714, 786; gs. frēan 457, 653, 796, 1401, 1695; vs. frēa 629, 1110. *See* māufrēa.

**free**, *see* gūdfree.

**freca**, m., *hero, warrior*: ns. 1163. *See* gūð-, hildfreca.

**frēene**, adj., *dangerous, terrible*: nsm. 1432; asm. 516; asf. 1350; npf. 440; sup. asn. frēcnost 1231.

**frēfran**, W1, *comfort, console*: imp. 2 sg. frēfra 421; inf. 367. *See* āfrēfran.

**-frēge**, *see* gefrēge.

**fremde**, adj., *strange, estranged from* (w. gen.): nsm. 890.

**fremman**, W1. 1. *do, make, perform*: opt. pres. 2 sg. fremme 1354; pret. 3 sg. fremede 619, 622, 639, 815; pret. 3 pl. fremedon 1654; inf. 67, 780, 1208. — 2. *aid, advance*: inf. 934. *See* gefremman.

**frēo**, adj., *free, joyful*: npm. 598.

**frēod**, f., *love, good will*: ns. 1154; as. frēode 390.

**frēolice**, adv., *gladly, willingly*: 293.

**frēond**, m., *friend*: gp. frēonda 934, 1128, 1705, Ap. 91.

**frēondscipe**, m., *friendship*: as. 478.

**frēorig**, adj., *freezing, cold*: nsm. 491; npn. 1259.

**freodian**, *see* gefreodian.

**freodolēas**, adj., *hostile, wicked*: nsn. 29.

**freoðn**, *see* frið.

**freoðuwær**, f., *covenant of peace*: as. freoðuwære 1630.

**fricea**, m., *herald*: np. friccan 1156.

**friclaug**, W1, w. gen., *seek, ask for*: opt. 3 sg. fricle Ap. 109.

**frignan**, 3, *ask, inquire*: 1 sg. frīne 633; 2 sg. frīnest 629; pret. 3 sg. frāgn 556, 919, fregn 1163; inf. 1412. *See* gefrignan.

**frīman**, *see* frignan.

**friodo**, f., *peace*: gs. 918; as. freoðe 1130; is. freoðo 336.

**frið**, mn., *peace, safety*: gs. friðes 448, 1128, Ap. 91; ds. friðe 622; as. frið 174, 1034; is. friðe 915, 1432.

**frod**, adj. 1. *wise*: apm. frode\*784. — 2. *old*: nsm. 506; nsn. 737.

**frōfor**, f., *comfort, consolation*: gs. frōfre 906, 1567, 1684, 1705, Ap. 109; ds. 311, 606; as. 95, 1465.

**from**, adj., *brave, eager*: nsm. fram 234; npm. frome 8, frame Ap. 12. *See* hild-, sīðfrom.

**fromlice**, adv., *boldly*: 556, 1182, 1332, 1640.

**fruma**, m. 1. *beginning*: ds. fruman 1485. — 2. *Lord, the Alpha*: ns. fruma 226, 556. *See* dæd-, ēad-, lēod-, lēoht-, lif-, ordfruma.

**frumbearn**, n., *first-born child, leader*: as. 1294.

**frumgār**, m., *leader*: np. frumgāras 1068.

**frumræden**, f., *arrangement previously agreed upon, period*: gs. frumrædenne 147.

**frumsceaft**, f., *creation*: ds. frumsceafte 797.

**frumweorc**, n., *creature, creation*: gp. frumweorca 804.

**fugol**, m., *bird*: ds. fugole 497.

**ful**, adv., *fully, very*: 496. *See* syn-, ðrym-, ðryðful.

**fultum**, m., *help*: gs. fultomes Ap. 91.

**fulwiht**, n., *baptism*: ns. 1643; gs. fullwihtes 1640; ds. fulwihte 1630; as. fulwiht 1635.

**furdum**, adv., *even, just*: 797.

**furdur**, adv., *further*: 1350, 1489, 1518.

**fūs**, adj. 1. *ready to set out, eager*: nsm. 255; asm. fūsne 1654. — 2. *sad, declining*: nsm. 1664. *See* ellor-, hell-, hyufūs.

**fūsleod**, n., *death-song*: as. 1549.

**fyllan**, W1, *overthrow, destroy*: pret. 3 sg. fylde 1088.  
**fyllan**, W1, w. gen., *fill*: pret. 3 sg. fylde 523. *See* gefyllan.  
**-fynde**, *see* ƿðfynde.  
**fyrðhwæt**, adj., *active in war*: np. fyrðhwate S. Ap. 12.  
**fýren**, adj., *fiery*: dpm. fýrnum 1378.  
**fýrgnāst**, m., *spark of fire*: np. fýrgnāstas 1516.  
**fyrht**, *see* godfyrht.  
**fyrhtan**, *see* āfyrhtan.  
**fyrhð**, *see* ferð.  
**fyrðhufe**, f., *heartfelt love*: as. fyrhðlufan 83.  
**fýrnæl**, n., *mark of fire*: ip. fýrnælum 1134.  
**fýrn**, *see* unfýrn.  
**fýrndagas**, mpl., *former days*: dp. fýrndagum 1. 752, 976.  
**fýrngeweore**, n., *ancient fabric, creation*: ns. 737.  
**fýrnsægen**, n., *old tradition*: ns. 1489.  
**fýrnsceapa**, m., *ancient enemy*: ns. 1346.  
**fýrnweore**, n., *creature, creation*: gp. fýrnweorca 1410.  
**fýrnwita**, m., *patrīarch*: np. fýrnweotan 784.  
**fýrst**, m., *period of time*: ns. first 147; as. fyrst 834, 1309, 1673.  
**fýrstgēmeare**, n., *appointed time*: gs. fýrstgēmeares 931.  
**fýrstmeare**, n., *appointed time*: ds. fýrstmeare 133.  
**fýrþran**, W1, *advance, help*: inf. 934. *See* gefyrðran.  
**fýsan**, W1. 1. *prepare, get ready*: inf. 1698. — 2. *incite*: 2 sg. fýsest 1187.

## G

**Gad**, pr. n., *Gad*: ns. Ap. 57.  
**gadrigea**, W2, *collect, gather together*: inf. 781. gadrigea 1556.  
**gafulræden**, f., *tribute, fare*: as. gafulrædenne 296.

**galan**, 6, *sing*: pret. 3 pl. gōlon 1549; inf. 1127, 1342.  
**gælan**, W1, *delay*: pret. 3 pl. gældon 1533.  
**galdor**, m., *song*: gs. galdres Ap. 108.  
**galdorcraft**, m., *magic art*: ip. galdorcraftum 166.  
**galga**, *see* gealga.  
**gān**, anv., *go*: 3 pl. gāð 1665; pret. 3 sg. ēode 982, 1001; pret. 3 pl. ēodon 45; imp. 2 sg. gā 1348; imp. 2 pl. gāð 1182, 1332; inf. 365, 775. *See* gangan, āgān, ofer-ēode.  
**gang**, m., *passage, circuit, path*: ns. 1694, gong 869; as. gang 208, 455. *See* begang.  
**gangan**, anv., *go*: 3 pl. gangaþ 891; imp. 2 sg. gong 939; inf. 238, 1059, 1356, gengan 1095, geongan 1311.  
**gār**, m., *spear*: gs. gāres 187, 1330; np. gāras 127; gp. gāra 32; dp. gārum 1143; ip. 45. *See* frumgār.  
**gārgewinn**, n., *battle, opposition*: as. 958.  
**gārs**, n., *grass*: ns. 38.  
**gārseeg**, m., *ocean*: ns. 238, 392; gs. gārseeges 530; as. gārseeg 371.  
**gæsne**, adj., *dead*: np. 1084.  
**gast**, *see* bōdgast.  
**gāst**, m. 1. *mind, soul, life*: ns. 468; gs. gāstes 155; ds. gāste 782, 917, 1084; as. gāst 187, 1327, 1416; np. gāstas 640, 1617; gp. gāsta 331, 548, 901. — 2. *spirit (holy)*: ns. 728, 906, 1684; gs. gāstes 531, 1000, 1621, Ap. 114; — 3. *spirit (evil)*: ns. 1296; gs. gāstes 1694.  
**gāstgehygd**, n., *thought*: ip. gāstgehygdom 861.  
**gāstgerýne**, n., *spiritual mystery*: ip. gāstgerýnum 858.  
**gāstlic**, adj., *living, having mind or soul*: ns. 1628.  
**ge . . . ge**, conj., *both . . . and*: 542.  
**geāclian**, W2, *frighten*: pp. geāclod 805.

- geador**, adv., *together*: 1007, eador 1627.  
**gealga**, m., *gallows, cross*: as. gealgan 960, AP. 22; ds. 1327, 1409, galgan AP. 40.  
**gealgmōd**, adj., *cruel, wicked*: npm. gealgmōde 32, 503.  
**geap**, *see* **horungeap**.  
**gēara**, adv., *formerly*: 1387.  
**Gearapolis**, pin., *Hierapolis*: d. Gearapolim AP. 40.  
**geard**, *see* **caldor**-, **middangeard**.  
**gēardagas**, mpl., *former days, old times*: dp. gēardagum 1519.  
**geare**, adv., *well, certainly*: comp. gearwor 932.  
**gearu**, adj., *ready*: nsm. 72, 214, 1535, gearo 234; nsf. 907, 1153, 1567, 1579; npm. gearwe 1369; apn. gearu 1358.  
**geāscian**, W2, *learn of*: pret. 3 pl. geāscodon 44.  
**geat**, *see* **burg**-, **weallgeat**.  
**gebāro**, f., *behavior, action*: ns. 1570.  
**gebed**, n., *prayer*: ds. gebede 1027.  
**gebēodan**, 2, *offer*: pp. geboden 219.  
**geberan**, 4, *bring forth, bear*: pp. npm. geborene 690.  
**gebīdan**, 1. 1. *await*: pret. 3 sg. gebād 1702; opt. pres. 3 pl. gebīdan 309. — 2. *remain still*: pret. 3 sg. gebād 1587.  
**gebidan**, 5, *beseech, implore*: pret. 3 sg. gebæd 996.  
**gebīndan**, 3, *bind*: pret. 3 pl. gebunden 48, 1222; pp. gebunden 1379, 1396, npm. gebundene 580, apm. 947.  
**gebledsian**, W2. 1. *bless*: pp. gebledsod 524, 937. — 2. *revere, honor*: pp. gebledsod 540, 1719.  
**geblissian**, W2, *gladden, bless*: pp. geblissod 351, 468, 892.  
**geblond**, n., *commotion*: ns. 532. *See* **ārgeblond**.  
**geblōndan**, R, *mix, stir up*: pret. 3 pl. geblēndan 33; pp. geblōnden 424.  
**geblōwan**, R, *bloom, blossom*: pp. apm. geblōwene 1448.  
**gebrec**, *see* **bāngebrec**.  
**gebrecan**, 5, *break down, injure*: pp. gebrocen 1404, 1473.  
**gebringan**, W1, *bring*: pret. 3 pl. gebrōhton 1710; opt. pret. 2 sg. gebrōhte 273.  
**gebrōðor**, mpl., *brothers*: np. 1027; dp. gebrōðrum 1014.  
**gecēosan**, 2, *choose*: pret. 3 sg. gecēas AP. 19; pp. gecoren 324, npm. gecorene AP. 5.  
**gecnāwan**, R, *recognize*: inf. 1517, 1558.  
**geeringan**, 3, *fall, die*: pret. 3 sg. ge-crang AP. 60, 72.  
**geerod**, *see* **lindgeerod**.  
**gecweðan**, 5, *speak*: pret. 3 sg. gecwæð 896, 1172, 1299, 1361, 1400, 1465, 1663.  
**gecynd**, f., *kind*: as. 588.  
**gecyrran**, W1, *return*: pret. 3 pl. gecyrdon 1078.  
**gecȳðan**, W1, *make known, shew*: 3 sg. gecȳðeð 1435; 1 pl. gecȳðað 859; pret. 2 sg. gecȳðdest 390; pret. 3 sg. gecȳðde 564, 700, 711; pp. gecȳðed 90, 358; inf. 289, 784, 796, 803, 965.  
**gedafenian**, W2, *befit*: 3 sg. gedafenað 317.  
**gedāl**, *see* **feorh**-, **sāwulgedāl**.  
**gedāelan**, W1. 1. *give over to, consign to*: inf. 955, 1217. — 2. *separate, part from*: pp. gedāeled AP. 82; inf. AP. 36. — 3. *part, dishand*: pret. 3 pl. gedāeldon 5.  
**gedōn**, anv., *do*: pp. 765; inf. 342, 1444.  
**gedræg**, n. 1. *tumult, lamentation*: ns. 1555. — 2. *throng*: ns. 43.  
**gedreccan**, W1, *afflict, torment*: pret. 3 sg. gedrehte 39.  
**gedrēfan**, W1, *trouble, stir up*: pp. gedrēfed 360, 394, 1529.  
**gedrēosan**, 2, *pass away*: inf. AP. 100.  
**gedrep**, n., *stroke*: as. 1444.  
**gedryht**, *see* **willgedryht**.  
**gedūfan**, 2, *sink, penetrate*: inf. 1331.  
**gedwola**, m., *error, false belief*: as. gedwolan 611, 1688.

- gefælsian**, W2, *cleanse*: pp. gefælsod Ap. 66.
- gefastnian**, W2. 1. *establish*: pret. 3 sg. gefastnode 522. — 2. *place, fix*: pret. 3 sg. gefastnode 1378.
- gefēa**, m., *joy, happiness*: ds. gefēan 347, 598, 866, 1670, 1693; as. Ap. 81; gp. gefēana 890.
- gefeohht**, n., *fight, conflict*: ds. gefeohhte 1188, 1196.
- gefēon**, 5, w. inst., *enjoy*: pret. 3 pl. gefēgon 592, 659. See **ferðgefēonde**.
- gefeormian**, W2, *devour*: pret. 3 pl. gefeormedon 1090.
- gefēra**, m., *companion*: as. gefēran 1009, 1020.
- gefēran**, W1, *accomplish, pass through*: 2 pl. gefērað 677; pret. 1 sg. gefēide 1401; pres. opt. 1 pl. gefēran 516; inf. 194, 216.
- geferian**, W2, *conduct, bring*: pp. gefered 1173, 1619; npm. geferede 265; inf. 397.
- gefratwian**, W2, *adorn, honor*: pret. 3 sg. gefratwode 1518; pp. gefratwed 715.
- gefrēge**, n., *knowledge*: is. 1626, Ap. 25.
- gefrēge**, adj., *known, celebrated*: nsn. 668, 961, 1119.
- gefremman**, W1, *perform, do*: 1 sg. gefremme 1288; pret. 2 sg. gefremmedest 926; pret. 3 sg. gefremede 91, 605, 1108, 1387; pret. 3 pl. gefremedan 1445; pp. gefremed 976; inf. 191, 426, 1614; ger. gefremmanne 206.
- gefreoðian**, W2, *liberate, set free*: pret. 3 sg. gefreoðode 1041.
- gefrignan**, 3, *learn of, hear*: pret. 1 sg. gefrægn 1003, 1706; pret. 1 pl. gefrūnan 1; pp. gefragen 687, 1060.
- gefyllau**, W1, *complete*: pp. npm. gefylde 1695.
- gefyrdran**, W1, *support, protect*: pp. gefyrðred 983.
- gegninga**, adv., *straightway*: 1349, 1354.
- gegnsege**, m., *interchange of blows*: ds. 1356.
- gegrētan**, W1, *greet*: pret. 3 sg. gegrētte 254.
- gegrind**, n., *commotion, tumult*: as. 1590.
- gehaftan**, W1. 1. *bind, imprison*: pp. gehæfted 1127. — 2. *afflict*: pp. npm. gehæfte 1158.
- gehālgian**, W2, *consecrate*: pret. 3 sg. gehālgode 586, 1650; pp. gehālgod 1646.
- gehātan**, R, *promise*: pret. 2 sg. gehēte 1418.
- gehealdan**, R, *maintain, keep*: pret. 2 pl. gehēoldon 346; inf. 213.
- gehēgan**, W1, *perform, hold (council or meeting)*: pret. 3 sg. gehēde 1496; pret. 3 pl. gehēdon 157, gehēdan 1049; inf. 930.
- gehēred**, see **gehȳran**.
- gehladan**, 6, *load*: pp. asm. gehladenme 361.
- gehnāgan**, W1, *humble*: pres. opt. 2 pl. gehnāgan 1183; pret. 2 sg. gehnāgdest 1319; pret. 3 sg. gehnāgde 1191.
- gehrēodan**, 2, *adorn*: pp. apm. gebrodene 1449.
- gehðu**, see **geohðu**.
- gehwā**, pron., *each*: gsm. gehwæs 912; gsf. gehwære 630; gsn. gehwæs 330, 338; dsm. gehwām 65, 637; dsf. 121; dsn. 408.
- gehworfian**, 3. 1. *turn, fall*: pret. 3 sg. gehwearf 694, 1103. — 2. *convert*: 2 sg. gehweorfest 974.
- gehwyle**, pron., *each, all*: gsm. (ānra) gehwylces 1283; dsm. gehwylecum 908, 980, 1152; asm. (ānra) gehwylene 933; asn. (landa) gehwyle 935.
- gehyegan**, W3, *suppose*: pret. 2 pl. gehogodon 420.
- gehygd**, fn., *mind, thought*: as. 1460; ap. gehygd 68, 200. See **brēost**.
- gāst-**, **misgehygd**.
- gehyld**, n., *protection*: as. 117, 1045.

- gehȳran**, W1. 1. *hear, learn, heed*: 2 pl. gehȳrað 1197; pret. 1 sg. gehȳrde 651; pret. 1 pl. gehȳrdon Ap. 23, 63; pret. 3 pl. 894; opt. pret. 2 sg. gehȳrde 574; imper. 2 sg. gehȳr 1498; pp. gehȳried 92, 1554, gehȳred 168; inf. 341, 595, 811. — 2. *receive hear-ings*: pret. 3 pl. gehȳrdon 577.
- gehyrstan**, W1, *equip*: pp. gehyrsted 45.
- gelāc**, n., *commotion, conflict*: as. 1092. See **hind-**, **lyft-**, **seingelāc**.
- gelāca**, see **gūðgelāca**.
- gelād**, n., *way*: as. 190.
- gelædan**, W1. 1. *lead, conduct*: 3 pl. gelædaþ 282; pret. 3 sg. gelædde 1033; pret. 2 pl. gelæddon 430; inf. 822. — 2. *venture, risk*: pret. 3 sg. gelædde Ap. 43.
- gelang**, adj., *near at hand, attainable*: nsf. 979.
- gelæran**, W1, *instruct*: inf. 1353.
- gelæstan**, W1, *support, help*: pret. 3 sg. gelæste 411.
- gelēafa**, m., *belief, faith*: gs. gelēafan 1680, Ap. 66; as. 335.
- geleuge**, adj., *pertaining to, of the nature of*: nsf. 1474.
- geleogan**, 2, w. dat., *deceive*: pret. 3 sg. gelāh 1074.
- gelettan**, W1. 1. *let, hinder*: inf. 518. — 2. *procrastinate*: inf. 800.
- gelic**, adj., *like*: asm. gelicne 494; superl. nsm. gelicost 497; nsn. gelicost 501, 953.
- gelice**, adv., *like*: superl. gelicost 1145.
- geliegan**, 5, *stretch along*: 3 pl. gelicgaþ 334.
- gelōme**, adv., *often*: 1163.
- gelȳfan**, W1, *have faith in, trust*: 1 sg. gelȳfe 1284; pret. 3 pl. gelȳfdon 142, 562, 813; inf. 733.
- gemæl**, adj., *stained, spotted*: nsn. 1331.
- gemæne**, adj., *mutual*: nsf. 1013.
- gemang**, n., *company*: ds. gemange 730.
- gemærsian**, W2, *celebrate*: pp. gemær-sod 544.
- gemeare**, see **fyrst-**, **ðinggemeare**.
- gemēde**, adj., *pleasant*: superl. nsn. gemēdost 594.
- gemet**, n., *limit, measure*: as. gemet 309, 1481; np. gemeotu 454.
- gemet**, adj., *fitting*: nsn. 1178.
- gemētan**, W1, *find, meet*: pret. 3 sg. gemētte 241, 245, 1061; pret. 3 pl. gemētton 143, 1082.
- gemōt**, n., *assembly*: ds. gemōte 650; as. gemōt 1059.
- gemman**, PP, *remember*: pres. 3 sg. geman 639.
- gemyltan**, W1, *soften, melt*: inf. 1393.
- gemynd**, fm., *memory, thought*: dp. gemyndum 960. See **mōd-**, **ūpgemynd**.
- gemyndig**, adj., *mindful*: nsm. 161, 981, 1001, 1263, 1312, Ap. 107.
- gemyrran**, W1, *hinder, disturb*: pp. nrm. gemyrde 746.
- gēn**, see **ðā gēn**.
- gēna**, see **nū gēna**.
- gēnewide**, m., *answer*: ip. gēncwidum 858.
- generian**, W1, *save, preserve*: pp. apm. generede 1037.
- genēðan**, W1, w. inst., *venture, risk*: pret. 3 sg. genēðde Ap. 17, 50; inf. 950, 1351.
- gengan**, see **gangan**.
- geniðla**, see **eald-**, **mān-**, **torngeniðla**.
- geniwiān**, W2, *renew*: pp. geniwad 1010.
- genōg**, adj., *enough*: nsm. 1534.
- gēoc**, f., *help, comfort*: ns. 1585; gs. gēoce 1030, 1567, Ap. 108; as. 1152.
- gēocend**, m., *Comforter, Lord*: vs. 548; as. 901.
- geofa**, see **willgeofa**.
- geofon**, n., *ocean*: ns. 393, 1585, 1624; gs. geofones 852; ds. geofone 498, geofene 1531, 1615; as. geofon 1508.
- geogoð**, f., *young persons, youth*: ns. 1634; ds. geogoðe 152, 1615; is. eogoðe 1122.

**geogoðhād**, *m.*, *youthfulness*: *ds.* *geo-*  
*goðhāde* 782.

**geohðu**, *f.*, *care, tribulation*: *as.* *geohðo*  
1665, *gehðo* 1548; *dp.* *geohðum* 1008;  
*ap.* *geohða* 66.

**gēomor**, *adj.*, *sad*: *nsm.* 1008, 1408;  
*dsm.* *gēomrum* *Ap.* 89; *isf.* *gēomran*  
61, 1126. *See hyge-, mōd-, sīðgeom-*  
*mor.*

**gēomorgidd**, *n.*, *complaint, death-song*:  
*ns.* 1518.

**gēomormōd**, *adj.*, *sad*: *nsm.* 1398;  
*npm.* *gēomormōde* 406.

**gēomrian**, *W2*, *grieve, sorrow*: *pte.*  
*npm.* *geomriende* 1665.

**geond**, *prep.* *w. acc.*, *through, through-*  
*out, ever*: 25, 42, 331, 332, 371, 576,  
709, 762, 768, 961, 1120, 1431,  
1637.

**geong**, *adj.*, *young*: *nsm.* 505, 1150, *Ap.*  
57, *geonga* 1126; *gsm.* *geongan* 1117;  
*asm.* *geongne* 551, 1110; *npm.* *geonge*  
392, 858; *apm.* 1531, 1624. *See eild-*  
*geong, edgiong.*

**geongan**, *see gangan.*

**geopenian**, *W2*, *open, reveal*: *pp.* *ge-*  
*openad* 889.

**georn**, *adj.*, *eager*: *nsm.* 66, 959. *See*  
*dōmgeorn.*

**georne**, *adv.* 1. *zealously, earnestly*:  
612, 1606, 1653; *comp.* *geomor* *Ap.*  
115. 2. *certainly, truly*: 498.

**gēotan**, 2. *four, gush*: *pte.* *nsn.* *gēo-*  
*tende* 393, 1508, 1590. *See āgēo-*  
*tan.*

**gereordian**, *W2*, *feed, refresh*: *pp.* *ge-*  
*reordod* 385.

**gerīm**, *see nihtgerīm.*

**gerwan**, *see gyrwan.*

**gerȳman**, *W1*, *give place, make room*:  
*pp.* *gerȳmed* 1580.

**gerȳne**, *n.*, *secret*: *ap.* *gerȳnu* 419, *ge-*  
*lȳno* 1511. *See gāstgerȳne.*

**gesælan**, *W1*, *befall, happen*: 3 *sg.*  
*gesæleð* 511, 515; *pret.* 3 *sg.* *gesælede*  
438, 661.

**gesamnian**, *W2*, *assemble, collect*: *pret.*  
3 *pl.* *gesamnodon* 652, 1636, *gesam-*  
*nedon* 1067; *pp.* *gesamnod* 1098.  
*See samnian.*

**gesceaft**, *f.* 1. *creation (heaven or*  
*earth)*: *ns.* 1137; *as.* *Ap.* 116, 122.  
— 2. *creature*: *np.* *gesceafte* 1499;  
*gp.* *gesceafta* 326, 703, 1717.

**gescēan**, *W1*, *break, wound*: *inf.* 1142.

**gescēðan**, 6. *with wk.* *pret.*, *harm, in-*  
*jure*: *pret.* 3 *sg.* *gescēod* 1176, *wk.*  
*pret.* *gescēode* 18; *pret.* *opt.* 3 *sg.*  
*gescēode* 1420; *inf.* 917.

**gescirpla**, *m.*, *garment*: *ap.* *gescirplan*  
250.

**gescrifan**, 1. *prescribe, appoint*: *pret.*  
3 *sg.* *gescrāf* 846; *pp.* *gescrifen* 787;  
*apm.* *gescrifene* 297.

**gescylðan**, *W1*, *protect*: 3 *sg.* *gescyldeð*  
434.

**gescylðend**, *m.*, *protector*: *ns.* 1291.

**gescȳrdan**, *W1*, *veil, shroud*: *pp.* *ge-*  
*scȳrðed* 1313.

**gescȳrgan**, *W1*, *allot*: *opt.* *pres.* 2 *sg.*  
*gescȳrige* 85.

**gesēan**, *W1*, *seek, go to, reach*: *pret.*  
3 *sg.* *gesōhte* 380, *Ap.* 32, 39, 62;  
*pret.* 3 *pl.* *gesōhton* 268, 1121; *pp.*  
*gesōhte* 845, 1132; *inf.* 175, 1701, *Ap.*  
93; *ger.* *gesēanne* 295, 424.

**gesecgan**, *W1*, *tell, say*: *pret.* 3 *sg.*  
*gesaȳde* 381; *inf.* 603, 624.

**gesellan**, *W1*, *grant, give up (life)*: *pret.*  
3 *sg.* *gesælde* *Ap.* 58; *pret.* 3 *pl.*  
*gesældon* 433, 1616, *Ap.* 85; *pp.* *ge-*  
*sæld* 646, 909, 1435.

**gesēon**, 5. 1. *see, behold*: 3 *pl.* *gesēoð*  
1500; *pret.* 1 *sg.* *geseah* 493, 499;  
*pret.* 3 *sg.* 1492, 1600, *geseh* 714, 847,  
992, 1004, 1009, 1418; *pret.* 1 *pl.*  
*gesēgon* 455, 881; *imper.* 2 *sg.* *ge-*  
*sēoh* 1281, 1411; *inf.* 760, 987, 1714,  
*gesīon* 1225. — 2. *refl.* *see one another*:  
*inf.* 1013. — 3. *receive sight*: *pret.* 3 *pl.*  
*gesēgon* 581.

**geset**, *n.*, *habitation*: *ap.* *gesetu* 1259.



- gesettan, W1, *appoint*: pret. 3 sg. gesette 1617; pp. geseted 156.
- gesichð, gesihð, *see* gesyhð.
- gesittan, 5, *sit*: pret. 3 sg. gesat 350, 1063; pret. 3 pl. gesæton 1161.
- gesitð, *see* caldgesitð.
- gespann, n., *ring, spangle*: as. 302.
- gespōwan, R impers. w. dat., *succeed*: pret. 3 sg. gespeow 1344.
- gespree, n., *speech*: as. 577.
- gesprian, 5, *speak*: pret. 1 sg. gespræc 923.
- gestandan, R, *stand*: pret. 3 sg. gestōd 707.
- gesteppan, 6, *step*: pret. 3 sg. gestōp 1582.
- gestaðolian, W2, *establish, fashion*: pret. 3 sg. gestaðelode 162, gestaðolude 536.
- gesteald, *see* wuldorgesteald.
- gestealla, *see* lindgestealla.
- gestigan, 1, *mount, enter*: pret. 1 sg. gestāh 809; inf. 222.
- gestillan, W1, *become quiet*: pret. 3 sg. gestilde 532.
- gestrēon, n., *possession, treasure*: ap. A. 83. *See* feoh-, hēah-, hord-, sinegestrēon.
- geswencan, W1, *torment, afflict*: pp. geswenced 116, 394.
- geswīcan, 1, w. dat., *cease, depart*: 1 sg. geswice 1290.
- geswing, n., *surge, beating, swell*: as. 352.
- geswīngan, 3, *afflict*: pp. geswungen 1396. *See* swīngan.
- geswīðan, W1, *strengthen*: pp. geswīðed 607, 701.
- gesyhð, f., *sight*: ds. gesyhðe 705, gesiehðe 620; as. gesihð 30.
- gesyne, adj., *manifest*: nsn. 526, 549, 1602; gpn. gesynra 565.
- getēcan, W1, *instruct, indicate*: pret. 3 sg. getāhte 6; opt. pret. 2 sg. getāhte 485.
- getāenian, W2, *express, symbolize*: pret. 3 sg. getācnode 1512.
- gētan, *see* āgētan.
- gete, *see* orgete.
- getellan, W1, *tell, count*: pp. geteled 605, 1035, apm. getealde 883.
- getēon, W2, *appoint, order*: pret. 3 sg. getēode 14.
- getihhian, W2, *consider, claim*: pp. getihhad 1320.
- getimbran, W1. 1. *build*: pp. getimbred 667; inf. 1633. — 2. *confirm*: imp. 2 sg. getimbre 1671.
- getīngan, 3, w. dat., *press upon*: pret. 3 sg. getang 138.
- getrahtian, W2, *consider*: pp. getrahtod 1359. [Cf. Lat. *tractare*.]
- getrēowe, adj., *faithful*: nsm. 984.
- getrum, n., *troop*: is. getrume 707.
- geðanc, m., *thought, mind*: ds. geþance 237. *See* ingeðane.
- geðanenc, adj., *thoughtful, sagacious*: nsm. geþancul 462.
- geðēon, 1, *grow, prosper*, in pp. virtuous, excellent: pp. geþungen 528.
- geðīng, n. 1. *fate, experience, destiny*: gp. geþinga 1598; ap. geþingu 756. — 2. *appointment, command*: ds. geþinge 704. *See* gūðgeðīngu.
- geðohta, *see* trēowgeðohta.
- geðōht, m., *thought, meditation*: gp. geþōhta 744.
- geðolian, W2, *suffer, endure*: pret. 3 sg. geðolode 1490; imper. 2 sg. geþola 107; ger. geðolianne 1136, geþolienne 1659, geþolienne 1689.
- geðraec, n., *tumult, violence*: as. geþrac 823.
- geðreatian, W2, *suppress, overcome*: pp. geðreatod 436, geþreatod 1115.
- geðring, n., *crowd, tumult*: as. 368.
- geðringan, 3, *approach, draw near*: pp. geþrunge 990.
- geðyldig, *see* mōðgeðyldig.
- geðyn, W1, *rebuke, subjugate*: pp. geðyð 436.

- geunnan, 3. w. gen., *grant*: inf. 179, 1131.
- gewadan, 6. *arise, come*: pret. 3 sg. gewod 1246.
- gewætan, W1, *wet*: pp. npl. gewætte 375.
- geweale, n., *rolling, tossing*: as. 259.
- geweald, n., *power*: as. 518, 1273, 1317, 1619. *See* ahtgeweald.
- gewealdan, R, w. inst., *rule*: inf. 1365.
- gewenman, W1, *spot, defile*: pp. gewemmed 1471.
- geweore, n., *fabrication*: as. 1077; ap. 1495. *See* ær-, fyrngeweore.
- geweorp, n., *ridge, heap*: as. 306. *See* wintergeworp.
- geweorðan, 3. 1. *happen, take place*: 3 sg. geweorðeð 1437; 3 pl. geweorðað 1500; pret. opt. 3 sg. gewurde 558; inf. 730, gewyrðan 573. — 2. *become, be*: pret. 3 sg. gewearð 167, 804; pret. opt. 2 sg. gewurde 550; pp. apm. geworðne 457. — 3. *occur, befall* (impers.): pret. 3 sg. gewearð 307.
- geweorðian, W2, *honor*: 3 sg. geweorðað 938; pp. geweorðod Ap. 15, gewyrðod 116.
- gewinn, n. 1. *conflict, tumult*: as. 197, 932. — 2. *sorrow, trouble*: ns. 888. *See* gār-, gūð-, hand-, waruðgewinn.
- gewinna, m., *opponent, rival*: as. gewinnan 1197, 1249, 1301.
- gewitan, 1. go: pret. 3 sg. gewāt 118, 225, 235, 655, 696, 706, 786, 977, 1044, 1058, 1247, 1304, 1457, 1675; pret. 3 pl. gewiton 1504, geweotan 801.
- gewitt, n., *mind, understanding*: ds. gewitte 212, 316, 170, 552, 672, 760, 1265, Ap. 87; as. gewit 35, 645.
- gewlitigian, W2, *beautify, adorn*: pp. gewlitegod 669, gewlitegad 543.
- geworp, *see* wintergeworp.
- gewunian, W2. 1. *accompany, stay with*: inf. 1661. — 2. *remain, abide*: inf. 279.
- gewyrean, W1. 1. *fashion, make*: pret. 3 pl. geworhton 1073; pp. apf. geworhte 710. — 2. *deserve*: pret. 1 sg. geworhte 920.
- gewyrht, n., *deed*: dp. gewyrhtum 1366, 1611; gewyrht, case indeterminable, 1025.
- gewyrhta, m., *doer*: dp. gewyrhtum 1180.
- gewyrðian, *see* geweorðian.
- geyppan, W1, *reveal*: pp. geyppeð 1223.
- gicel, *see* cylegicel.
- gidd, n., *song*: gs. giddes Ap. 89. *See* gēomorgidd.
- giddung, *see* lēodgiddung.
- giellan, 3. *tell*: pret. 3 pl. gullon 127.
- gif, n., *gift, grace*: as. 575.
- gif, conj., *if*: 70, 210, 212, 288, 344, 407, 417, 460, 479, 482, 557, 1350, 1424, 1521, 1568, 1612.
- gifa, *see* blāð-, ēad-, symbelgifa, willgeofa.
- gifan, 3. *give*: 3 sg. gifeð 1151; pret. 3 sg. geaf 317; opt. pres. 3 sg. gife 388. *See* ā-, for-, ofgifan.
- gifeðe, n., *fate, chance*: ns. 1066; as. 489.
- gīfre, adj., *greedy*: dpf. gifrum 1335. *See* walgīfre.
- gifu, f., *gift*: as. 480, 530, 548, 754; ip. geofum 551, giofum 1519. *See* siue-, wuldorgifu.
- gild, n., *idol*: ap. 1319. *See* deofol-, hædeugild.
- gildan, 3. *bestow, grant*: 3 sg. gildeð, Ap. 119. *See* forgildan.
- giman, W1, w. gen., *regard, be heedful*: pret. 3 pl. gindon 139.
- gimm, m., *gem, jewel*: ns. gim 1268; gp. gimma 1519. [Lat. *gemma*.] *See* heafodgimm.
- gīnan, *see* fōgīnan.
- gingra, m., *disciple*: np. gingran 894, 1330; ap. 427, 847.
- gīnu, adj., *spacious, broad*: asm. gīnne 331.

- ginnan, *see* onginuan.  
 git, adv., *yet, further*: 1487. *See* ðā gīt, nū gýt.  
 gitan, *see* be-, ongitan.  
 gledmōd, adj., *happy, joyful*: nsm. 1059.  
 glēaw, adj., *wise*: nsm. 557, 817, 1497, Ap. 96; asm. gleawne 1648, glawne 143. *See* ægleaw.  
 glēawlice, adv., *wisely*: 427, 861.  
 glēawmōd, adj., *wise of mind*: nsm. 1579.  
 glidan, f., *glide, go*: 3 sg. glīdeð 498; pret. 3 sg. glād 371; inf. 1248, 1304. *See* tōglidan.  
 gnāst, *see* fýrgnāst.  
 gnornhof, n., *house of sorrow*: ds. gnornhofe 1008, 1043.  
 god, m. 1. *God*: n. 14, 91, 260, 326, 425, 459, 534, 563, 703, 751, 758, 894, 925, 1143, 1335, 1376, 1462, 1510, 1661, 1717; g. godes 117, 234, 560, 747, 776, 794, 999, 1028, 1045, 1613, 1634, 1644, 1647, Ap. 65; d. gode 205, 958, 1011, 1150, 1398, 1579, 1620, Ap. 115; a. god 275, 657, 760, 785, 1030, 1188, 1387; v. god 76, 897, 1281, 1409, 1415. — 2. *in the pl., heathen gods*: gp. goda 1319; ap. godu Ap. 49.  
 gōd, n., *prosperity, happiness*: is. gōde 406, 1617; gp. gōda 338.  
 gōd, adj., *good*: asm. gōdne 480, 922. *See* betera, sēla.  
 godbearn, n., *son of God*: ns. 640.  
 godeund, adj., *divine*: gsm. godcundes Ap. 114.  
 godfyrht, adj., *God-fearing*: asm. godfyrhtne 1022; npm. godfyrhte 1516.  
 godspell, n., *gospel*: as. 12.  
 gold, n., *gold*: ds. golde 1508; as. gold 301, 338.  
 goldburg, f., *town*: as. 1655.  
 gong, *see* gang.  
 gongan, *see* gangan.  
 grædig, adj., *greedy*: npm. grædige 155. *See* heoro-, wælgrædig.  
 grafan, *see* āgrafan.  
 græg, adj., *gray*: nsm. græga 371.  
 gram, adj., *angry, hostile*: npm. grame 917, grome 563; gpm. gramra 217, 951, 1059.  
 gramhýdig, adj., *hostile*: gsm. gramhýdiges 1694.  
 grāp, f., *clutch, grip*: dp. grāpum 1335.  
 grēne, adj., *green*: apm. 776. *See* eall-grene.  
 grēot, n., *ground, beach*: ds. grēote 238, 254, 425, 794, 847, 1084, 1624.  
 grētan, W1, *greet, address*: pret. 3 sg. grētte 61, 1030, 1464; inf. 1022. *See* gegretan.  
 grimu, adj., *fierce*: asf. grimme 1387; asn. grim 958, npn. 1365; gpf. grimra 1487. *See* heoro-, hete-, wælgrim.  
 grind, *see* gegrind.  
 grindan, 3, *grind, dash*: pret. 3 pl. grunden 373. *See* forgrindan.  
 gripe, m., *clutch, grip*: as. gripe 187, 217, 951.  
 grom, *see* gram.  
 grund, m. 1. *deep, ocean*: ns. 393, 425. — 2. *abyss*: ns. 1590; as. 1595. — 3. *ground, earth*: ds. grunde 1528; as. grund 331, 747, 1600; dp. grundum 640; ap. grundas 776.  
 grundwieg, m., *earth*: ds. grundwage 582.  
 grynsmið, m., *evil-doer*: np. grynsmiðas 917.  
 gryrehwīl, f., *period of terror*: ds. gryrehwīle 468.  
 gryrelic, adj., *terrible*: nsn. 1551.  
 guma, m., *man*: ns. 1117; np. guman 1516; gp. gumena 20, 61, 575, 582, 621, 986, 1152, 1615.  
 gumeyst, f., *virtue, right practice*: ip. gumecystum 1606.  
 gūð, f., *war, battle*: ns. 951; ds. gūde 234, 1330; as. 1349, 1351; gp. gūða 1487.  
 gūðfrec, adj., *bold in battle*: nsm. 1117.

**gūðfreca**, m., *warrior*: gs. gūðfrecan 1333.

**gūðgelāca**, m., *warrior*: np. gūðgelācan 1600.

**gūðgeðingu**, npl., *battle, contest*: ap. guðgeðingu 1022, guðgeþingo 1043.

**gūðgewinn**, n., *battle*: ns. 217.

**gūðhwaet**, adj., *bold in battle*: nsm. AP. 57.

**gūðplega**, m., *battle*: ds. gūðplegan 1360, AP. 22.

**gūðraes**, m., *rush of battle*: ns. 1531.

**gūðrinc**, m., *warrior*: np. gūðrincas 155, 392.

**gūðsearu**, n., *war armor*: np. gūðsearo 127.

**gūðweore**, n., *war-deed*: gp. guðweorca 1066.

**gyldan**, *see* ongyldan.

**gylp**, m., *boast*: as. 1333.

**gryn**, n., *sorrow, affliction*: ds. gyrne 1150, 1585.

**gyrran**, 3. *sound, creak*: pret. 3 pl. gurron 374.

**gyrwan**, W1, *get ready, prepare*: inf. 795, 1608, gerwan 1634.

**gystrandage**, adv., *yesterday*: S52.

**gýt**, *see* gýt; nū, ðā gýt.

## H

**habban**, W3, *have*: 1 sg. hæbbe 807; 2 sg. hafast 357, 507, 1320; 3 sg. hafað AP. 73; 1 pl. habbað 687; 2 pl. 296; pret. 2 sg. hæfdes 530; pret. 3 sg. hæfde 534, 787, 844, 856, 987, 990, 1060, 1063, 1160, 1241; pret. 3 pl. hæfdon 134, 149, 785, 1131; opt. pres. 2 sg. hæbbe 1521; opt. pres. 3 sg. 1164; opt. pres. 3 pl. habban 976; imper. 2 sg. hafa 223; imper. 2 pl. habbað 1358. *See* behabban, nabban.

**hæbbend**, *see* searohæbbend.

**Hābrahām**, *see* Ābrahām.

**hād**, m., *nature, form*: ds. hāde AP. 27; as. hād 912. *See* apostol-, geoguð-hād.

**hādor**, adj., *bright*: nsm. S38; nsn. 1456, hādre S9.

**hæft**, m. 1. *captivity*: ds. hæfte 1399, 1470. — 2. *captive*: np. hæftas 1070.

**hæftan**, *see* gehæftan.

**hæftling**, m., *captive*: ns. 1342.

**haga**, *see* ānhaga.

**hægelscūr**, m., *hail-storm*: ip. hægel-scūrum 1257.

**hāl**, adj. 1. *healthy, well*: nsm. 914. — 2. *whole, uninjured, sound*: nsm. 1470; gsm. hāles 1467. *See* wanhāl.

**hæle**, m., *hero*: ns. 1062; as. 144.

**hælend**, m., *Savior*: g. hælendes 574, 735; a. hælend 1031; v. 541, 1407.

**hæleð**, m., *hero, man*: ns. 919, 1556; as. 1005, 1273; vs. 484, 624; np. 50, 362, 561, 612, 1024, 1054, hæleþ 38; gp. hæleða 21, 200, 396, 494, 545, 567, 602, 885, 907, 1107, 1258, 1269, 1463; dp. hæledum 668; ap. hæleð 2, 883, 996, 1607.

**hālgian**, *see* gehālgian.

**hālig**, adj., *holy, the holy one, saint*: nsm. 14, 91, 461, 542, 1010, 1144, 1252, hālgā 118, 168, 225, 346, 359, 382, 977, 996, 1029, 1045, 1253, 1307, 1395, 1607, 1687. AP. 60; nsf. hālig 243; nsn. S9, 1018; gsm. hāliges 531, 654, 700, 819, 893, 1000, 1389, 1478, 1586, 1621, hālgan 1238; dsm. 48, 467, 1222, 1315, 1683. AP. 9; asm. hāligne 144, 481, 1010, 1614, hālgan 831, 1171, 1566, AP. 90; asf. hālige 1520; asn. hālig 1418. AP. 53; isf. hālgan 56, 537, 873, 1309, 1456; npm. hālige 885; gp. hāligra 725; dp. hālgum 1720; apm. hālige 875; apf. AP. 63; ip. hālgum 328, 723, 1054, hālegum 104. *See* heofonhālig.

**hælo**, f., *health*: as. 95.

**hām**, m., *home*: gs. hāmes AP. 118; ds. hām 1683; as. 227, 978, AP. 92; gp. hāma 104.

**hamer**, m., *hammer*: gp. hamera 1077.

- hāmsittend**, m., *one dwelling at home*: np. hāmsittende 686.
- hand**, f., *hand*: ns. 9, 17, 412; as. 941, 1417, AP. 60; ap. handa 48, 1222.
- handgewinn**, n., *struggle, conflict*: ds. handgewinne 186.
- handhrine**, m., *touch of the hand*: as. 1000.
- handmægen**, n., *strength of the hands*: as. 725.
- hār**, adj., *hoary, gray*: asm. hārne 841; npm. hāre 1258.
- hærn**, f., *seawave, sea*: ns. 531.
- hæs**, f., *command*: as. 1520, 1586.
- hāt**, adj., *hot*: nsm. 1709; asm. hātne 1187; ism. hātan 1542; isn. 1241, 1277. *See* brandhāt.
- bata**, *see* scyldbata.
- bātan**, R. 1. *bid, command*: 3 sg. hāteð 1505; pret. 1 sg. hēt 931; pret. 3 sg. hēt 330, 587, 792, 795, 807, 822, 1145, 1575, 1623, 1632, AP. 68, heht 365, 1466, AP. 45; pret. 3 pl. hēton 1229, 1272, 1390. — 2. *name*: pp. hāten 686. *See* gehātan.
- hæðen**, adj., *heathen*: nsm. AP. 46; gsm. hæðnes 1238; dsf. hæðenan 1491; dsn. hæðenum 1144; asf. hæðene AP. 60, hæðenan 111; np. hæðene 1002, 1124, hæðne 126, 1070; gp. hæðendra 186, 218, 957, 992, 1032, 1380.
- hæðengild**, n., *idol, idolatry*: dp. hæðengildum 1102; ap. hæðengild AP. 47.
- hē**, pron., *he*: nsm. 51, 53, 54, etc.; nsn. hit 695, 765, 1323, 1393, 1563; gsmn. hīs 50, 60, 94, 164, etc.; dsnn. him 45, 57, 118, 115, etc.; asm. hine 502, 551, 820, 943, 1143, 1326, 1335, 1564, 1608, AP. 97; asf. hīe 680, 1154; asn. hit 149, 210, 1231, 1514; np. hīe 5, 23, 26, 31, etc.; gp. hīra 3, 11, 25, 140, etc.; dp. him 5, 17, 27, 33, etc.; ap. hīe 254, 464, 613, 795, etc.
- hēafod**, n., *head*: gs. hēafdes 50; ds. hēafde 1423, 1472, AP. 46.
- hēafodgim**, m., *eye*: ap. hēafodgimmas 31.
- hēafodmāga**, m., *near kinsman*: as. hēafodmāgan 942.
- heafola**, m., *head*: as. heafolan 1142.
- hēah**, adj., *high*: nsn. 668; isn. hēa 274.
- hēahcýning**, m., *great king, Lord*: ns. 6.
- hēahengel**, m., *archangel*: np. hēahenglas 885.
- hēahfæder**, m., *patriarch*: gp. hēahfædera 791; ap. hēahfæderas 875.
- hēahgestrēon**, n., *great treasure*: ip. hēahgestrēonum 362.
- hēahreced**, n., *great hall*: as. 708.
- hēahstefn**, adj., *high-prowed or -stemmed*: nsm. 266.
- healdan**, R. *hold, preserve, keep*: 1 sg. healde 336, 915, 1432; 3 pl. healdað 176; pret. 3 pl. hēoldon 1514. *See* gehealdan.
- healdend**, m., *keeper, ruler*: ns. 225.
- healf**, f., *side*: ds. healfe 1063; ap. 715.
- heals**, *see* fāmighheals.
- healt**, adj., *lame*: dp. healtum 578.
- hēan**, adj., *abject, wretched*: nsm. 891, 1087, 1367, 1557; asm. hēanne 1191.
- hēap**, m., *throng, company*: ns. 870; ds. hēape AP. 9; as. hēap AP. 90; is. hēape 696; ip. hēapum 126.
- heard**, adj. 1. *bold, resolute*: nsm. 233, 839, 982, 1399. — 2. *grievous, severe*: nsm. 1395; nsf. 1562; asn. 1092; gp. heardra 1445, 1470, 1491; ip. heardum 952, 1257; comp. asm. heardran 1402. — 3. *hard*: asm. heardne 739. *See* ecg-, ellen-, hilde-, seūr-, ðroht- heard.
- hearde**, adv., *sternly, severely*: 18.
- heardlie**, adj., *severe, destructive*: nsm. 1551.
- hearm**, m., *harm, injury, contumely*: as. hearne 1071, 1367; is. herne 671; gp. hearma 1198, 1445.

- hearnewide**, m., *calumny, blasphemy*: as. 79, 501.
- hearnlōð**, n., *complaint, song of grief*: as. 1127, 1312.
- hearnloca**, m., *prison*: ds. hearnlocan 95, 1029.
- heaðoliðende**, m., *sailor*: dp. heaðoliðendum 126.
- heaðowælm**, m., *fercebillow*: is. heaðowælm 1512.
- hebban**, v. 1. *raise*: pp. hafen 1155.  
2. *celebrate*: pp. hafen 1013. *See* āhebban.
- hēgan**, *see* gehēgan.
- hēgende**, *see* mæðelhēgende.
- hēhðu**, f., *height, glory*: ds. hēhðo 873, 998, 1114, Ap. 118.
- helan**, v. *conceal*: opt. 3 sg. hele 1161. *See* behelan.
- hell**, f., *hell*: gs. helle 1052, 1298, 1312, 1703; ds. 1187.
- hellcraft**, m., *hellish art*: ip. hellcraftum 1102.
- hellheine**, m., *hell-dumper, devil*: ns. 1171.
- hellfūs**, adj., *bound for hell*: npm. hellfūse 50.
- helltraef**, n., *heathen temple*: dp. helltrafum 1061.
- helm**, m. 1. *helmet*: as. 10. -2. *guard-arm*: ns. 118, 277, 623, 955. *See* niðhelm.
- helma**, m., *helm, rudder*: ds. helman 396.
- helman**, W2, *conceal, cover*: pret. 3 sg. helmade 1305.
- helmweard**, m., *pilāt*: ds. helmwearde 359.
- help**, f., *help*: ns. 907; gs. helpe 1031, 1506, Ap. 90; ds. 1005; as. 91, 120, 1011.
- hengest**, *see* brims, sǣhengest.
- hēnðu**, f., *humiliation*: dp. hēnðum 117, 1467.
- heofan**, 2. *lament*: ptc. nsm. heofende 1557.
- heofon**, m., *heaven*: ns. 1438; gs. heofonas 1501; as. heofon 748, hefon 328; gp. heotona 6, 192, 1505, 1683; dp. heofonum 1452, heofenum 89, 168, 195; ap. heofonas 977. *See* āpheofon.
- heofoncandel**, f., *sun*: ns. 243.
- heofuncyning**, m., *heavenly king*: gs. heofuncyninges 92, 723, 998, 1381; ds. heofuncyninge 821.
- heofonhālig**, adj., *of celestial holiness*: nsm. 728.
- heofonhwealf**, f., *vault of heaven*: ds. heofonhwealfe 515, 1402.
- heofonleoht**, n., *heavenly light*: ds. heofonleohte 974.
- heofonlōma**, m., *heavenly radiance*: ns. 838.
- heofonlic**, adj., *heavenly*: asm. heofonlicne 389.
- heofonrice**, n., *kingdom of heaven*: gs. heofonrices 52, 56, 1052.
- heofonforht**, adj., *heavenly bright*: nsm. 1269; nsn. 1018.
- heofonðrynum**, m., *heavenly glory*: ds. heofonðrymme 181, 1720.
- heolfor**, n., *blood, gore*: is. heolfre 1211, 1277.
- heolstor**, m., *darkness*: ds. heolstre 243; as. heolstor 1191.
- heolstorloca**, m., *dark place, prison*: d. or as. heolstorlocan 141, 1005.
- heolstorscunwa**, m., *darkness*: d. or as. heolstorscunwan 1253.
- heonan**, adv., *hence*: Ap. 109, heonon 891.
- hēore**, *see* unhēore.
- heorodrēorig**, adj., *blood-stained*: npm. heorodrēorige 1083; apm. 906.
- heorogrædig**, adj., *bloodthirsty*: npm. heorogrædige 38; gpm. heorogrædigra 79.
- heorogrimm**, adj., *warlike*: npm. heorogrimme 31.
- heorte**, f., *heart*: ds. heortan 52, 1252, 1709; as. 36, 1213. *See* blīð-, cald-, mildheort.

- heorudolg**, n., *sword-wound*: ip. heorudolgum 942.
- heorusweng**, m., *sword-stroke*: ip. heoruswengum 952.
- hēr**, adv., *here, hither*: 724, 1173, 1562, Ap. 96.
- herdan**, W1, *confirm, strengthen*: imper. 2 sg. herd 1213.
- here**, m., *host, army, throng*: gs. heriges 1106, 1156, 1202, 1238, Ap. 21; ds. herige 1127, 1198; as. here 1124, 1187; np. herigeas 652, 1067; gp. herigea 1501.
- herefeld**, m., *battle-field*: ds. herefeldra 10, 18.
- heremægen**, n., *army, multitude*: ds. heremægene 586, 728, 1298, 1650.
- herestræc**, f., *army-road*: ds. herestræte 831; np. herestræta 200.
- heretfæm**, m., *plunder, devastation?*: ns. 1551.
- herian**, W1, *praise, glorify*: 3 pl. herigað 722; pret. 3 sg. herede 52, 819, 998, 1267, 1455; pret. 3 pl. heredon 873; ptc. npm. herigende 657.
- herig**, m., *heathen temple*: ap. herigeas 1687.
- herigweard**, m., *guardian of the temple*: np. herigweardas 1124.
- herm**, *see* **hearm**.
- Hērōdes**, pr. n., *Herod*: ns. 1324; ds. Hērōde Ap. 36.
- hete**, m., *hate*: ds. 944. *See* **bill-**, **lēod-**, **nīð-**, **wæpenhete**.
- hetegrimm**, adj., *fierce, cruel*: nsm. 1395; nsf. 1562.
- heterōf**, adj., *hostile*: gp. heterōfra 1420.
- hettend**, m., *enemy*: np. 31.
- hider**, adv., *hither*: 207, 1604, hyder 1024.
- hidereyme**, m., *coming, arrival*: as. 1316.
- hīg**, n., *hay*: ns. 38.
- hige**, *see* **hyge**.
- higeblið**, adj., *blithe of mind*: asf. higeblīde 1691.
- higerōf**, adj., *bold of mind*: nsm. 233; asm. higerōfne 1005; npm. higerōfe 1054.
- hiht**, *see* **hyht**.
- hild**, f., *battle, war*: ns. 1420; ds. hilde 412; gp. hilda 1491.
- hildbedd**, n., *death-bed*: ns. 1092.
- hildeccōðor**, n., *war-troop*: is. hildecorðre Ap. 41.
- hildedfōr**, adj., *bold in battle*: ns. 1002.
- hildeheard**, adj., *brave in battle*: nsm. Ap. 21.
- hildeðrymm**, m., *valor in battle*: ds. hildeðrymme 1032.
- hildewōma**, n., *sound of battle*: as. hildewōman 218.
- hildfrecra**, m., *warrior*: np. hildfrecan 126, 1070.
- hildfrom**, adj., *brave in battle*: npm. hildfrome 1202.
- hildlata**, m., *one slow in battle, coward*: ns. 233.
- hildstapa**, m., *warrior*: np. hildstapan 1258.
- hinea**, *see* **hellehinea**.
- hīw**, n., *appearance, countenance*: ns. 725; as. 1169.
- hlādan**, *see* **gehlādan**.
- hlāf**, m., *bread*: gs. hlāfes 21, 312; as. hlāf 389; dp. hlāfum 590.
- hlāford**, m., *lord*: ds. hlāforde 412.
- hlāfordlēas**, adj., *without a lord*: npm. hlāfordlēase 405.
- hleahfor**, m., *laughter*: is. hleahfor 1703.
- hlēapan**, *see* **āhlēapan**.
- hlēo**, n. 1. *cover, protection*: ds. 111, 567; as. 832. — 2. *protector*: ns. 896, 1450; vs. 506, 1672.
- hlēolēas**, adj., *cheerless*: asm. hlēolēasan 131.
- hlēotan**, v. 1. *receive, obtain*: 2 sg. hlēotest 480. — 2. *cast lots*: pret. 3 pl. hluton 1102.
- hlēoðor**, n., *noise, talk*: ns. 739, 1551; ip. hlēoðrum 723. *See* **wordhlēoðor**.

- hlēoðorewide**, m., *speaking, words*: as. 803; dp. hlēoðorewidum 1021; ip. 810.
- hlēoðrian**, W2, *speaks, talks*: pret. 3 sg. hlēoðrode 461, hlēoðrade 537, 1360, hlēoðrode 1430; pret. 3 pl. hlēoðrodon 602.
- hlīdan**, *see on-*, **tōhlīdan**.
- hlīchhan**, *see āhlīchhan*.
- hlīfian**, W2, *tower, stand high*: pret. 3 pl. hlīfodon 841.
- hlīndurn**, f., *prison-door*: ds. hlīndura 993.
- hlīnreced**, n., *prison*: as. 1463.
- hlīnseuwa**, m., *darkness of prison*: as. hlīnseuwan 1071.
- hlīð**, n., *slope, hill*: np. hlēoðu 841. *See sand-*, **stānhlīð**.
- hlōsian**, W2, *listen, hearken*: pret. 3 sg. hlōsnode 701.
- hlōð**, f., *troop, company*: ns. 42, 1389, 1513; as. 902.
- hlūd**, adj., *loud*: nsm. 1156; nsf. 739; isf. hlūdan 1360.
- hlūtter**, adj., *bright, pure*: as. hlūtterne 312; asf. hlūttrē 1003.
- hlymman**, 3, *resound*: 3 sg. hlymmeð 302.
- hlyman**, W1, *resound*: pret. 3 sg. hlynede 238.
- hlynsian**, W2, *resound*: pret. 3 pl. hlynsodon 1515.
- hlyst**, m., *heed, attention*: as. 1586.
- hlȳt**, m., *lot, fate*: ns. Ap. 9; as. 6, 14.
- hnāg**, adj., *wretched, miserable*: comp. gsf. hnāgram 1598.
- hnāegan**, W1, *humble*: opt. pres. 3 pl. hnāegan 1320. *See gehnāegan*.
- hnūtan**, f., *clash*: pret. 3 pl. hneotan 4.
- hof**, n., *house*: ds. hofe 1307; ap. hofu 838. *See ceaster-*, **guornhof**.
- hold**, adj., *gracious*: nsm. 550; asf. holde 1104. *See ðeodenhold*.
- holdlice**, adv., *faithfully*: 1639.
- holm**, m., *ocean*: as. 429; gp. holma 105. *See saholm*.
- holmðraen**, f., *tossing sea*: ns. holmþraen 467.
- holmweg**, m., *sea-way*: ds. holmwege 382.
- homa**, *see flāse-*, **flīchoma**.
- hōn**, *see āhōn*.
- hord**, *see feorh-*, **mōð-**, **wordhord**.
- hordgestrēon**, n., *treasure*: dp. hordgestrēonum 1114.
- hordloca**, m., *treasure-place*: as. 671.
- hornfise**, m., *garfish, swordfish?*: ns. 370.
- horngēap**, adj., *wide-gabled*: nsm. 668.
- hornsal**, n., *gabled hall*: ap. hornsalu 1158.
- hornscip**, n., *beaked ship*: is. hornscipe 271.
- hospword**, n., *insulting word*: ap. 1315.
- hrā**, n., *corpse*: ns. 1031, 1277; as. 952; np. 791.
- hraedlice**, adv., *quickly*: 192, 936, 1505.
- hrægl**, n., *garment*: ds. hrægle 1471.
- hramrāð**, f., *whale-road, ocean*: ds. hramrāde 266, 634, hronrāde 821.
- hraðe**, adv., *quickly*: 341, 947, 982, 1106, 1111, hraðe 1221, 1272, 1520, 1577.
- hrēmīg**, adj., *exultant*: nsm. 1609; npm. hrēmige 864.
- hrēoðan**, *see gehrēoðan*.
- hrēof**, adj., *leprous*: dp. hrēofum 578.
- hrēoh**, adj., *rough, fierce*: nsf. 467; nsm. 1542; apm. hrēo 748.
- hrēosan**, 2, *fall, perish*: 3 pl. hrēosaj 1438; pret. 3 pl. hruron 1600. *See tōhrēosan*.
- hrēoða**, *see hordhrēoða*.
- hrēow**, *see rēow*.
- hrēran**, W1, *move, stir*: ptc. dpf. hrērendum 401. *See onhrēran*.
- hreðor**, m., *breast, heart*: ns. 1018; ds. hreðre 36, 60, 817, 893.
- hrif**, n., *comb*: as. Ap. 29.
- hrīm**, m., *rime, hear-frost*: ns. 1257.



- hrīnan**, *v.*, *touch, assault*: pp. hrinen 942.  
**hrine**, *see* handhrine.  
**hring**, *m.*, *ring, sound*: ns. 1278.  
**hroden**, *see* siuchroden.  
**hronrād**, *see* hramrād.  
**hropan**, *R.*, *shout*: pret. 3 pl. hreopon 1156.  
**hroðor**, *n.*, *comfort, consolation*: ds. hroðe 111, 567, Ap. 95; gp. hroðra 1367.  
**hryre**, *m.*, *fall, decay*: ds. 229.  
**hrysian**, *W2*, *shake, clatter*: pret. 3 pl. hrysedon 127.  
**hū**, *adv.*, *how*: 155, 163, 190, 307, 419, 487, 547, 558, 573, 575, 596, 639, 812, 920, 960, 1355 (weald hū), 1490, Ap. 3.  
**hū**, *interj.*, *how, lo*: 63, Ap. 91.  
**hundtēontig**, *num.*, *hundred*: 1035.  
**hungor**, *m.*, *hunger*: gs. hungres 1087; is. hunge 1114, 1158.  
**hūrn**, *adv.*, *verily, indeed*: 549, Ap. 42.  
**hūs**, *see* bānhūs.  
**huseword**, *n.*, *scornful word*: is. huseworde 669.  
**hwā**, *pron.*, *who*; *neut.*, *what, of what sort*: nsm. 381, 797, 905, Ap. 98, 106; nsn. hwæt 262, 734, 1066, 1343; gsn. hwas 145; asn. hwæt 342, 1316. *See* æg-, gehwā.  
**hwæl**, *m.*, *whale*: gs. hwæles 274.  
**hwælmere**, *m.*, *ocean*: ns. 370.  
**hwænne**, *conj.* 1. *until*: 400. — 2. *when*: 136.  
**hwanon**, *adv.*, *whence*: 256, 258, 683.  
**hwær**, *adv.*, *where*: 799, 1317, Ap. 111.  
**hwæt**, *adj.*, *see* fyrd-, gūðhwæt.  
**hwæt**, *adv.*, *why, how*: 629, 1413.  
**hwæt**, *interj.*, *what, lo*: 1, 676, 1185, 1189, 1363, 1376, 1406, 1478, 1508, Ap. 1, 23, 63.  
**hwaðer**, *conj.*, *whether*: 129, 604. *See* æghwaðer.  
**hwaðre**, *conj.*, *however, yet*: 51, 1487, hwaðere 504.  
**hwealf**, *see* heofonhwealf.  
**hwearlian**, *W2*, *go, turn*: inf. 891.
- hwelan**, *v.*, *roar, resound*: 3 sg. hwileð 495.  
**hweorfan**, *v.*, *turn, go*: 1 pl. hweorfað 405; pret. 3 pl. hweorfon 640, hweorfan 1050; inf. 117, 1691. *See* ā-, be-, gehweorfan.  
**hwettan**, *W1*, *whet, incite*: 3 sg. hweteð 286. *See* āhwettan.  
**hwider**, *adv.*, *whither*: 405.  
**hwil**, *f.*, *while, time*: gs. hwile 113; as. 131, 1478. *See* gýrehwīl.  
**hwilen**, *see* unhwilen.  
**hwīlum**, *adv.*, *at times*: 443, 514.  
**hwyle**, *pron.*, *which, who*: nsm. 411, 1372; nsn. 1228; asm. hwylene 132, 785, 1100. *See* æg-, gehwyle.  
**hyegan**, *W3*, *think*: 2 pl. hygað 1612; pret. 2 sg. hogodeð 1316; pret. 3 sg. hogode 622. *See* for-, gehyegan.  
**hyegende**, *see* stīð-, wīðerhyegende.  
**hýdig**, *see* gram-, wīðerhýdig.  
**hygd**, *see* ge-, oferhygd.  
**hyge**, *m.*, *mind, heart*: ns. 36, 231, 578, 1064, 1709, hige 634, 1252, Ap. 53; as. hyge Ap. 68, hige 971, 1213, 1654.  
**hygeblind**, *adj.*, *spiritually blind*: nsm. Ap. 46.  
**hygeðomor**, *adj.*, *sad of mind*: nsm. 1087, 1557.  
**hygeðanc**, *m.*, *thought*: gs. hygeðances 817.  
**hygeþancol**, *adj.*, *thoughtful*: nsm. 341.  
**hyht**, *m.* 1. *hope, expectation*: ns. 1010, 1114, biht 287; as. hyht 1052. — 2. *joy*: ds. hyhte 239, 637, 874, as. hyht 481; gp. hylta Ap. 118.  
**hyhtlic**, *adj.*, *joyful*: sup. nsm. hyhtlicost 101.  
**hyld**, *see* gehyld.  
**hyldan**, *W1*, *bend, bow*: pret. 3 pl. hyl-don 1027.  
**hyldu**, *f.*, *kindness, favor*: as. hyldo 389.  
**hylman**, *see* forhylman.  
**hynfis**, *adj.*, *ready to die*: np. hynfise 612.

**hȳran**, W1. 1. *hear, listen to*: pret. 1 sg. hȳrde 360; pret. 3 sg. hērde 1176; pret. 1 pl. hȳrde wē AP. 70; opt. pres. 1 pl. hȳran 1167. — 2. *obey, follow*: 2 pl. hȳrað 679; pret. 3 pl. hȳrdon 612; opt. pres. 1 pl. hȳran 1606; inf. 1639, AP. 47. *See gehȳran.*

**hyrenian**, W2. *listen to*: pret. 3 pl. hyrenodon 654.

**hyrdan**, *see onhyrdan.*

**hyrde**, m., *guard*: ns. 807; np. hyrdas 1083; ap. 993, 1077.

**hyrstan**, *see gehyrstan.*

**hyse**, m., *man, youth*: ds. hysse 550; vs. 595, 811.

**hysebeorðor**, m., *young man*: ds. hysebeorðre 1142.

**hyspan**, W1. *scorn, mock*: inf. 671. [hosp.]

**hȳðig**, *see unhȳðig.*

## I

**Iācōb**, pr. n., *Jacob, James*: ns. 691, AP. 35, 70; ds. Iācōbe 754; as. Iācōb 794.

**ie**, pron., *I*: ns. 64, 72, 77, 81, etc.; for genitive, *see mīn*: ds. mē 63, 76, 198, 200, etc.; as. mē 71, 85, 389, 905, etc. np. wē 1, 264, 268, 292, etc.; for genitive, *see ūser*: dp. ūs 276, 288, 292, 342, 514, 1420, 1566, 1567; ap. 265, 269, 273, 330, 434, 596, 852, 862, 1419, 1561, ūsic 286.

**īcan**, W1. *increase*: 2 sg. īcest 1190; inf. īcan 1384.

**īdel**, adj., *vain*: apm. idle AP. 84.

**ides**, f., *woman*: np. idesa 1638.

**īerūsālēm**, pr. n., *Jerusalem*: ds. AP. 70.

**igland**, n., *island*: as. 15.

**īlea**, pron., *same*: nsm. 751; asf. ilcan 911.

**īn**, prep. w. dat. and acc. 1. *in, on, within, amid, among, at, by* (w. dat.): 51, 52, 60, 78, 121, 163, 169, 231, 281, 304, 356, 502, 573, 597, 707, 719, 854, 868, 927, 948(2), 973, 976, 1004, 1008, 1029, 1043, 1082, 1155, 1187, 1264,

1299, 1309, 1377, 1467, 1482, 1491, 1649, 1672, 1685, 1720, AP. 16, 30, 40, 45, 70, 118. — 2. *into, to, towards* (w. acc.): 41, 111, 117, 217, 349, 656, 911, 929, 939, 951, 982, 1091, 1273, 1308, 1332, 1380, 1463, 1594, 1618, 1619, 1686, 1703.

**īn**, adv., *in, inside*: 362, 990, 1001, 1331, 1588, inn 1058.

**Indēas**, pr. n., *India*: gp. Indēa AP. 51; dp. Indēum AP. 43.

**īnflēde**, adj., *full of water*: asf. 1504.

**ingeþane**, mn., *thought, reason*: as. 35.

**īman**, prep. w. dat., *in, within*: 1235, 1547.

**īman**, adv., *within*: 1018, 1241.

**īmanweard**, adv., *within*: 647.

**īme**, adv., *within*: 1542.

**īnwit**, n., *guile, deceit*: as. 610.

**īnwiðāne**, m., *evil thought*: as. 670; ip. inwiðāneum 559.

**īnwiðwrasen**, f., *evil chain*: as. inwiðwrasne 63; ip. inwiðwrasnum 946.

**Iōhannes**, pr. n., *John*: ds. Iōhanne AP. 23.

**Iōsēph**, pr. n., *Joseph*: ns. 688; gs. Iōsēphes 691.

**Iosua**, pr. n., *Joshua*: ns. Iosua 1516.

**īren**, n., *sword*: as. 1181.

**īrnan**, *see onīrnan.*

**Irtāeus**, pr. n., *Irtacus*: ns. AP. 68.

**īs**, n., *ice*: ns. 1261.

**īsaac**, pr. n., *Isaac*: ds. Īsāce 753; as. Īsaac 793.

**Israhēl**, pr. n., *Israelite*: gp. Israhēla 880; dp. Israhēlum 165.

**īu**, adv., *once, long ago, formerly*: 438, 489, 661, 1377, 1386.

**Iūdēas**, pr. n., *Jews*: gp. Iūdēa 166, 560, 1325; dp. Iūdēum 12, 966, 1408, AP. 35.

## L

**L** = *rune* † AP. 102; *for meaning, see Not.*

**lāc**, f., *gift, offering*: as. 1111. *See beadu-, gelāc.*

- lāca, -lāca, *see* āglāca, gūḍgelaca.  
**lācan**, R, *toss, move rapidly*: 3 pl. lācaḥ 253; ptc. nsm. lācende 437. *See* forlācan.  
**lācende**, *see* fāroḍlācende.  
**lād**, f., *way, journey*: ns. 423; ds. lāde 276, AP. 92. *See* ēa-, ge-, lago-, sē-, yḍlād.  
**lādan**, W1, *lead, conduct*: pret. 3 pl. lēddon 1459, lēddan 1249; ptc. nsm. lēdende 1477; pp. lēded 1307; inf. 174, 337, 777, 1044, 1229, 1272, 1390, 1706. *See* gelādan.  
**lāf**, *leaving, remnant*: ds. lāfe 1081. *See* yḍlāf.  
**lagollōd**, m., *water-flood, ocean*: ap. lagollōdas 244.  
**lagolād**, f., *sea-way, ocean*: as. lago-lāde 314.  
**lagn**, m., *sea, flood*: ns. 437, AP. 102 (rune 𐌺).  
**lagufāsten**, n., *sea*: as. 398, 825.  
**lagustrēan**, m., *ocean*: as. 423.  
**lāla**, m., *bruise, wound*: as. lālan 1443.  
**land**, n. 1. *land, dry land*: ns. 423; ds. lande 368; as. land 378, 404, 827. — 2. *country, province*: ns. AP. 66; ds. lande 294, 1645, 1694; as. 268, 698, 1321, AP. 76; gp. landa 408, 935, 961. — 3. *ground, earth*: ds. lande 1426; np. land 1259. — 4. *land, property, estate*: gs. landes 303. *See* ēa-, īg-, meare-, wīdland.  
**landrest**, f., *lomb*: as. landreste 781.  
**landscearn**, f., (*portion of*) *land*: ds. landsceare 501, 1229.  
**lāne**, adj., *transitory, fleeting*: npf. lāne AP. 102; apn. lānan AP. 83.  
**lang**, adj. 1. *long*: nsm. 420; asf. lange 790. — 2. *eternal*: asm. langne AP. 92. *See* ge-, niht-, onðlang.  
**lange**, adv., *long, a long time*: 314, 579, 1363; comp. leng So, 800, 1042, 1364, 1467, 1660.  
**langsum**, adj., *long, everlasting*: nsf. 1482; comp. asn. langsumre AP. 20.  
**lār**, f. 1. *instruction, wisdom, counsel*: ds. lāre 654; as. 507, 709, 819, 1164, 1424, 1653, 1692, AP. 67; gp. lāma 482; dp. lārum 679, 813, 1290; ip. 141, 611, 777. — 2. *narration, story*: as. lāre 1478.  
**lāran**, W1, *instruct, teach*: 2 sg. lārest 1185; pret. 3 sg. lāre 170, 420, 462, 1195, 1297, 1680, AP. 31. *See* for-, gelāran.  
**lārewide**, m., *doctrine, teaching*: as. 674.  
**lārēow**, m., *teacher*: ns. 1321, 1466; as. 404, 1707.  
**lārsmiḍ**, m., *teacher*: np. lārsmeoḍas 1220.  
**lās**, *see* ðy-lās.  
**lāst**, m., *track, trace (on last, laste, behind)*: ds. laste 1596, AP. 94; as. last 1446. *See* wīdlast.  
**lāstan**, W1, *follow, perform*: pret. 3 pl. lāston 674, 1653; inf. 1424. *See* gelāstan.  
**læt**, adj., *slow, behindhand*: nsm. AP. 33; nsf. latu 1210; npm. late 46.  
**lata**, *see* hildlata.  
**lātān**, R. 1. *let, allow*: pret. 3 pl. lēton 1099; imper. 2 sg. lāet 397, 957, 960, 1293, 1503; imper. 2 pl. lātaḥ 1180, 1330. — 2. *leave, leave behind*: pret. 3 pl. lēton 831; inf. 781, AP. 94. *See* ā-, ānfor-, forlātān.  
**latu**, *see* wordlatu.  
**lāḍ**, n., *injury, harm*: gs. lāḍes 1443; ds. lāḍe 1474; as. lāḍ 1347.  
**lāḍ**, adj. 1. *hateful, despised*: asm. lāḍne 1249; npm. lāḍe 408. — 2. *hostile*: gpm. lāḍra So, 944.  
**lāḍspell**, n., *evil tidings*: as. or p. 1679.  
**lāḍu**, *see* wordlāḍu.  
**-lēafa**, *see* gelēafa.  
**leahtrū**, m. 1. *slander*: ip. leahtrum 1295. — 2. *wound, disease*: ip. lehtrum 1216.  
**lēan**, n., *reward*: ns. 948; ds. lēane AP. 62, 74; as. lēan 387, AP. 120. *See* eol-, sigelēan.

**lēas**, adj. 1. *deprived of, lacking* (w. gen.): nsm. 1367, 1705. — 2. *false*: apn. lēasan Ap. 49. *See* āre-, dōm-, ende-, ēðel-, freodo-, hlāford-, hlīco-, wære-, whitelēas.

**-lēast**, *see* metelēast.

**leegan**, *see* beleegan.

**lēg**, *see* lig.

**-lege**, *see* orlege.

**leug**, *see* lange.

**-leuge**, *see* geleuge.

**lēode**, fpl., *men, people, nation*: n. 1249; g. lēoda 268, 663, 1227, 1259, 1363, 1390, 1706; d. lēodum 1649; a. 170, 1003, 1321, 1680, Ap. 31.

**lēodfruma**, m., *leader of the people*: ns. 1660; as. lēodfruman 980.

**lēodhete**, m., *hostility*: ns. 1138; ds. 112, 1149.

**lēodmeare**, f., *boundary, country*: as. lēodmeorce 280, 777.

**lēodriht**, n., *law*: ds. lēodrihte 679.

**lēodsecaða**, m., *public enemy*: gp. lēod-secaðena 80.

**lēof**, adj., *dear, beloved*: nsm. 1251, 1579; asm. lēofne 404, 825, 944, 989, 1707; npn. lēofe 1017, Ap. 6; comp. nsm. lēofra Ap. 49, nsn. lēofre 1428; sup. nsm. lēofast Ap. 26, nsn. lēofost 935; vsm. lēofost 575, 1352, lēofesta 288, 307, 595, 629, 811, 1431.

**lēoflic**, adj., *beloved*: nsm. 1446.

**leofon**, f., *sustenance*: ds. leofne 1123.

**lēofwende**, adj., *gracious*: dpf. lēofwendum 1290.

**lēogan**, *see* gelēogan.

**lēoht**, n., *light*: ns. 124, 1017, 1611; as. 77, Ap. 20, 61. *See* heofonlēoht.

**lēoht**, adj., *light, joyful*: nsm. 1251; gsm. lēohtes Ap. 66.

**lēohtfruma**, m., *creator of light*: ns. 387; vs. 1413.

**leoma**, *see* heofouleoma.

**lēoran**, W1, *go, depart*: pret. 3 sg. lēorde 124; pret. 3 pl. lēordan 1042.

**leorning**, f., *study*: ns. 1482.

**lēosan**, *see* belēosan.

**leoð**, *see* lið.

**leoð**, *see* fūs-, hearmleoð.

**leoðgidding**, f., *song, poem*: is. lēoðgiddinga 1479; gp. Ap. 97.

**leoðolic**, adj., *corporal*: nsm. 1628.

**leoðubend**, mf., *bond, fetter*: dp. leoðubendum 100, 164, 1373, leoðobendum 1033, 1564.

**leoðword**, n., *word in a poem*: gp. lēoðworda 1488.

**lettan**, *see* gelettan.

**libban**, W3, *live*: 3 sg. leofað 1288, lyfað 541; pret. 3 pl. lifdon 129.

**lic**, n., *body*: ns. 1238, 1404; gs. lices 229, 1421, 1443, 1474, Ap. 102; ds. lice 1477, Ap. 83; as. lic 151, Ap. 94.

**liegan**, 5, *lie*: 3 sg. ligeð Ap. 104; 3 pl. liegað 1426; pret. 3 pl. lāgon 1234, 1422, lāgan 1083. *See* ā-, geliegan.

**lichoma**, m., *body*: as. lichoman 1216, 1466; np. 790.

**licnes**, *see* ālicnes.

**lid**, n., *ship*: gs. lides 403, 1707; as. lid 398. *See* ȳðlid.

**lida**, *see* sēlida.

**lidweard**, m., *sailor, boat-guard*: ap. lidweardas 244.

**lidwērig**, adj., *tired of seafaring*: dp. lidwērigum 482.

**lichtan**, *see* onlichtan.

**lif**, n., *life*: ns. Ap. 83; gs. lifes 170, 220, 387, 518, 822, 1111, 1123, 1413, 1466, Ap. 31; ds. life 77, 597, 1482, Ap. 6; as. lif Ap. 20, 38, 73.

**lifecaro**, f., *anxiety concerning life*: ns. 1428.

**liffruma**, m., *Creator*: ds. liffruman 562; vs. liffruma 1284.

**lifgan**, W3, *live*: ptc. nsm. lifigende 378, 459; vsm. 1409.

**lifnere**, f., *nourishment*: ds. lifnere 1089.

**lifwela**, m., *riches of life eternal*: ns. Ap. 49.

**līg**, m., *flame, fire*: gs. lēges 1552; is. līge 1541.

**līhtan**, W1, *become light, dawn*: pret. 3 sg. līhte 1397.

**līmsēoc**, adj., *lame*: np. līmsēoce 579.

**lind**, f., *shield*: ds. linde 46.

**lindgeerod**, n., *troop armed with shields*: ds. lindgeerode 1220.

**lindgelāc**, n., *battle*: gs. lindgelāces Ap. 76.

**lindgestealla**, m., *comrade in battle*: vp. lindgesteallan 1344.

**linnan**, 3, w. inst., *cease, depart from*: inf. 1138. See **blinnan**.

**liss**, f. 1. *pleasure, joy*: dp. lissum 825; ip. 868. — 2. *welfare*: ds. lisse 1111.

**lið**, n., *limb*: np. leoðu 1404; ap. leoðo 781.

**liðan**, 1, *sail*: inf. 256. See **beliðan**.

**liðe**, adj., *gentle, agreeable*: nsm. 276; npm. 867; gpm. liðra Ap. 92; comp. nsm. liðra 437.

**liðend**, see **ēa-**, **heaðo-**, **mereliðend**.

**loc**, m., *lock of hair*: ns. 1423, 1472; np. loccas 1426.

**loca**, see **burg-**, **ferð-**, **hearm-**, **heolstor-**, **hord-**, **wordloca**.

**lof**, n. 1. *praise*: ns. 57, 1451, Ap. 6, 120; as. 877, 1006, 1295, 1477, 1479. — 2. *favor, joy*: ds. lofe 868, 989.

**loga**, see **wærloga**.

**lūcan**, 2, *close up, confine*: pret. 3 pl. lucon 1259; pp. gpm. locenra 303. See **be-**, **on-**, **tōlūcan**.

**lufe**, f., *love*: ds. lufan 431; as. 164, 1063. See **fyrhðlufe**.

**lufian**, W2. 1. *love, be pleased with*: opt. pres. 3 sg. lufige Ap. 88, 107. — 2. *show favor to*: pret. 3 sg. lufode 597; pret. 3 pl. lufodon 868.

**lungre**, adv. 1. *suddenly, quickly*: 46, 77, 124, 151, 614, 674, 1042, 1093, 1123, 1138, 1347, 1421, 1628. — 2. *grievously, severely*: 518, 1472.

**lust**, m. 1. *desire*: ns. 286, 294; ds. luste 1079; as. lust 303. — 2. **on**

**luste**, *joyful, eager*: ds. 1023, 1140, 1573.

**lȳfan**, see **geȳfan**.

**lyft**, f., *air*: ds. lyfte 420, 866.

**lyftgelāc**, n., *motion through the air*: as. 827, 1552.

**lȳsan**, see **ā-**, **tōlȳsan**.

**lystan**, W1, impers. w. acc. of pers. and gen. of thing, *take pleasure in*: 3 sg. lysteð Ap. 97. See **ollysted**.

**lysu**, adj., *false, wicked*: npm. lyswe 1220.

**lȳt**, n., *few*: as. 271, 476.

**lȳt**, adv., *little, to a slight degree*: 1227, 1290, 1344.

**lȳtel**, adj., *small, short*: ipn. lȳtlum 1488. See **unlȳtel**.

## M

**mā**, n., *more*: ns. 492, 662; as. 924, 1178, 1443.

**mæcg**, m., *man, warrior*: ap. mæcgas 422, 1708; gp. mæcga 772. See **ōrettmæcg**.

**mācraeftig**, adj., *very skilful*: vpm. mācraeftige 257; comp. asm. mācraeftigran 472.

**mæg**, m., *kinsman*: np. māgas 1515. See **cnēomæg**.

**māga**, m., *man, hero*: ns. 639, 815, 984; vs. 625. See **hēafodmāga**.

**magan**, PP. 1. *may, can*: 1 sg. mæg 851; 2 sg. miht 340, 595, 811, 860, 1364, 1517, meahht 211; 3 sg. mæg 215, 425; 2 pl. magon 1179, 1558, magan 759; 3 pl. magon 279, 1215; pret. 1 sg. mehte 479; pret. 3 sg. mihte 16, 573, 1129, 1393, meahhte 1323; pret. 3 pl. mihton 132. — 2. *be able*: 1 sg. mæg 190, 933; 2 sg. miht 603, 624, 816, Ap. 105; 3 sg. mæg 194, 502, 516, 546, Ap. 96; 1 pl. magon 1352, magan 1347; 3 pl. magon 954; pret. 1 sg. mihte 477, meahhte 272, 922; pret. 2 sg. mehte 929; pret. 3 sg. mihte 986, 1543;

- pret. 3 pl. *mihton* 368, 565, 964, 1147, 1714, *meahton* 1224, 1231; opt. 1 sg. *mæge* 303.
- mægen**, n. 1. *power*: ds. *mægene* 1460, 1676; as. *mægen* 1214; is. *mægene* 701, 1433. — 2. *troop, band*: ns. 391, 1571; as. 876. — 3. *deed, miracle*: ap. *mægen* 625. *See folc-, hand-, hereneagen.*
- mægenspēd**, f., *power*: dp. *mægen-spēdum* 1285.
- magorædend**, m., *counselor of men*: gs. *magorædendes* 1461.
- mægð**, f., *race, tribe*: ds. *mægðe* 264, 275; as. 844.
- magu**, *see hēafodmagu.*
- maguðegn**, m., *retainer*: ds. *maguðegne* 94, *maguðegne* 1207; as. *maguðegn* 366; np. *maguðegnas* 1140, *maguðegnas* 1515.
- mægwlite**, m., *face, countenance*: ds. *mægwlite* 1338; as. 856.
- mæġ**, *see fȳr-, gemæġ.*
- mæġlan**, W1, *speak*: pret. 3 sg. *mæġde* 300, 767.
- mæġlum**, *see ðræg-, ðūsendmæġlum.*
- Mambre**, pr. n., *Mamre*: ds. 788.
- mām**, n., *crime, wickedness*: ns. 694, 767; is. *māne* 1599.
- mānan**, W1, *complain, bemoan*: 3 pl. *mānað* 1665; pret. 3 pl. *māndon* 1157, *māndan* 1548.
- mandrēam**, m., *joy of men*: ds. *mandrēame* 37.
- mæne**, adj., *wicked*: gp. *mænra* 941.
- mānfrā**, m., *prince of evil*: ns. 1313.
- mānful**, adj., *evil, wicked*: npm. *mānfulle* 180; gpm. *mānfulra* 42.
- māngeniðla**, m., *evil foe*: np. *māngeniðlan* 916.
- manig**, adj., *many, many a (one)*: nsm. 1085, 1116, 1225, *manig* 1436; nsmn. *manig* 1549, 1596; dsm. *manegum* 1120; asn. *manig* 814; npm. *manige* 658, 973, 1626; apm. 583; dpm. *manegum* 960, 1708, AP. 52.
- mann**, m., *man*: ns. 1484, AP. 107; ds. *menn* AP. 113; as. *mann* 493; mon 746; np. *menn* 594, 814, *men* 7; gp. *manna* 262, 486, 517, 544, 637, 908, 1374, AP. 25, *monna* 1023; dp. *mannum* 767; ap. *menn* 246, 676, 895, AP. 24, *men* 583; vp. *menn* 257. *See eaddormann.*
- manncynn**, n., *mankind, human being*: gs. *manncynnes* 357, 1178, 1293, 1465, AP. 29, *mancynnes* 69, 172, 446, 540, 846; as. *mancynn* 945, 1502.
- mānslagu**, f., *cruel blow*: ap. *mānslaga* 1218.
- māra**, *see mycel.*
- mære**, adj., *famous, glorious*: nsn. AP. 121; gsm. *māres* 94; dsm. *mārum* 449, 908; dsf. *māran* 40, 287, 973; asn. *mārne* 366, *māran* 227; asf. *mære* AP. 67; asn. 815, 1338; npm. 7.
- Maria**, pr. n., *Mary*: ns. 688.
- marmanstān**, m., *marble*: vs. 1498. [Lat. *marmor.*]
- mārsian**, *see gemārsian.*
- martyr**, m., *martyr*: gp. *martyra* 876. [Lat. *martyr.*]
- mārðo**, f., *fame*: ns. AP. 7.
- mæst**, m., *mast*: ds. *mæste* 465.
- mæst**, *see mycel.*
- mæte**, *see or-, unniæte.*
- Māthēus**, pr. n., *Matthew*: ns. 11, 40, 122, 1044; gs. AP. 67; as. 941, 1004; vs. 97.
- mæðel**, m., *meeting, council*: ds. *meðle* 1436, 1626; as. *mæðel* 1049, 1496.
- mæðelhēgende**, adj., *deliberating, holding council*: gp. *meðelhēgendra* 262; np. *mæðelhēgende* 1096, *mæðelhēgende* 609.
- māðm**, m., *treasure*: ds. *māðme* 1113; dp. *māðmum* 309.
- mæw**, m., *sea-gull*: ns. 371.
- meare**, *see fyrst-, ge-, lēodmeare.*
- mearcian**, *see āmearcian.*
- mearecland**, n., *country*: ns. 19; as. 802.

- mearepað**, n., *path through the land*: ds. mearepade 1061; ap. mearepaðu 788.
- mearh**, m., *horse, steed*: dp. mēarum 1096. *See* sāmearh.
- mēde**, *see* ge-, wiðermēde.
- mēdum**, *see* ēaðmēdum.
- meldigan**, W2, *reveal, betray*: inf. 1170.
- meltan**, *see* formeltan.
- menigo**, f., *multitude*: ns. 449; gs. 177; ds. 1200, 1209; as. 101, 1044, menigeo 1690.
- meoduscerwen**, f., *terror, grief*: ns. 1526.
- meorð**, f., *reward*: ns. 275.
- meotud**, m., *ruler, God, Lord*: ns. 172, 357, 386, 446, 789, 1207, 1513, 1602; gs. meotudes 140, 517, 681, 694, 724, 881, 1498, 1632; ds. meotide 924, 984, 1469; vs. meotud 69, 902, 1289.
- meotudwang**, m., *field of fate, battle-field*: ds. meotudwange 11.
- mere**, m., *sea*: ns. 465; gs. meres 221; ds. mere 491; as. 283. *See* hwarl-mere.
- merebāt**, m., *vessel*: ds. merebāte 246.
- merefaroð**, m., *sea journey*: ds. merefaroðe 289, 351.
- merellōd**, m., *flood of water*: ns. 1526.
- mereliðend**, m., *sailor*: dp. mereliðendum 353.
- merestrēam**, m., *ocean-stream*: gp. merestrēama 309, 454.
- mereðyssa**, m., *ship*: ds. mereþyssan 446, mereþissan 257.
- Mermedonia**, pr. n. 1. *Mermedonia*: as. 42, 180. — 2. *Mermedonian*: gp. Marmedonia 264, 844, 1676.
- met**, *see* gemet.
- mētan**, W1, *meet, find*: pret. 1 sg. mētte 471, 553. *See* gemētan.
- mete**, m., *food*: gs. metes 1113; as. mete 366.
- metelēast**, f., *lack of food, famine*: ds. metelēaste 39; as. 1157.
- meteðearfende**, adj., *lacking food*: dp. meteþearfendum 27, 136.
- mēðe**, adj., *weary*: np. 1157; ap. 39, 465.
- mēðel**, *see* mæðel.
- mēðelstede**, m., *place of meeting, council-place*: ds. mēðelstede 658, 697.
- mēðlan**, W1, *speak*: inf. 1440.
- micel**, *see* mycel.
- mid**, prep. 1. *with (accompaniment)*: w. dat. 114, 209, 249, 292, 681, 779, 1049, 1053, 1674; w. acc. 379, 626, 914. — 2. *by, in, by means of (manner)*: w. dat. 51, 54, 265, 319, 347, 521, 809, 825, 866, 989, 1021, 1048, 1057, 1075, 1153, 1220, 1401, 1486, 1559; w. inst. 1594. — 3. *among*: w. dat. 12, 85, 184, 599, 615, 685, 718, 758, 966, 1408, 1644, 1646, 1722, AP. 35, 38, 64; w. inst. 1643. — 4. *at*: w. dat. 220, 235, 1388, 1525. — 5. *in presence of*: w. acc. AP. 74. — 6. *postpositive, with*: 99, 101, 945, 1218. •
- mid**, adv., *together, at the same time*: 237, 878, 1638.
- middangeard**, m., *earth*: gs. middangeardes 82, 227; as. middangeard 161, 224, 345, 701, 1323, 1372, 1434, 1502, 1718, AP. 7.
- miht**, f., *power, might*: ns. 1434, 1718, AP. 7, 121; as. 486, 525, 574, 585, 642, 1336, 1476, AP. 56; is. mihte 939; ap. mihte 694; ip. mihtum 104, 162, 328, 536, 697, 785, 1207, 1513.
- mihtig**, adj., *mighty*: nsm. 662, 786, 1372, 1496. *See* aelmihtig.
- milde**, adj., *gracious, kind*: nsm. 902.
- mildheort**, adj., *kindly disposed*: nsm. 1285.
- milts**, f., *favor, mercy*: ns. 908; gs. mildse 140; ds. 1674; as. 289; gp. miltsa 353, 449; ip. miltsum 544.
- mīn**, pron., *my*: nsm. 634, 1425; nsn. 1289; gsf. mīnre 1433; dsf. 968, 1674; asm. mīnne 975, 1281, 1416, 1440, 1670; asf. mīne 97, 224, 1215,

- 1374; asn. mīn 1214, 1481; vsm. 73, 190, 1284, 1453; isn. mīne 1626, AP. 25; npm. mīne 391, 1368; npn. mīn 734; gpm. mīnara 934; gpn. 924; dpn. mīnum 1328; vpm. mīne 1343.
- mīrce**, adj., *dark, evil*: apf. 1218.
- miskehygd**, n., *evil thought*: ns. 772.
- missenlic**, adj., *various*: npm. missenlice 583.
- mīðan**, 1. *conceal*: imper. 2 sg. mīð 1209. *See* **bemīðan**.
- mōd**, n. 1. *mind, heart*: ns. 351, 637, 771, 1667, AP. 52; gs. mōdes 143, 287, 1690; ds. mōde 66, 99, 422, 448, 639, 746, 1017, 1251, 1583; as. mōd 60, 82. — 2. *courage*: ds. mōde 625, 984; as. mōd 1393, 1461. — 3. *part* æðele mōd = *he* 1242; ðire mōd = *we* 454; hira mōd = *they* 140. *See* **æcol**-, **bolgen**-, **dēor**-, **ēað**-, **gealg**-, **gēomor**-, **glād**-, **glēaw**-, **rēonig**-, **stīð**-, **wērigmōd**.
- mōðblind**, adj., *spiritually blind*: npm. mōðblinde 814.
- mōðgemynd**, n., *intelligence, information*: as. 688.
- mōðgēomor**, adj., *sad of heart*: npm. mōðgēomre 1113; apm. 1708.
- mōðgeðyldig**, adj., *patient*: nsm. mōðgeþyldig 981.
- mōðhord**, m., *mind, thought*: as. 172.
- mōðig**, adj., *brave*: nsm. 241, 1676, modiga 1632; npm. mōðige 802, 1096, 1140, 1515, mōðigan 1049; gpm. mōðigra 395, 1571. *See* **filmōdig**.
- mōðiglic**, adj., *brave*: apm. mōðiglice 246.
- mōðrōf**, adj., *brave, bold*: nsm. 1496.
- mōðsefa**, m., *mind, heart*: ns. 892; ds. mōðsefan 554; as. 1209.
- mōður**, f., *mother*: ns. 687.
- mōlde**, f., *earth*: ds. moldan 594, 1289, 1484.
- moldern**, n., *dwelling in the earth, grave*: as. 802.
- morgen**, m., *morning*: ds. morgene 221.
- morgentorht**, adj., *gleaming in the morning*: nsf. 241.
- morðor**, mn. 1. *murder*: gs. morðres 1140. — 2. *crime, wickedness*: gs. morðres 975, 1313, morþres 1170; is. morðre 19, 772.
- morðorcofa**, n., *prison*: ds. morðorcofan 1004.
- morðorcraeft**, m., *crime, murder*: ip. ,morðorcraeftum 177.
- morðorseyldig**, adj., *guilty of crime*: npm. morðorseyldige 1599.
- mōs**, n., *food*: ds. mōse 27, 136.
- mōt**, *see* **gemōt**.
- mōtan**, anv. 1. *may, be able*: 2 sg. mōst 105, 115; 1 pl. mōtan AP. 117; 3 pl. mōton 228, 598, 886, 916, 1215, AP. 99, mōtan 109, 1444; pret. 3 pl. mōston 1012; opt. pres. 1 sg. mōte 1416.
- Moyses**, pr. n. *Moses*: ds. Moysse 1513.
- munan**, *see* **ge**-, **ommunan**.
- mund**, f., *hand*: ip. mundum 491, 750.
- mundbyrd**, f., *protection*: gs. mundbyrde 1433; as. mundbyrd 724, 1632.
- murnan**, W1, *mourn, grieve*: pret. 3 pl. murndan 37; imper. 2 sg. murn 99; ptc. nsn. murnende 1667. *See* **be-murnan**.
- mūð**, m., *mouth*: as. 651, 1300, 1440.
- mycel**, n., *much, many things*: ns. 1481; gs. mycles 895.
- mycel**, adj. 1. *much, great*: nsm. micel 41, mycel 287; nsf. micel 158, mycel 1166, 1605, 1690; nsn. mycel AP. 121; dsm. wk. miclan 1436; isn. micle 707, 1204; comp. nsf. mære 1522; asf. mæran 554; sup. w. gp., ns. mæst AP. 118; as. 1198, 1445; is. mæste 1501. — 2. *long*: nsf. micel 107, mycel 422; asn. mycel 815.
- mycle**, adv., *much, greatly*: 1428, 1518, 1563.
- myclian**, W2, *increase*: pret. 3 sg. myclade 1526; pret. 3 pl. mycladon 1553.



**myelum**, adv., *greatly*: 395, 892, mic-  
lum 122.

**myltan**, *see* **gemyltan**.

**-mynd**, *see* **ge-**, **wyrðmynd**.

**myndig**, *see* **gemyndig**.

**myne**, m., *desire, purpose*: ns. 1537.

**mynnan**, W1, *direct, lead*: 3 sg. myned  
294.

**myree**, adv., *darkly, evilly*: 1313.

**myrran**, *see* **gemyrran**.

## N

**N** = *rune* † Ap. 104; *for meaning, see*  
*Notes*.

**nabban**, W3, *lack, not have*: 1 sg.  
næbbe 301; 2 sg. nafast 311.

**naca**, m., *ship*: ns. 266; gs. nacan  
291.

**næfre**, adv., *never*: 459, 471, 1286,  
1382, 1401, 1693.

**nālas**, adv., *no, not at all*: 46, 233, 506,  
605, 1042, 1591.

**nama**, m., *name*: ns. 542, 1322, Ap.  
57; as. naman 975, 1670.

**nānig**, pron., *none, not any*: nsm. 544,  
986; asm. nānigne 570, 1037.

**næs**, *see* **wesan**.

**næss**, m., *cliff, headland*: ds. næsse  
1710; as. næs 1305.

**nāt**, *see* **wltan**.

**ne**, adv., *not*: 16, 37, 85, 98, etc.

**nē**, conj., *nor, neither*: 22, 99, 199, 200,  
etc.

**nēadcofa**, m., *prison*: ds. nēadcofan  
1309. *See* **nēd**.

**nēah**, prep. w. dat., *near, near to*: 359,  
1062, nēh 821, 833, 991, 1252.

**nēah**, adv., *near*: 638, nēh 542.

**nearonēd**, f., *oppression, bondage*: dp.  
nearonēdum 102.

**nearowe**, adv., *diligently, earnestly*:  
Ap. 104.

**nearu**, f., *oppression, cruelty*: as. 414.

**nearu**, adj., *cruel, severe*: asf. nearwe  
Ap. 13.

**nēat**, n., *beast, cattle*: np. 67.

**nēd**, f. 1. *desire, necessity*: ns. nēod  
158; ds. nēde 115. — 2. *hardship,*  
*suffering*: dp. nēdum 1377. — 3.  
*rune* †; *for meaning, see* *note* to Ap.  
104. *See* **nearo-**, **drēanēd**.

**nēh**, *see* **nēah**.

**nemnan**, W1, *name, call*: pret. 3 pl.  
nemdon 1193; pp. nemned 720, 1651;  
inf. 1176.

**nemne**, conj., *besides, except*: 664.

**nemðe**, conj., *unless*: nemþe Ap. 114.

**nēod**, *see* **nēd**.

**nēon**, adv., *nearly, greatly*: 1176.

**neorxnawang**, m., *paradise*: ns. 102.

**nēosan**, W1, w. gen. 1. *visit, come to*:  
inf. 310, 830, 1025, 1389, Ap. 110. —  
2. *inquire for, seek for*: 3 pl. neosað  
Ap. 103; inf. 484.

**nēotan**, f. w. gen., *enjoy*: inf. 810. *See*  
**benēotan**.

**nergend**, m., *Savior*: ns. neregend 291,  
1377; vs. nergend 549, 921, nerigend  
1286.

**nerian**, *see* **generian**.

**Nērōn**, pr. n., *Nero*: gs. Nērōnes Ap.  
13.

**neru**, *see* **liffneru**.

**nesan**, 5, *survive*: opt. pres. 1 pl. nesan  
515.

**net**, *see* **searonet**.

**nēðan**, *see* **genēðan**.

**nifol** (**nēol**), adj., *precipitous, steep,*  
*deep*: asm. niflan 1305.

**niht**, f. 1. *night*: ns. 1305; ds. 1462;  
as. 1254, 1265. — 2. *day (i.e. 24*  
*hours)*: np. 185; gp. nihta 930, 1673;  
dp. nihtum 148.

**nihtes**, adv., *by night*: Ap. 104.

**nihtgerimes**, adv., *counting by nights*  
*(i.e. days)*: 115, 158.

**nihthelm**, m., *cover of night*: ns.  
123.

**nihtlang**, adj., *throughout the night*:  
asm. nihtlangne 834, 1309.

**niman**, 4, *take, carry off*: pp. numen  
1340. *See* **forniman**.

nīowinga, adv., *anew*: 1394. *See* ednīwinga.

nī, *see* wesan.

nīð, m., *man*: gp. nīða 1377.

nīð, m., *hostility, hate*: ns. 768, 1303, 1304; ds. nīðe 1037.

nīðhete, m., *enemy*: dp. nīðhetum 834.

nīðla, *see* genīðla.

nīðplega, m., *battle*: ds. nīðplegan 414.

nīwe, adj. 1. *fresh, renewed*: isf. nīwan 123, 1303. — 2. *new, recent*: asm. nīowan 1670. *See* ednīwe.

nīwian, *see* genīwian.

nō, adv., *no, not at all*: 3, 562, 926, 1265, 1443, 1704.

nū, adv., *now*: 66, 185, 283, 332, 340, 391, 397, 595, 614, 648, 678, 720, 759, 811, 807, 902, 904, 932, 936, 950, 1023, 1105, 1166, 1179, 1197, 1281, 1293, 1320, 1328, 1364, 1414, 1425, 1441, 1478, 1503, 1504, 1517, 1558, 1602, 1605, Ap. 73, 88, 105, 120.

nū, conj., *now that, since*: 317, 485, 1301; correl. nū . . . nū 644–648.

nū gēna, adv., *still, further*: 422, 475.

nū gýt, adv., *still, further*: 814. *See* gýt.

nū pā, adv., *now*: 489, in phrase *in ond nū pā*.

nyston, nyton, *see* witan.

## O

of, prep. w. dat. 1. *from, out of*: 57, 89, 100, 112, 115, 117, 168, 195, 243, 264, 278, 291, 396, 444, 555, 583, 587, 589, 599, 732, 739, 757, 771, 780, 794, 795, 944, 968, 1033, 1133, 1144, 1149, 1150, 1177, 1373, 1385, 1399, 1409, 1423, 1470, 1471, 1472, 1503, 1544, 1564, 1624, 1664, Ap. 56, 112.

ofer, prep. w. acc. 1. *over, upon, throughout*: 7, 87, 190, 198, 201, 223, 224, 236, 242, 244, 247, 252, 259, 274, 283, 293, 298, 306, 310, 336, 345, 348, 352, 367, 368, 383, 390, 398, 421, 423, 439, 445, 495, 499, 513, 602, 701, 788,

823, 825, 838, 853, 863, 906, 932, 970, 1104, 1173, 1229, 1261, 1300, 1323, 1372, 1434, 1524, 1714, 1718, 1719, Ap. 7, 122. — 2. *among*: 543, Ap. 15. — 3. *contrary to*: 517, 1215, 1374. — 4. *beyond, above*: 676, 895, 1481.

ōfer, m., *shore*: ds. ōfre 1712.

oferbregdan, 3, *cover, protect*: pret. 3 sg. oferbrægd 1541, oferbræd 1306.

oferōde, anv., *come upon, overpower*: pret. 3 sg. 464, 820, 826, 862.

oferhygd, fn., *pride*: dp. oferhygdum 310; ip. oferhigdum 1318.

oferstigan, 1, *rise above*: pret. 3 sg. oferstāg 1574.

ofgīfan, 5, *depart from, give up*: pret. 3 pl. ofgēfon Ap. 12; inf. 1655.

odlysted, part. adj. w. gen., *desirous*: 1112, 1226.

ofost, f., *haste*: ns. 1565.

ofostlice, adv., *quickly*: 1625, ofstlice 299, 792.

ofslāpan, W1, *sleep*: ptc. dpm. ofslāpendum 865.

oft, adv., *often*: 17, 140, 164, 442, 511, 618, 626, 652.

ombehtðegn, m., *servant*: np. ombehtþegnas 1534.

on, prep. A. w. dat. 1. *on, upon, in, with, in*: 10, 11, 18, 22, 36, 58, 65, 66, 98, 99, 102, 130, 137, 179, 180, 185, 206, 212, 237, 238, 239, 240, 246, 254, 255, 257, 263, 266, 276, 289, 305, 311, 316, 351, 358, 382, 400, 408, 413, 422, 432, 438, 446, 448, 450, 460, 470, 481, 490, 498, 501, 504, 507, 511, 514, 515, 554, 582, 594, 604, 616, 620, 626, 634, 637, 639, 640, 644, 650, 672, 684, 689, 699, 705, 714, 720, 726, 730, 734, 737, 769, 774, 821, 832, 847, 849, 864, 866, 873, 874, 893, 898, 900, 903, 905, 923, 960, 972, 985, 988, 998, 1017, 1021, 1024, 1073, 1084, 1087, 1096, 1149, 1142, 1146, 1165, 1180, 1214, 1226, 1241, 1251, 1265, 1289, 1327, 1338, 1339, 1386, 1422, 1427, 1452, 1453, 1477, 1484,

1485, 1509, 1512, 1531, 1560, 1570, 1573, 1583, 1596, 1615, 1626, 1645, 1652, 1662, 1670, 1671, 1694, 1699, 1711, 1712, 1713, 1716, 1721, Ap. 2, 6, 19, 27, 40, 87, 92, 94, 99, 101, 104, 100. — 2. *m. at, during*: 1. 77, 752, 788, 1100, 1407, 1436, 1462, Ap. 11, 98. — 3. *according to, by*: 134 (2), 489, 1696. — B. w. inst., *in, by*: 970. — C. w. acc. 1. *to, into*: 86, 207, 286, 430, 588, 777, 824, 827, 935, 1034, 1045, 1050, 1058, 1110, 1191, 1317, 1340, 1385, 1417, Ap. 51, 116. — 2. *upon, in*: 15, 191, 222, 250, 252, 253, 284, 337, 379, 429, 444, 500, 504, 715, 830, 852, 899, 928, 1046, 1446, 1502, 1506. — 3. *by, according to*: 120, 170, 324, 339, 700, 1622, 1680. — 4. *at*: 214, 235, 1160, 1388.

**on**, adv., *on, upon*: 1109, 1334.

**onblandan**, R., *mix, mingle*: pp. on-blonden 675.

**onbryrðan**, 1. *excite, stir up*: pp. on-bryrðed 122, 1118.

**oncnāwan**, R. 1. *recognize, perceive*: 1 sg. oncnāwe 644; pret. 1 sg. oncnōw 855; pret. 3 sg. 529, 672, 843; pret. 1 pl. oncnōwon 875; pret. 3 pl. 1337; opt. pres. 3 pl. oncnāwan 1214; pp. oncnāwen 527; inf. 566. — 2. *know*: 2 sg. oncnāwest 631; pret. 3 pl. oncnōwan 764. — 3. *address, approach*: opt. pres. 3 sg. oncnāwe 322.

**oncwēðan**, 5. *answer, respond*: pret. 3 sg. oncwæð 270, 396, 442, 555, 1346, 1429.

**oncyrran**, W1. 1. *change, pervert*: pp. oncyrred 36; inf. 1461. — 2. *intrans., turn, turn away*: pret. 3 sg. oncyrde 466.

**oneȳððæd**, f., *injury*: ap. oneȳððæda 1179.

**oneȳðig**, adj., *revealed*: nsm. Ap. 106.

**ond**, conj., *and*: 945, 1001, 1039, 1203, 1307, 1395, 1400, 1719; all other

occurrences are represented in the MS. by the abbreviation.

**ondgite**, f., *understanding, comprehension*: as. ondgitan 1521.

**ondlang**, adj., *irelong, entire*: asm. ondlangne 818, 1274; asl. ondlange 1254.

**ondsæc**, n., *opposition*: as. 927.

**ondsaca**, m., *foe, opponent*: np. ondsacan 1148, 1459.

**ondswarian**, W2. *answer*: pret. 3 sg. ondswarode 260, 277, 290, 343, 510, 623, ondswarude 202, andswarode 925; opt. pres. 2 sg. ondsware 319.

**ondswarn**, f., *answer*: as. ondsware 285, 315, 401, 508, 617, 628, 643, 1184, 1345, 1375, andsware 189, 572.

**ondswerian**, W2. *answer*: pret. 3 pl. ondsweorodon 857.

**ondwist**, f., *support, station*: as. 1540.

**onfeng**, m., *attack*: ds. onfenge 1339.

**onfindan**, 3. *discover*: 3 pl. onfindaþ 181.

**onfōn**, R. w. dat., *receive, seize*: pret. 3 sg. onfēng 1528; pret. 3 pl. onfēngon 1122, 1630; opt. pret. 3 sg. onfēnge 53; inf. 782, 1640.

**onginn**, n., *action, behavior*: ns. 888, ongin 466, 741.

**onginnan**, 3. *begin, commence*: 1 sg. onginne 1440; pret. 3 sg. ongan 12, 427, 449, 460, 660, 1019, 1170, 1315, 1341, 1398, 1698, ongann 352, 849, 1126, 1266, 1555, 1607; pret. 3 pl. ongunnon 763; opt. pret. 2 sg. ongunne 1419.

**ongitan**, 5. 1. *perceive*: pret. 3 pl. ongēton 534; pp. ongiten 785, 897; inf. 861, 901, 922, 986. — 2. *hear, take heed*: imper. 2 sg. ongit 936.

**ongyldan**, 3. w. gen., *yield, give up*: inf. 1101.

**onhlidan**, 1. 1. *open*: pp. onhliden 1077. — 2. *appear*: pret. 3 sg. onhlād 1269.

**onhrēran**, W1. *stir up*: pp. onhrēred 370, 393, 1302, 1394.

**onhyrdan**, W1, *encourage*: pp. onhyr-  
ded Ap. 53.  
**onirnan**, 3, *yield, burst open*: pret. 3  
sg. onarn 999.  
**onlic**, adj., *similar, like*: npm. onlice  
251.  
**onlicnes**, *see* anlicnes.  
**onlichtan**, W1, *enlighten*: pp. onlihted  
Ap. 52.  
**onlīcan**, 2, *open, unlock*: pret. 3 sg.  
onlēac 172, 316, 601.  
**ommōd**, adj., *resolute*: nsm. 54; npm.  
anmōde 1638.  
**omnnan**, PP, w. gen. and acc., *deem*  
*worthy*: inf. 895.  
**onsendan**, W1. 1. *send*: 1 sg. onsende  
110; pret. 3 sg. 1604; opt. pres. 2  
sg. 1508. — 2. *dismiss, give up*: pret.  
3 sg. onsende 1327; inf. 187.  
**onspannan**, R, *reveal, disclose*: pret.  
3 sg. onspēon 470, onspēon 671.  
**onspringan**, 3, *rise, spring up*: pret.  
3 sg. onsprang 1635.  
**onstellan**, W1, *set*: inf. 971.  
**onsund**, adj., *uninjured, sound*: np.  
onsunde 1012; ap. 1623.  
**onsyn**, f., *sight, face*: as. onsyn 721,  
1499.  
**onsyne**, adj., *visible*: nsm. 910.  
**ontȳuan**, W1, *disclose*: pp. ontȳned  
105, 1612.  
**onwacan**, 6. 1. *awake*: pret. 3 sg.  
onwōc 839, Ap. 65. — 2. *originate*:  
pret. 3 pl. onwōcon 683.  
**onwadan**, 6, w. dat., *enter, penetrate*:  
pret. 3 sg. onwōd 140.  
**onwendan**, W1, *pervert*: pret. 3 sg.  
onwende 35.  
**onwindan**, 3, *return, retreat*: pret. 3 sg.  
onwand 531.  
**open**, adj. 1. *open*: asn. 803; npl.  
opene 1076. — 2. *known, manifest*:  
nsf. open 759.  
**openian**, *see* geopenian.  
**ōr**, n. 1. *beginning*: ns. 1382, Ap. 65; as.  
oor 649. — 2. *front, van*: ds. ōre 1106.

**orenāwe**, adj., *manifest*: nsn. 770.  
**ord**, m. 1. *point, spear*: as. 1330; ip.  
ordum 32, 1205. — 2. *beginning*: ds.  
orde 1483, 1535.  
**ordfruma**, m., *prince, chief, Lord*: ns.  
146, Ap. 28; ds. ordfruman 683.  
**ōretta**, m., *warrior*: ns. 879, 983, ōreta  
463.  
**ōrettmaecg**, m., *warrior*: np. ōrett-  
maecgas 664.  
**orfeorne**, adj. w. inst., *destitute, lack-  
ing*: npm. 406, 1617.  
**orgete**, adj., *manifest*: nsf. 759, 1569;  
nsn. 526; asn. 851.  
**orhlytte**, adj. w. gen., *devoid of*: npm.  
680.  
**orlege**, n., *strife, battle*: ns. 1302; ds.  
47, 1146, 1205.  
**ormæte**, adj., *very great, excessive*: nsf.  
1166.  
**orwēna**, adj. w. gen., *hopeless*: nsm.  
1107.  
**oð**, prep. w. acc., *to, up to*: 1575.  
**ōðer**, pron., *other, another*: dsm. ððrum  
1051; dsf. ððerre 443; dsn. ððrum  
138; asm. ððerne 1015, 1163; asn.  
ððer 656; isf. ððre 706, 1675, 1700,  
ððre 808; npm. ððere 689; gp. ððerra  
704; dp. ððrum 1100; ap. ððre Ap. 51.  
**oððæt**, conj., *until*: 464, 820, 826, 1061,  
1215, 1268, 1456, oððæt 268, 835,  
1247, oððæt 1574, oððæt 1304.  
**oððe**, conj., *or*: 334, 546, 638, 745.  
**oððēodan**, W1, *dismember, separate*:  
pp. oððēoded 1421.  
**oðwītan**, 1, *taunt, reproach*: opt. pres.  
1 pl. oðwītan 1358.  
**oðȳwan**, W1, *reveal*: pp. oðȳwed 911.  
**ōwilt**, pron., used adverbially, *at all*:  
is. ōwilt 800.

## P

**pæð**, *see* mearc-, seolhpæð.  
**Paulus**, pr. n., *Paul*: ns. Ap. 14.  
**Perscas**, pr. n. pl., *Persians*: gp.  
Persēa Ap. 76.

**Petrus**, pr. n., *Peter*: ns. Ap. 14.  
**Philipus**, pr. n., *Philip*: ns. Ap. 37.  
**Plātan**, pr. n., *Platan*: as. Plātan 1051.  
**plega**, *see* gūð-, nūð-, scegplega.  
**plegian**, W2, *play, move about quickly*:  
 pret. 3 sg. plegode 370.

## R

**ræced**, n., *hall, building*: as. 1308.  
*See* hēah-, hlīn-, wīnreced.  
**racian**, W2, w. dat., *rule*: inf. 521.  
**raen**, *see* strēamraen.  
**rād**, *see* brīm-, hrans-, swanrād.  
**rād**, m. 1. *command, order*: as. 936;  
 dp. rādum 1498. — 2. *counsel, plan  
 of action*: as. rād 1088; dp. rādum  
 469. — 3. *rule, authority*: ns. rād  
 1645. *See* an-, feorh-, folerād.  
**rādan**, *see* berādan.  
**-ræden**, *see* camp-, frum-, gaful-  
 ræden.  
**rædend**, m., *ruler*: ns. 816; np. 627.  
*See* mago-, selerædend.  
**rædsnotfor**, adj., *wise in council*: comp.  
 asm. rædsnotterran 473.  
**ræfian**, *see* ārafian.  
**ræran**, *see* āræran.  
**ræs**, *see* dēað-, gūð-, sweordræs.  
**ræsan**, W1, *rush*: pret. 3 pl. ræsdon  
 1334.  
**ræsbora**, m., *leader, chief*: ds. ræs-  
 boran 385; np. 139.  
**ræswa**, m., *prince, ruler*: ns. 1086;  
 ds. ræswan 1622; np. 692; dp. ræs-  
 wum 619.  
**rēaf**, *see* wælrēaf.  
**rēafian**, *see* herēafian.  
**reccan**, W1, *set forth, narrate*: imp.  
 2 sg. rece 419; inf. 1489, Ap. 11, 24.  
*See* āreccan.  
**recen**, adj., *awful*: npn. recene 1511.  
**rēodan**, 2, *stain, redden*: pret. 2 pl. ru-  
 don 1003.  
**rēofan**, *see* berēofan.  
**rēonignūð**, adj., *sauf*: npm. rēonig-  
 mōde 592.

**reord**, f., *speech*: is. reorde 60, 1108.  
**reordberend**, m., *man*: ap. 419.  
**reordig**, *see* ellreordig.  
**reordigan**, W2, *speak*: 3 sg. reordah  
 1301; pret. 3 sg. reordode 364, reor-  
 dade 255, 415, 602; inf. 469. *See*  
 gereordian.  
**rēotan**, 2, *weep, lament*: inf. 1712.  
**rēow**, adj., *rough, fierce*: nsm. rēow  
 1116; npn. rēowe 1334. *See* dēað-,  
 wælrēow.  
**rest**, f., *rest*: is. reste 592. *See* land-  
 rest.  
**restan**, W1, *rest, become quiet*: inf.  
 1576.  
**rētan**, W1, *comfort, cheer*: inf. 1668.  
 [rōt.]  
**rēðe**, adj., *fierce*: npm. 139.  
**rīce**, n., *realm, kingdom*: gs. rīces  
 807, 1326, 1683. *See* ēðel-, heofon-  
 rīce.  
**rīce**, adj., *powerful*: nsm. 364, 415;  
 dsm. rīcum 385.  
**rīcene**, adv., *straightway, quickly*: 807,  
 Ap. 39.  
**rīesian**, W2, *hold sway, prevail*: pret.  
 3 sg. rīesode 1116.  
**rīdende**, *see* faroðrīdende.  
**rīht**, n., *right, equity, justice*: ns. 1645;  
 gs. rīhtes 139; ds. rīhte 521; as.  
 rīht 120, 324, 700. *See* lēod-, unrīht.  
**rīht**, adj., *just, equitable*: asf. rīhte  
 1511.  
**rīm**, n., *number*: ds. rīme 1696; as.  
 rīm 546; is. rīme 1035. *See* unrīm,  
 nūhtgerīmes.  
**rīmeræft**, m., *computation, figures*: ds.  
 rīmcrafte 134.  
**rīne**, m., *man, warrior*: ns. 1116; np.  
 rīneas 9; gp. rīnea 967; dp. rīncum  
 Ap. 11; vp. rīncas 1343. *See* gūð-  
 rīne.  
**rīsan**, *see* ārīsan.  
**-rīss**, *see* enēorīss.  
**rōd**, f., *cross*: ns. 967; gs. rōde Ap.  
 39; ds. 1326; as. 1337.

**rodor**, m., *sky, heaven*: as. 521; gp. rodera 627, 816.  
**rōf**, adj., *bold, brave*: nsm. 984, 1469, 1676; npm. rōfe 9; dpm. rōfum 1343; comp. asm. rōfran 473; vsm. rōf 625. *See* beadu-, cyne-, ellen-, hete-, hige-, mōd-, sigerōf.  
**Rōmeburg**, pr. n., *Rome*: ds. Rōme-byrig Ap. 11.  
**round**, m., *shield*: ns. 9, 412.  
**rōwend**, m., *sailor*: as. 473.  
**rūn**, f. 1. *writing*: ds. rūne 134. — 2. *secret discussion*: ds. rūne 1161; as. 627.  
**ryht**, adj., *see* riht.  
**-ryhte**, *see* bryhte.  
**rȳman**, *see* gerȳman.  
**rȳne**, *see* ge-, gāstgerȳne.  
**rȳnig**, *see* wīdrȳnig.

## S

**sā**, m., *sea*: ns. 453; gs. sāes 236, 1658; ds. sāwe 515; as. sē 247.  
**sābāt**, m., *ship*: ds. sābāte 438, 490.  
**sābeorg**, m., *sea-hill*: ap. sābeorgas 308.  
**sæc**, f., *conflict, struggle*: ds. sæcce Ap. 59; as. 1132. *See* ondsāc.  
**-saca**, *see* ondsaca.  
**sācerd**, m., *priest*: dp. sācerdum Ap. 71; ap. sācerdas 742. [Lat. *sacerdos*.] *See* ealdorsācerd.  
**sācflota**, m., *ship*: ds. sācflota 381.  
**sāgen**, *see* fyrusāgen.  
**sāgl**, *see* segl.  
**sāhengest**, m., *sea-steed, ship*: ds. sāhengeste 488.  
**sāholm**, m., *sea*: ns. 529.  
**sæl**, n., *hall*: as. sel 762; ap. salu 1673. *See* bēag-, hornasæl.  
**sāl**, mf., *time, occasion*: ns. 1165.  
**sālād**, f., *voyage*: ds. sālāde 511.  
**sālan**, W1, impers., *befall, chance*: pres. opt. 3 sg. sāle 1355. *See* gesālan.  
**sālida**, m., *sailor*: as. sālidan 471; as. sālēoda 500.  
**sālig**, *see* un-, wansālig.  
**salt**, *see* sealt.  
**sælwāg**, m., *wall of the hall*: ds. sælwāge 1493.  
**sāmearh**, m., *sea-steed, ship*: ns. 267.  
**sammian**, W2, *assemble, gather together, collect*: pret. 1 sg. samnode Ap. 2; pret. 3 sg. samnade 125; pret. 3 pl. samnodan 1124. *See* gesammian.  
**samod**, adv., *together, in company*: 1666, Ap. 78.  
**sandhlīð**, n., *sand-hill*: ap. sandhleōðu 236.  
**sāne**, adj., *dilatory, slow*: nsm. 204, 211, Ap. 34; npm. Ap. 75.  
**sang**, m. 1. *singing*: ns. 869. — 2. *song, poem*: as. Ap. 1.  
**sār**, n., *pain*: ns. 1246; gs. sāres 1243; ds. sāre 1453; is. 1396, 1404; as. sār 956, 1468.  
**sār**, adj., *painful*: nsn. 1689; asf. sāre 1368.  
**sārbenn**, f., *wound*: ip. sārbennum 1239.  
**sārewide**, m., *offensive, hostile speech*: as. 320, 965.  
**sārig**, adj., *sorrowful*: isf. sārgan 60.  
**sārslege**, m., *painful blow*: ip. sārslegum 1275.  
**sāstrēam**, m., *water of the ocean*: ap. sāstrēamas 196, 749.  
**Sātān**, pr. n., *Satan*: ds. Sātāne 1689; as. Sātān 1193.  
**sāwērig**, adj., *weary of voyaging*: apm. sāwērige 826, 862.  
**sāwul**, f., *soul, life*: ns. sāwle Ap. 62; as. 151, 433, 865; np. sāwla 228; gp. 549, 921, 1417.  
**sāwulgedāl**, n., *death*: as. 1701.  
**scead**, n., *shadow*: np. sceadu 836.  
**sceacan**, 6, *move quickly, depart*: pret. 3 pl. scēocan 1139; inf. 1504.  
**sceale**, m., *servant*: dp. scealcum 512.  
**sceapen**, *see* earnsceapen.  
**scearu**, *see* fole-, landscearu.  
**scēat**, m., *region, quarter (of the earth)*: ap. scēattas 332.

seceatt, m., *money, payment*: ap. sceat-tas 297.  
 seeaða, m., *enemy*: gs. sceaðan 1133, 1291. *See* folc-, fyrn-, fēod-, ðeod-sceaða.  
 sceawian, Wz, *behold*: pret. 3 sg. scēa-wode 839.  
 scēnan, *see* geseċnan.  
 seċor, m., *shower, storm*: ns. 512. *See* hægelseur.  
 sceoran, 4, *cut*: inf. 1181.  
 scearp, adj., *sharp*: nsf. 1133.  
 scearwen, *see* meoduscearwen.  
 seeððan, 6, *injure*: 3 sg. scyðeð 1561; inf. 1147, scyððan 1047. *See* ge-seeððan.  
 scēnan, 1, *shine*: 3 sg. scīneð 1720; inf. 836. *See* ymbseċnan.  
 scingelāc, n., *magic*: dp. scingelācum 766.  
 seip, n., *ship*: as. 240; ip. scipum 512. *See* hornseip.  
 scipferend, m., *sailor*: dp. scipfēren-dum 250.  
 scippend, *see* scyppend.  
 scipweard, m., *guardian of the ship*: np. scipweardas 297.  
 seīre, adv., *brightly*: 836.  
 scirpla, *see* gescirpla.  
 seraf, *see* dūn-, corðseraf.  
 scrið, adj., *rapid*: nsm. 496.  
 serīfan, *see* gescerīfan.  
 serīðan, 1, *speed, glide*: inf. 1457.  
 seua, *see* diuſeua, heolstor-, hlīn-seua.  
 seūfan, *see* beseūfan.  
 seulan, anv. 1. *must, must needs (obligation and command)*: 1 sg. sceal 66, sceall Ap. 100; 2 sg. scealt 174, 216, 943, 950, 1208, 1366, 1520, 1669, scealtū 220; 3 sg. sceal 185, 435, 1309, Ap. 100, scell 1483; 3 pl. sceolon 614, 733; pret. 1 sg. sceolde 924, 1403, 1414; pret. 3 sg. 1137, 1244, Ap. 35; pret. 3 pl. sceoldon 137, 796, Ap. 10, 79. — 2. *will, shall (futures)*:

1 sg. sceal 341; 2 sg. scealt 1383, 1467; 3 sg. sceal 520, 890, 947, scel 952; 1 pl. sceolon 1487; pret. 3 sg. sceolde 757, 1100, 1132, 1697; pres. opt. 1 sg. scyle 77. — 3. *be accustomed*: 3 sg. sceall 181.

seūr, *see* seċor.

seūrheard, adj., *effective in battle*: nsf. 1133.

seyldan, *see* geseyldan.

seyldend, *see* geseyldend.

seyldhata, m., *wicked persecutor, enemy*: np. seyldhatan 1047, 1147; dp. seyldhetum 85.

seyldig, adj., *guilty*: npm. seyldige 1216. *See* morðor-, unseyldig.

seġne, adj., *bright, beautiful*: nsm. wk. seġna 766.

scyppend, m., *Creator*: ns. 119, 396, 434, 486, 787, scippend 278; vs. scyppend 192.

seġrdan, *see* geseġrdan.

seyrian, *see* bescyrian, geseyrgan.

sē, sēo, ðæt, 1. dem. pron., def. art., *the, this, that*: nsm. sē 118, 168, 225, 239, 262, 313, 346, 359, 371, 382, 639, 661, 696, 751, 766, 773, 799, 815, 843, 977, 990, 996, 1029, 1045, 1103, 1115, 1126, 1138, 1190, 1195, 1253, 1296, 1307, 1395, 1455, 1523, 1575, 1581, 1587, 1607, 1632, 1635, 1647, 1660, 1687, Ap. 14, 25, 60; nsf. sēo 107, 449, 613, 758, 1074, 1210, 1561, sīo 167, 207, 1634; nsn. ðæt 558, 636, 1199, 1437, 1620, þæt 7, 19, 205, 248, 511, 573, 609, 682, 804, 906, 960, 1119, 1135, 1228, 1242, 1489, 1532, 1562, 1659, 1689, 1702, 1722; gsmn. þæs 29, 145, 155, 204, 211, 215, 261, 307, 480, 649, 718, 810, 1056, 1117, 1121, 1238, 1247, 1279, 1499, 1530, 1592, Ap. 99, 107, 117; gsf. þære 177; dsmn. ðām 658, 1205, þām 14, 22, 47, 48, 119, 179, 294, 381, 467, 508, 666, 683, 697, 699, 728, 795, 796, 846, 854, 889, 988, 1004, 1008, 1029, 1034, 1043,

1068, 1080, 1086, 1098, 1118, 1130, 1142, 1146, 1222, 1226, 1298, 1315, 1330, 1351, 1353, 1356, 1359, 1360, 1436, 1460, 1544, 1650, 1659, 1662, 1683, 1702, *fām* 795, *Ap.* 58; *dsf.* *ðære* 1270, *hære* 40, 113, 137, 185, 275, 281, 287, 710, 828, 1168, 1462, 1491, 1649, 1672; *asm.* *ðone* 752, *þone* 86, 227, 831, 978, 1171, 1175, 1324, 1431, 1506, *Ap.* 45, 68, 84, 90; *asf.* *dā* 1111, 1386, 1541, 1600, *fā* 25, 41, 101, 216, 284, 286, 588, 642, 777, 911, 929, 939, 1120, 1160, 1176, 1637, 1655, 1680, 1697, *Ap.* 116; *asn.* *ðæt* 194, 320, 1418, *þæt* 15, 28, 261, 322, 429, 433, 566, 762, 799, 896, 920, 945, 956, 1172, 1288, 1299, 1308, 1361, 1400, 1435, 1463, 1483, 1540, 1663, 1669, *Ap.* 63; *is.* *ðon* 970, *þon* 361, 501, 1522, *þē* 368, 932, *Ap.* 115, *þȳ* 733, 1260, 1365, 1504, 1643; *np.* *dā* 559, 763, 801, 1053, 1249, 1592, *Ap.* 75, 85, *fā* 67, 401, 720, 790, 805, 857, 1027, 1049, 1070, 1458, 1617; *gp.* *hāra* 509, 886, 890, 1051, *fāra* 1495; *dp.* *dām* 885, *fām* 184, 209, 718, 1014, 1219, 1646, 1649, *Ap.* 106; *ap.* *fā* 419, 605, 829, 1080, 1186, *Ap.* 3, *dā* *Ap.* 47. — 2. *rel. pron., who, which, nsm.* *sē* 12, 35, 1105, 1198, 1199, 1377, 1541, 1604; *gsm.* *hæs* 1056; *gsn.* *ðæs* 1153; *dsm.* *fām* 1322; *asn.* *þæt* 1482, *þæt* = double relative, *id quod*, 73, 346; *ap.* *fā* 625, 1295, 1624, *dā* 816. *See further sē ðe, ðæs, ðæs ðe, ðȳ les.*

**sealt**, *adj., salt, briny*: *asm.* *sealtne* 1532; *apm.* *sealte* 196, *salte* 749.

**searocraeft**, *m., treachery*: *as.* 109.

**searohæbbend**, *m., warrior*: *np.* *searohæbbende* 1528; *gp.* *searohæbbendra* 1408.

**searonet**, *n., snare*: *as.* 64; *ip.* *searonettum* 943.

**searodane**, *m., sagacious thought*: *ip.* *searofancum* 1255.

**searn**, *fn., cunning, treachery*: *as.* *searwe* 1348, *Ap.* 13; *ip.* *searwum* 1396, *searowum* 745. *See gūð-searo.*

**searūðancol**, *adj., wise, clever*: *npm.* *searūfancle* 1161.

**see**, *see seeg.*

**sēcan**, *Wl.* 1. *visit, go to*: 3 *pl.* *sēcāð* 600; *pret.* 3 *sg.* *sōhte* 28, *Ap.* 28; *pret.* 3 *pl.* *sōhton* 641, *Ap.* 77; *opt.* 3 *sg.* *pres.* *sēce* 731; *inf.* 226, 308, 698, 809, 977, 1502, 1658, 1677, *Ap.* 81. — 2. *search out, try to find, ask for*: 3 *sg.* *sēceð* 909, 1153; 1 *pl.* *sēcaþ* 1568; *opt.* 2 *sg.* *pres.* *sēce* 320; *inf.* 943, 1539. *See gesēcan.*

**seeg**, *m., man*: *ns.* *sec* 1225; *np.* *sec-gas* 1308; *gp.* *seega* 1636, 1656. *See gārseeg.*

**seegan**, *W3.* 1. *say, declare, tell, narrate*: 1 *sg.* *seegē* 618; 2 *pl.* *seegaþ* 345; 3 *pl.* *seegað* 681; *pret.* 3 *sg.* *sægde* 755, 1207, 1654, *sāde* 1022; *pret.* 3 *pl.* *sægdon* 1080; *opt.* *pres.* 3 *sg.* *seegē* 733; *imper.* 2 *sg.* *saga* 557; *ptc. nsm.* *seegende* 949; *ger.* *seeganne* 1481; *inf.* 458, 648, 764, 851. — 2. *give (thanks)*: *pret.* 3 *sg.* *sægde* 1469; *inf.* 1006. *See gesecgan.*

**seegplega**, *m., battle*: *ds.* *seegplegan* 1353.

**sefa**, *m., mind, heart*: *ns.* 1251; *ds.* *sefan* 68, 1165, *Ap.* 2. *See mōðsefa.*

**segl**, *mn., sail*: *ds.* *segle* 505.

**segl**, *n.* 1. *sun*: *ns.* 89, *sægl* 1456. — 2. *eye*: *as.* *segl* 50.

**sel**, *see sæl.*

**sēl**, *adv., better*: 745.

**sele**, *m., hall*: *gs.* *seles* 714; *ds.* *sele* 1311.

**seledrēam**, *m., festivity*: *as.* 1656.

**selerādend**, *m., hall-ruler, house-owner*: *np.* 659.

**sellan**, *see gesellan.*

**sēlost**, *see sēla.*



- sētra**, adj., comp. and sup. only, *better*: comp. nsm. sȳlla 1509; usn. sētre 320, 1503; asm. sētran 471; asn. sēhe 1353; sup. nsm. sēlost 329, 411; nsn. 1565.
- senninga**, adv., *suddenly*: 464, 820.
- senean**, *see* **bisenean**.
- sendan**, W1, *send*: pret. 3 sg. sende 1613; pret. 3 pl. sendon 1028; inf. Ap. 116. *See* **onsendan**.
- sēoc**, adj., *sad, troubled*: dsm. sēcocum Ap. 2. *See* **fimsēoc**.
- seofon**, num. adj., *seven*: uninfl. 114, 1673; npm. seofone 994; gpm. seofona 1311.
- seolf**, *see* **sylf**.
- seolfor**, n., *silver*: as. 338.
- seolhpað**, n., *ocean*: ap. seolhpaðu 1714.
- seomian**, W2, *remain, endure*: 3 sg. seomaþ Ap. 121; inf. 183.
- sēon**, 5, *see, behold*: pret. 3 pl. sēgon 711, sāwon 1679. *See* **be-**, **gesēon**.
- seonodolg**, n., *sinew-wound*: np. 1406. *See* **synn**.
- sēoðan**, 2, lit. *boil, cook*, met. *afflict*: pp. soden 1239.
- sēowan**, W2, *sew, weave*: 3 pl. sēowað 64.
- seppan**, W1, *teach*: pret. 3 sg. septe 742.
- Seraphim**, pr. n., *Seraphim*: n. 719.
- sessian**, W2, *subside*: pret. 3 sg. sessade 453.
- set**, n., *setting*: ds. sete 1248, 1304. *See* **geset**.
- settān**, *see* **ā-**, **be-**, **gesettān**.
- sē ðe**, pron., *who, which*: nsm. 161, 254, 261, 519, 521, 535, 566, 1164, 1386, Ap. 88, 97, 107; gsmn. þas þe 344, 1266, 1479, þæs ðe 1012; dsm. þām þe 314, 638, 909, 980, 1154; asm. þone þe 747; np. ðā ðe 1194, þā ðe 282, 600, þā þe 130, 1370, 1445, ðā þe 579; gp. þāra þe 28, 379, 974, 1152.
- sīd**, adj., *extensive*: asn. sīde 762; npm. 652, 1067.
- sīde**, f., *side (of the body)*: ds. sīdan 968.
- sīde**, adv., *wide*: 1637.
- sigebrōðor**, m., *victorious brother*: as. 183.
- sigedēma**, m., *triumphant judge*: ns. 661.
- sigedryhten**, m., *Lord of victory*: ds. sigedryhtne 877; as. sigedryhten 60; vs. 1453.
- sigelcan**, n., *reward of victory*: as. Ap. 81.
- Sigelware**, pr. n., *Ethiopians*: dp. Sigelwarum Ap. 64.
- sigerōf**, adj., *brave*: asm. sigerofne 1225.
- sigespēd**, f., *success, ability*: as. 646.
- sigetorht**, adj., *victorious*: nsm. 1246.
- sigewang**, m., *plain of victory*: ns. 1581.
- sigor**, m., *victory*: gs. sigores 760, Ap. 62; is. sigore 116; gp. sigora 329, 714, 987, 1406.
- sigorspēd**, f., *prosperity, success*: ns. 909; as. 1435.
- Simon**, pr. n., *Simon*: ns. 691, Ap. 77.
- sīn**, poss. pron., *his*: dsm. sīnum 1021; dsn. 989; asm. sīnne 1464; asn. sīn Ap. 59; npm. sīne 1515; gpm. sīnra 663, 713; dpf. sīnum 813; apm. sīne 427, 823, 847; ip. sīnum 522, 750.
- sine**, *see* **fētedsine**.
- sinegestrēon**, n., *treasure*: as. 1656.
- sinegifu**, f., *gift of treasure*: ds. sinegife 1509.
- sinechroden**, adj., *richly adorned*: apn. 1673.
- sineweorðung**, f., *costly gift, gift of treasure*: gp. sineweorðunga 272, 477.
- singal**, adj., *continuous, unending*: nsm. 869.
- singan**, 3, *sing, offer in song*: pret. 3 pl. sungon 877.
- siman**, 3, w. gen., *cease from, have relief from*: pret. 3 sg. sann 1277.

- sittan, *5, sit, sit down*: pret. 3 sg. sæt 305, 1007; pret. 3 pl. sæton 362, 591; inf. 247. *See* be-, gesittan.
- sittend, *see* burh-, hām-, ðrym-sittend.
- sīð, m. 1. *journey*: gs. sīðes 1041, AP. 34; ds. sīðe 795; as. sīð 44, 340, 515, 860, AP. 111; is. sīðe 175, 845, AP. 32. — 2. *time, occasion*: is. sīðe 706, 808, 1391, 1458, 1675, 1700; ip. sīðum 490, 605. — 3. *fate, experience*: ns. 155. *See* carfoð-, ge-, wil-, wræesīð.
- sīðfat, m., *journey, expedition*: ns. 420; gs. sīðfates 204, 211; ds. sīðfate 358, 1662, sīðfate 663.
- sīðfrom, adj., *ready for the journey, expeditious*: npn. sīðfrome 641, AP. 77; apm. sīðfrome 247.
- sīðgēomor, adj., *sad or weary from traveling*: nsm. AP. 1.
- sīðigean, W2, *go, journey*: inf. 829.
- sīððan, *see* syððan.
- slagn, *see* mǣnslagn.
- slāp, m., *sleep*: ns. 464, 820, 826, 862; ds. slāpe 795, 849; is. 1527.
- slāpan, *see* ofslāpan.
- slāw, *see* muslāw.
- slēan, 6, *strike*: pret. 3 pl. slōgon 964; imper. 2 pl. slēað 1300.
- slege, m., *blow*: as. 956. *See* dolg-, gegu-, sārlege.
- slūpan, *see* tōslūpan.
- smeolt, adj., *gentle, pleasant*: nsm. 1581; npn. smylte 453.
- smið, *see* gryn-, lār-, wrōhtsmið.
- smylt, *see* smeolt.
- snāw, m., *snow*: ns. 1255.
- snel, adj., *swift*: nsm. 505.
- snellīc, adj., *swift*: nsm. 267.
- snēome, adv., *quickly*: 795.
- snēowan, W1, *hasten, proceed*: 3 sg. snōweð 504; inf. 242, 1668.
- snottor, adj., *wise*: nsm. 469; npn. snottre 659. *See* rāðsnottor.
- snōwan, *see* snēowan.
- snūd, n., *speed, swiftness*: is. snūde 267.
- snyttu, f., *wisdom, sagacity*: as. snyttro 554, 1165; gp. snytttra 631; dp. snytrum 1153; ip. snytttrum 646.
- snyððan, *see* besnyððan.
- sonne, *see* ætsomme.
- sōna, adv., *immediately*: 72, 450, 529, 849, 999, 1334, 1535, 1567, 1579.
- sorg, f., *care, sorrow*: ns. 1690; ds. sorge 1568; ip. sorgum 116.
- sorgbyrðen, f., *burden of sorrow*: ns. sorgbyrþen 1532.
- sorgian, W2, *regard, be solicitous*: pret. 3 pl. sorgodon 1227.
- sōð, n., *truth*: ns. 526, AP. 64; ds. sōðe 114, 458, 618; as. sōð 603, 631, 644, 764, 851, 965, 1558, 1563.
- sōð, adj., *true*: nsm. 1602; asm. sōðan AP. 81; gpn. sōðra 710.
- sōð, adv., *in truth, in sooth*: 1435.
- sōðewide, m., *truthful speech*: ip. sōð-cwidum 733.
- sōðfæst, adj., *truthful, just*: nsm. 386; gsm. sōðfæstes 673; npn. sōðfæste 1514; gpm. sōðfæstra 228.
- sōðfæstlic, adj., *truthful, sincere*: asn. 877.
- sōðlice, adv., *truly*: 681.
- spanan, R, *persuade, allure*: pret. 3 sg. spēon 597.
- spann, *see* gespann.
- spaunan, *see* onspannan.
- spēð, *see* mægen-, sige-, sigor-, woruldspēð.
- spēðan, *see* āspēðan.
- spēðig, *see* wuldorspēðig.
- spell, n., *tale, narrative*: as. 815. *See* fār-, god-, lāðspell.
- spildan, W1, w. inst., *destroy*: opt. pres. 2 sg. spilde 284.
- spor, n., *track, mark*: as. 1180.
- spōwan, R, *succeed*: inf. 1544. *See* gespōwan.
- sprec, spræc, *see* edwitspræc, gesprec.

- spreccan**, *v.* *speak*: pret. 1 sg. spræc 904; pret. 3 sg. 1557; opt. pres. 3 sg. sprece 732; pp. spreccen 1622; inf. 1315. *See gespreccan.*
- springan**, *v.* *extend, be diffused*: pret. 3 sg. sprang Ap. 6. *See onspringan.*
- stæf**, *see* **endestæf**.
- stæfn**, *see* **broudstæfn**.
- stæfna**, *see* **stefna**.
- stān**, *m.*, *stone*: ns. 738, 766, 1523; gs. stānes 741; ds. stane 738; as. stān 774, 841. *See marmanstān.*
- standan**, *v.* 1. *stand*: 3 sg. standeþ Ap. 98; 3 pl. standað 722; pret. 3 sg. stōd 254, 737; pret. 3 pl. stōdon 842, 871, 1157, 1712; opt. pres. 3 sg. stande 502; inf. 882, 993, 1062, 1448, 1494. — 2. *rise up*: pret. 3 sg. stōd 375. — 3. *last, endure*: 3 sg. standeð Ap. 120. *See ā-*, *for-*, *ge-*, **wiðstandan**.
- stānfāg**, *adj.*, *adorned with stones, paved*: npf. stānfāge 1236.
- stānhlið**, *n.*, *stone slope, cliff*: ap. stānhleoðu 1577, stānhleoðu 1233.
- stapa**, *see* **hildstapa**.
- stæppan**, *v.* *go, proceed*: pret. 3 sg. stōp 985, 1577. *See gestæppan.*
- stapul**, *m.*, *column*: as. 1062; ap. stapulas 1494.
- stærceðferhð**, *adj.*, *stout-hearted*: asm. stærceðferhþne 1233.
- stæð**, *see* **bord-**, **brimstæð**.
- staðol**, *m.*, *base, pedestal*: ds. staþole 1503.
- staðolfæst**, *adj.*, *established, firm*: nsm. 121. staðulfæst 1336.
- staðolian**, *W2.* 1. *confirm, make steadfast*: 1 sg. staþolige 82; imper. 2 sg. staðola 1210, 1213. — 2. *create, establish*: pret. 3 sg. staðolade 799. *See gestaðolian.*
- steald**, *see* **wuldorgesteald**.
- stealla**, *see* **gestealla**.
- stēap**, *adj.*, *steep*: npm. stēape 840; apm. 1306.
- stede**, *see* **burh-**, **colh-**, **folc-**, **meðel-**, **ðing-**, **wangstede**.
- stedewang**, *m.*, *plain*: ds. stedewange 774; np. stedewangas 334.
- stefn**, *m.*, *time*: is. stefne 123, 1303.
- stefn**, *m.*, *prove*: ds. stefne 291. *See* **heahstefn**.
- stefn**, *f.*, *voice*: ns. 92, 167, 738, 1429; is. stefne 56, 61, 96, 537, 873, 1126, 1360, 1399, 1456; ip. stefnum 722, 1054.
- stefna**, *m.*, *prove*: ds. stefnan 403; as. 1707, stefnan 495.
- stellan**, *see* **onstellan**.
- stēman**, *see* **bestēman**.
- steng**, *m.*, *stake, cudgel*: gs. stenges Ap. 72.
- steora**, *m.*, *steersman*: as. steoran 495.
- stērend**, *m.*, *pilot, guide*: ns. 1336, stýrend 121.
- stiece**, *n.*, *piece, portion*: ip. sticcum 1448.
- stīg**, *f.*, *path, way*: ns. 985; as. stige 1442.
- stīgan**, *v.* *ascend, mount*: pret. 2 pl. stigon 429; pret. 3 pl. 349. *See ā-*, *ge-*, **oferstīgan**.
- stillan**, *W1.* 1. *become quiet*: inf. 1576. — 2. *w. dat., make quiet*: pret. 3 sg. stilde 451. *See* **gestillan**.
- stille**, *adj.*, *still, motionless*: nsm. 502.
- stīðferð**, *adj.*, *firm of heart*: npm. stīðferðe 722.
- stīðhyegende**, *adj.*, *resolute*: dp. stīðhycgendum 741, 1429.
- stīðmōð**, *adj.*, *resolute*: nsm. Ap. 72.
- stōl**, *see* **cynestōl**.
- storm**, *m.*, *storm*: ns. 502, 1236 (figuratively); is. storne 1494; ap. stormas 1576.
- stōw**, *f.*, *place*: gp. stōwa 121.
- stræġ**, *m.*, *dart*: vs. 1189.
- strang**, *adj.*, *hard, severe*: nsm. 313; asf. strangan 1336; dpm. strangum 1210; ipm. 162, 536; comp. nsm. strengra 1385.

- stranglee, adv., *sternly*: 167.
- stræt, f., *street*: ns. 1580; ds. stræte 774, 985, 1062; np. 1236; ap. 334. *See* faroð-, herestræt.
- strēam, m., *stream, flood*: ns. 1280, 1523; as. 852, 1538; np. strēamas 374; ap. 1503. *See* brim-, ēa-, ēagor-, firgend-, lagu-, mere-, sæstrēam.
- strēamfaru, f., *current*: as. strēamfare 1576.
- strēamraec, f., *water-course*: as. strēamraece 1580.
- strēamwelu, m., *billow*: ns. 495.
- streng, m., *rope, cordage*: np. strengas 374.
- strēon, *see* gestrēon.
- strēonan, W1, w. gen., *win*: inf. 331.
- stund, f., *time, hour*: ns. 1210.
- stunde, adv., *straightway*: 416, 1497.
- stȳran, W1, *arrange*: pp. stȳred 1092.
- stȳrend, *see* stēorend.
- stryian, W2, *stir, be in commotion*: pret. 3 pl. styredon 374.
- sum, pron., *one, certain one*: nsm. 11, 967, 1174, 1311; npm. sume Ap. 11.
- sund, n. 1. *course, sailing*: as. 381, 488. — 2. *ocean, flood*: ns. sund 424, 1528; as. 747.
- sund, adj., *see* onsund.
- sundor, adv., *apart, asunder*: 1161.
- sundrian, *see* āsundrian.
- sunne, f., *sun*: ns. 1248, 1304; ds. sunnan 1013.
- sunu, m., *son*: ns. 879, 1684; ds. suna 681, 881; as. sunu 1109; np. suna 691.
- sūsī, n., *torture*: is. sūsīe 1379.
- swā, adv. 1. *so, thus*: 157, 177, 438, 461, 524, 661, 692, 1053, 1137, 1149, 1245, 1323, 1328, 1343, 1344, 1393, 1455, 1562, 1670, Ap. 113. — 2. *so, very*: 710, 895, 922, 1243.
- swā, conj. 1. *as, according as*: 5, 67, 149, 269, 297, 304, 322, 345, 348, 357, 389, 418, 594, 622, 649, 786, 789, 845, 931, 949, 972, 1045, 1231, 1274, 1321, 1341, 1476, 1514, 1696, Ap. 102. — 2. *inasmuch as, for*: 327, 937, 1115. — 3. *so that (result)*: 986. — 4. *as if*: 261, 501. — 5. *yet*: 493. — 6. *likewise*: 582, 1288. — 7. *where*: 1441, 1449, 1582. — 8. *swā . . . swā, as . . . as* (adv. and conj.): 192–193, 333, 926–927, 1234. *See* swā ðeah.
- swanrād, f., *swan-road, ocean*: as. swanrāde 196.
- swaru, -swarian, -swerian, *see* ondswaru, etc.
- swārs, adj., *dear*: asm. swārsne 1009.
- swāsende, n., *food, repast*: gp. swāsenda 386.
- swāt, m., *blood*: ns. 1275, 1425, 1441; as. swāt 968; is. swāte 1239.
- swätig, adj., *bloody*: npm. swätige 1406.
- swā ðeah, conj., *yet, nevertheless*: 813, 1250.
- swaðrian, *see* sweðrian.
- swaðu, f., *path, track*: ds. swađe 1422; as. 673, swađe 1441.
- swebban, *see* āswebban.
- swefan, 5. 1. *sleep*: inf. 832, 849. — 2. *lie dead*: pret. 3 pl. swāfon 1002.
- swēg, m., *tumult, noise*: ns. 93; as. 1532.
- swegeldrēam, m., *heavenly joy*: dp. swegeldrēamum 720.
- swegeltorht, adj., *radiant*: nsf. 1248.
- swegl, n., *heaven*: gs. swegles 208, 455, 641, 760, 809, 832, 869; ds. swegle 98, 1009; as. swegl 749.
- swegle, adj., *bright*: apm. Ap. 32.
- swele, *see* swyle.
- swelgan, 3, w. acc. and inst. 1. *accept, receive*: pret. 3 pl. swulgon 710. — 2. *flow over, swallow up*: pret. 3 sg. swealg 1276. *See* forswelgan.
- sweltan, 3, *die*: pret. 3 pl. swulton 1530.
- swencan, W1, *trouble*: inf. 109. *See* geswencan.

**sweng**, m., *stroke*: as. Ap. 72. *See* **heornsweng**.

**sweorcan**, 3, *darken, become dim*: pret. 3 sg. **swearc** 372.

**sweord**, n., *sword*: gs. **sweordes** 1132, Ap. 34; ip. **sweordum** 72.

**sweordræs**, m., *attack with the sword*: ns. Ap. 59.

**sweotol**, adj., *clear, evident*: gpn. **sweotulra** 565; ipn. **sweotolum** 742.

**sweoðerian**, *see* **sweoðrian**.

**swēr**, m., *column*: ap. **swēras** 1493.

**sweoðrian**, W2. 1. *subside, become still*: pret. 3 sg. **swaðrode** 1585, **sweoðerade** 465; pret. 3 pl. **swaðorodon** 533. — 2. *vanish*: pret. 3 pl. **sweoðerodon** 836.

**swīcan**, 1, w. dat., *desert*: 1 pl. **swīcað** 407; opt. pres. 2 sg. **swice** 958. *See* **be-**, **geswīcan**.

**swīgian**, W2, *be silent*: pret. 3 pl. **swīgodon** 762.

**swilt**, *see* **swyft**.

**swing**, *see* **geswing**.

**swingan**, 3, *scourge, chastise, afflict*: pret. 3 pl. **swungen** 964; pp. **swungen** 1246, 1275.

**swið**, adj., *strong*: nsm. 1207, 1513.

**swiðan**, *see* **geswiðan**.

**swiðe**, adv., *very, exceedingly*: 423, 618, 926.

**swyle**, pron., *such*: nsm. **swele** 25; nsn. **swyle** 29.

**swylee**, adv., *likewise, also, thus*: 166, 584, 589, 621, 704, 712, 881, 1029, 1036, 1257, 1687, Ap. 16, 50.

**swylee**, conj. 1. *as if*: 247. — 2. *like as, as*: 89.

**swyft**, m., *death*: ns. 994; as. 1610, **swilt** 1348, Ap. 71.

**swyftewalu**, f., *death-torture*: ds. **swyftewale** 156; as. 1368.

**syb**, f., *peace, good will*: ns. 1013, **sybb** 1568; as. **sybbe** 98, 358, 809, 832. *See* **brōðorsybb**.

**sýfre**, *see* **unsýfre**.

**-syhð**, *see* **gesyhð**.

**sylf**, pron., *self, himself*: nsm. 5, 248, 665, 845, 1509, **sylfa** 329, 433, 860, 1348, 1701, Ap. 111, **seolfa** 340, 505; gsm. **sylfes** 651, 1109, 1417, **seolfes** 1300, 1441; dsm. **sylfum** 644, 648, 1662; asm. **seolfne** 921, **sylfne** 1212; npm. **sylfe** 1558; dpm. **sylfum** 949.

**sylfæta**, m., *cannibal*: np. **sylfætan** 175.

**sýlla**, *see* **sēla**.

**syllan**, W1, *give, give over*: 1 sg. **sylle** 97; pret. 3 sg. **sealde** 577, 1513; inf. 272, 366, 477, 1109. *See* **gesellan**.

**syllic**, adj., *strange, wonderful*: comp. asm. **syllicran** 500.

**symboldæg**, m., *feast-day*: ds. **symboldæge** 1527.

**symbolgifa**, m., *entertainer, provider*: vs. 1417.

**symble**, adv., *always, ever*: 157, 659, 1384, 1581, **symle** 411, 651, 1153, **symles** 64.

**symle**, **symles**, *see* **symble**.

**sýn**, *see* **onsýn**.

**sýne**, *see* **æg-**, **ge-**, **onsýne**.

**synfull**, adj., *sinful*: npm. **synfulle** 764; gpm. **synfulra** 987.

**synn**, f., *sin*: as. **synne** 926; dp. **synnum** 1243; ip. 407.

**synnig**, adj., *sinful*: nsm. 921; asm. **synnigne** 1300; npm. **synnige** 109, 565, 710, 964; gp. **synnigra** 956, 1610.

**synu**, f., *sinew*: ns. 1422; np. **sionwe** 1425.

**syrian**, W2, *plot, devise*: pret. 3 pl. **syredon** 610.

**syððan**, adv. 1. *after, from the time that*: 5, 295, 455, 1075, 1337, 1381, 1599, 1678, Ap. 27, 40, 54, **syðþan** 240, 893, **syþþan** 43, 180, Ap. 21, **siþþan** 1223, **seodþan** 534. — 2. *afterwards*: **syððan** 33, 1193, 1379, 1674, 1704, **syðþan** 1514, **syþþan** 706, **siððan** 1106.

**syxtýne**, num. adj., *sixteen*: 490.

## T

tācan, *see* getācan.

tācen, n. 1. *sign*: ns. 88; as. 1338; gp. tācna 711; ip. tācnum 742.—

2. *mark, characteristic*: ns. 29.—

3. *covenant*: as. 214. *See* wēatācen.

tācnian, *see* getācnian.

tāel, f., *blame*: ds. tæle 633.

taligan, W2, *count, consider*: 1 sg. talige 1563, tælige 1484.

tælnet, n., *measure, portion*: ns. 113.

tān, m., *lot*: ns. 1103; as. taan 1099.

teala, adv., *well, thoroughly*: 1612.

tēam, *see* heretēam.

tēar, m., *tear*: ip. tēarum 59.

teldan, *see* beteldan.

tellan, 1, *count, calculate*: pret. 3 pl. teledon 1103. *See* getellan.

tempel, n., *temple*: ns. 667; ds. temple 707; as. tempel 1634. [Lat. *templum*.]

tēon, W2, *fashion, create*: pret. 3 sg. tēode 797. *See* getēon.

tēon, 2, *draw, drag*: inf. 1230.

tēonewide, m., *censure*: as. 633, 771.

Thaddēus, pr. n., *Thaddæus*: ns. AP. 77.

Thōmas, pr. n., *Thomas*: ns. AP. 50.

tīd, f., *time*: ds. tide 113, 1407; as. tīd 214, 911, 1091, 1160.

tigelfāg, adj., *adorned with tiles*: npn. tigelfāgan 842. [Lat. *tegula*.]

tihhian, *see* getihhian.

tilmōdig, adj., *noble-minded*: npm. til-mōdige AP. 86.

timbran, *see* getimbran.

tlugan, *see* getingan.

tīr, m., *glory*: gs. tīres 105; as. tīr 485, AP. 86.

tīrēadig, adj., *glorious*: npm. tīrēadige 665, AP. 4; apm. 2, 883; gpm. tīrēadigra 1681.

tō, prep. w. gen. and dat. 1. w. gen. in phrases tō ðæs, tō ðæs ðe, *there, where*: 1059, 1070, 1123.—2. w. dat., *to, towards, unto, into, upon*: 40, 47, 81, 90, 113, 119, 236, 287, 294, 398, 483,

598, 622, 658, 666, 778, 808, 828, 909, 918, 969, 974, 1027, 1068, 1098, 1118, 1152, 1186, 1188, 1196, 1203, 1205, 1248, 1250, 1270, 1304, 1307, 1311, 1351, 1398, 1410, 1423, 1460, 1568, 1682, 1683, 1693, 1698, 1707, AP. 43, 115.—3. *as, for, in*: w. dat. 27, 76, 106 (tō wīðan fēore = *forever*), 111 (2), 132, 136, 153 (2), 160, 234, 311, 313, 324, 342, 458, 567 (2), 588, 606, 618, 794, 795, 810, 938, 1039, 1081, 1101, 1111, 1112, 1113, 1114, 1123, 1161, 1162, 1284, 1369, 1452, 1507, 1605, 1641, 1721, AP. 62, 74, 95.—4. *on, at*: w. dat. 221, 1539.—5. *of, from*: w. dat. 449.—6. *according to*: w. dat. 653, 796.—7. w. inf. 1160, 1481, 1659, 1689; w. ger. 23, 73, 206, 295, 424, 1136.

tō, adv. 1. *too*: 98, 212, 612, 1301, 1432, 1609.—2. *there, thither*: 711, 1234, 1348.

Tobias, pr. n., *Tobias*: ns. 1516.

tōbregdan, 4. 1. *tear, rend*: pret. 3 pl. tōbrugdon 159.—2. *shake off* (w. inst.): pret. 3 pl. tōbrugdon 1527.

tōdāelan, W1, *portion out*: inf. 152.

tōdrīfan, 1, *scatter, dispel, destroy*: pret. 3 sg. tōdrāf 1688; pp. npm. tōdrifene 1426.

toga, *see* folcetoga.

tōgadore, adv., *together*: 1438.

tōgēnes, prep. w. dat., *towards, in the direction of*: 45, 657.

tōgēnes, adv., *towards*: 1101.

tōgīnan, 1, *separate, split*: pret. 3 sg. tōgān 1523.

tōghlidan, 1, *glide away, disappear*: 3 sg. tōghliden AP. 102; pret. 3 sg. tōglād 123.

tōhlīdan, 1, *open up*: pret. 3 sg. tōhlād 1587.

tōhrēosan, 2, *perish pass away*: inf. AP. 101.

tohte, f., *battle, conflict*: gs. tohtan AP. 75.

tōlŋean, 2, *dislocate, pull apart*: pp. tōlocen 1404.  
 tōlŋsan, W1, *separate*: inf. 151.  
 torht, adj., *bright, glorious*: nsm. 105; nsn. 1612; npm. torhte AP. 4. *See* heofon-, morgen-, sigel-, swegel-, wuldortorht.  
 torhte, adv., *brightly*: 715.  
 torhtlice, adv., *gloriously*: 1681.  
 torngenīðla, m., *fierce enemy*: np. torngenīðlan 1230.  
 torr, m., *tower*: np. torras 842. [Lat. *turris*.]  
 tōslūpan, 2, *relax, destroy*: pp. tōslopan 1425.  
 tōsōmne, adv., *together*: 33, 1093.  
 tō ðæs, tō ðæs ðe, *see* tō.  
 traef, n., *tent, building*: np. trafu 842. *See* helltraef.  
 trahtian, *see* getrahtian.  
 tredan, 4, *traverse*: inf. 775, 802.  
 trēowe, adj., *faithful*: asn. 214. *See* getrēowe.  
 trēowgeðofta, m., *trusty comrade*: np. trēowgeðoftan 1050.  
 trum, adj., *sound, whole*: nsm. 1477. *See* getrum.  
 trymman, W1, *encourage, cheer*: pret. 3 sg. trymede 463, 1051, 1681; inf. 428, 1419.  
 tū, *see* twēgen.  
 tungol, n., *star*: dp. tunglum 2.  
 twēgen, num., *two*: nm. 689, AP. 75; dm. twām 249, 589, twēni 779; af. twā 715; an. tū 1035, 1050.  
 twelf, num., *twelve*: nm. twelve AP. 4, XII AP. 86; am. twelve 2, 883, 1419.  
 twelfta, num., *twelfth*: nsm. 665.  
 twēntig, num., *twenty*: ns. 114.  
 twēogan, 1, *doubt*: ptc. nsn. twēogende 771.  
 twēonde, *see* untwēonde.  
 twēonum, *see* betwēonum.  
 tŷddre, *see* untŷddre.  
 tyn, num., *ten*: dn. 1512.  
 tŷnan, *see* outŷnan.

tŷr, *see* tŷr.  
 tyrgan, W1, *tease, torment*: pret. 3 pl. tyrgdon 963.

## D

ðā, adv., *then, thereupon*: 92, 122, 143, 147, etc., þā 40, 45, 59, 118, etc. *See* nū ðā.  
 ðā, conj., *when*: 626, 1177, 1409, þā 385, 429, 899, 1319, 1419, AP. 82.  
 ðafigan, W2, *agree, consent*: inf. 402.  
 ðā gēn, adv., *again, a second time*: 601, þā gēn 727.  
 ðā gīt, adv. 1. *yet, as yet*: þā gīt 15, þā gyt 380. — 2. *still*: 632, þā git 51. — 3. *further, moreover*: þā git 383, þā gyt 1039, ðā gyt 1195.  
 ðan, *see* ær þan, forðan.  
 ðanc, m. 1. *thought*: gs. þances 557; as. þanc 1622. — 2. *thanks*: ns. ðanc 1451, þanc 1150; ds. tō þance (*gladly, thankfully*) 1112; as. þanc 384, 1469. *See* fore-, ge-, hyge-, inge-, inwit-, searodanc.  
 ðancian, W2, trans., *thank*: pret. 3 sg. þancade 1011.  
 ðancul, *see* ge-, hyge-, searudancul.  
 ðanon, adj., *thence*: þanon 1065, AP. 31, 38, þonon AP. 61.  
 ðær, adv., *there, in that place*: 183, 244, 562, 875, 1007, 1080, 1296, 1547, þær 21, 41, 48, 90, 181, 199, 263, 279, 280, 445, 654, 662, 770, 869, 878, 887, 888, 907, 979, 1001, 1037, 1039, 1049, 1083, 1153, 1192, 1222, 1225, 1349, 1382, 1534, 1542, 1554, 1555, 1569, 1571, 1588, 1591, 1625, 1647, 1701, 1708, AP. 52, 60, 98.  
 ðær, conj. 1. *where*: 217, 657, þær 15, 105, 168, 175, 228, 294, 305, 502, 598, 607, 667, 695, 711, 790, 940, 1379, 1634, 1684, 1693, AP. 10, 118, 119. — 2. *wherever*: þær 224, 935, 1403. — 3. *when*: þær 805, 923, 967.  
 ðæs, adv., *so, to that extent*: 1365, 1372.  
 ðæs, conj., *as*: 687.

- ðæs ðe**, conj., *as, because*: þæs ðe 472, 1012, 1151, þæs þe 1563.
- ðæt**, conj. 1. *that*, in noun clauses (subj. and obj.): 85, 207, 308, 319, 403, 485, 610, 618, 928, 1329, 1617, þæt 26, 30, 71, 91, 159, 178, 273, 276, 284, 319, 321, 378, 430, 434, 438, 459, 499, 511, 527, 530, 534, 550, 559, 563, 574, 618, 661, 673, 681, 700, 757, 765, 766, 844, 852, 894, 898, 922, 928, 933, 962, 1073, 1080, 1121, 1137, 1167, 1267, 1285, 1289, 1344, 1416, 1420, 1437 (2), 1485, 1505, 1517, 1559, 1564, 1606, 1653, 1655, 1660, 1690, AP. 43, 64, 70, 89, 108. — 2. *that, so that*, in result clauses: ðæt 731, þæt 37, 261, 303, 603, 707, 737, 788, 916, 958, 1327, 1373, AP. 56. — 3. *that, in order that*, in purpose clauses: ðæt 1333, þæt 368, 860, 1183, 1214, 1357, AP. 117. — 4. *when, where*, in temporal clauses: þæt 108, 115, 150, 185, 1211, 1523, 1607. — 5. *that*, with ellipsis of principal sentence: þæt 203. *See* **oððæt**.
- ðatte**, conj., *such that*: 546.
- ðæt ðe**, conj., *that*: ðæt þe 1602.
- ðe**, indecl. particle. 1. *who, which, that*: 815, þe 101, 164, 263, 718, 799, 828, 886, 890, 945, 1130, 1318, 1440, 1486, 1548, 1615. — 2. *than*: 1040. *See* **sē**, **ðæs**, **ðæt**, **ðēah ðe**.
- ðēah**, conj., *though, although*: 1217, þēah 476, 710, 975, 1243, 1628, þēh 271, 507, 515, 630, 856, 955, ðēh 900. *See* **swā** **ðēah**.
- ðēah ðe**, conj., *although*: þēah ðe 53, 564, þēh þe 1609.
- ðearf**, f. 1. *need, necessity*: ns. þearf 1166, 1605. — 2. *advantage, benefit*: ds. þearfe 1652.
- ðearfende**, *see* **mete-**, **wineðearfende**.
- ðearl**, adj., *severe, excessive*: gpn. þearlra 1598.
- ðearle**, adv., *severely, excessively*: þearle 1115.
- ðearlic**, adj., *severe*: nsn. þearlic 1136.
- ðēaw**, m., *custom, habit*: ns. þēaw 25, 177; ds. ðēawum 462.
- ðeccan**, W1, *cover*: pret. 3 sg. þehte 966, AP. 22; pret. 3 pl. þehton 1525. *See* **beðeccan**.
- ðegn**, m., *servant, retainer, disciple*: ns. þegn 384, 417, þegen 528; as. þegn 1391, 1678; vs. 557; np. þegnas 43, 237, 323, 344, 363, 376, 391, 402, 726, 872, 1026, AP. 87; gp. þegna 696, AP. 8; dp. þegnum 1329; ap. þegnas 3, 245, 462. *See* **duru-**, **ombeht-**, **maguðegn**.
- ðegnan**, W2, *serve*: pret. 3 pl. þegnodon 884.
- ðegu**, *see* **beor-**, **foddor-**, **wildëgu**.
- ðēh**, *see* **ðēah**.
- ðel**, *see* **wægðel**.
- ðenean**, W1, *resolve, consider*: 2 sg. þencest 212; pret. 3 pl. þōhton 150, 693.
- ðenden**, conj., *while, as long as*: ðendon 1397, þendon 1713, þenden 1288, þyn-den 1323.
- ðēod**, f., *people, nation*: ns. þēod 1098, 1112; ds. þēode 185, 571; as. 25, 1185; gp. þēoda 107, 547, 1451, ðēoda 1622; dp. þēodum 520, 1605, 1652. *See* **ell-**, **werðēod**.
- ðēodan**, *see* **oððēodan**.
- ðēodbealo**, n., *great evil*: as. þēodbealo 1136.
- ðēodecyning**, m., *king of the people*: gs. ðēodcyninges AP. 18.
- ðēoden**, m., *prince, lord*: ns. þēoden 290, 323, 364, 415, 606, 773; gs. þēodnes 3, 94, AP. 8; ds. ðēodne 1007; as. þēoden 872, 900; vs. 288, 479; np. þēodnas 363.
- ðēodenhold**, adj., *loyal to the prince, submissive*: nsm. þēodenhold 384.
- ðēodig**, *see* **e11ðēodig**.
- ðēodōm**, m., *service*: as. þēodōm AP. 105.
- ðēodseeaða**, m., *enemy of the people*: ns. 1115.



**ðēon**, *see* **geððēon**.

**ðēs**, pron., *this*: nsm. þēs 420, 496; nsf. ðēos 1437, þēos 731, 1428; nsm. ðis 717, þis 751, 1506, ðys 492; gsm. þisses AP. 108, þysses AP. 89; dsmn. ðyssum 1198, þissum 77, 550, þyssum 112, 358; dsf. þysse 684, 973, þisse AP. 112; asm. ðisne 1604, þysne AP. 1; asf. þās 111, 207, 914, AP. 98; gp. þissa 268, 386; dp. þyssum 88, 100, 761, 1026; apn. þās AP. 49, 83.

**ðēgan**, 5. 1. *receive*: pret. 3 pl. þēgon 1112. — 2. *receive food, eat*: pret. 3 pl. ðēgon 25, þēgon 593.

**ðin**, pron., *thy, thine*: nsm. þīn 70, 194, 541, 542, 604, 940, 952, 1023, 1317, 1321, 1441; gsm. þīnes 65, 1417; gsn. 1383; dsm. þīnum 959, 1503; asm. þīnne 183, 213, 479, 1209, 1213, 1216, 1316; asf. þīne 288, 548, 635, 1190, 1384, 1424; asn. þīn 216, 954, 1295, 1418; isn. þīne 284; npn. þīne 399; gp. þīnra 482; dp. þīnum 1285, 1289, 1292; ap. þīne 421.

**ðing**, n., *meeting*: as. þing 157, 930. *See* **geðing**, **gūðgeðingu**.

**ðinggemeare**, n., *appointed time*: gs. þinggemearces 148.

**ðingian**, *see* **wiððingian**.

**ðingstede**, m., *council-place*: ds. þingstede 1098.

**ðingu**, *see* **gūðgeðingu**.

**ðisa**, *see* **brimþisa**.

**-ðofta**, *see* **geðofta**.

**-ðōht**, *see* **geðōht**.

**ðolian**, W2, *endure*: pres. opt. 2 sg. ðolie 955, þolige 1217; inf. þolian 1414. *See* **geðolian**.

**ðonne**, adv., *then*: 655, AP. 103, þonne 152, 347, 399, 1309, AP. 88.

**ðonne**, conj. 1. *when*: þonne 4, 9, 142, 252, 409, 412, 512, 891, 1500, AP. 92. — 2. *than*: þonne 924, 1089, 1178, 1428, 1484, 1519, AP. 49.

**-ðrae**, *see* **geðrae**.

**-ðraeu**, *see* **holmðraeu**.

**ðrāg**, f., *time*: ns. þrāh 107; gs. ðrāge 1598; as. þrāge 790, AP. 30.

**ðrāgmælum**, adv., *from time to time*: 1230.

**ðrēa**, f., *trouble, affliction*: ns. þrēa 1166; as. 107.

**ðrēagan**, W1, *cast down, scourge, subdue*: pret. 3 sg. þrēade 452, 1687; pp. npn. geþrēade 391.

**ðrēanēd**, f., *affliction, suffering*: dp. þrēanēdum 1264.

**ðrēat**, n., *host, multitude*: ns. þrēat 870, 1005, 1269; as. 1608; is. þrēate 1636; gp. þrēata 376.

**ðrēatian**, W2, *scourge, control*: 3 sg. þrēatað 520. *See* **geðrēatian**.

**ðreodian**, W2, *hesitate, fear*: pret. 3 sg. þreodode AP. 18.

**ðridða**, adj., *third*: asm. þridðan 793; ism. 1391.

**ðrīness**, f., *the Trinity*: gs. þrīnesse 1685.

**ðring**, *see* **geðring**.

**ðringan**, 3, *crowd, throng*: pret. 3 pl. þrungon 126, 1203. *See* **æt-**, **ge-**, **ingeðringan**.

**ðrist**, **ðriste**, adj., *bold*: nsm. þrist 1139, 1264, þriste 237.

**ðriste**, adv., *boldly*: þriste 1652, AP. 50.

**ðristlice**, adv., *boldly, rashly*: 1185.

**ðritig**, num., *thirty*: 157.

**ðrothheard**, adj. 1. *strong to endure, patient*: nsm. þrothheard 1264; asm. þrothheardne 1391; npn. þrothearde 402. — 2. *grievous, hard to endure*: nsm. þrothheard 1139.

**ðrōwian**, W2, *suffer, endure*: 3 pl. þrōwiað 281; pret. 3 sg. þrōwode 1610, AP. 71; pret. 2 pl. þrōwodon 431; pret. 3 pl. þrōwedon 414, 1071; inf. þrōwian 80, 615, 1468, þrōwigan 1367, AP. 80.

**ðrȳ**, num., *three*: nm. þrȳ 801; nf. þrēo 185; gf. þrēora 930; df. þrīm 148; am. þrȳ 245, 1414.

**ðrym**, n. 1. *glory, majesty*: ns. þrym 3, 887, Ap. 8; ds. þrymme 1685; as. þrym 344, 723, 998. — 2. *multitude, power, strength*: ns. þrym 1260, 1536, 1572; ds. þrymme Ap. 18; as. þrym 957. *See* **cýne-**, **heofon-**, **hilde-**, **wuldorðrym**.

**ðrymfæst**, adj., *strong, glorious*: nsm. þrymfæst 323, vsm. 479.

**ðrymfull**, adj., *illustrious*: npm. þrymfulle 363.

**ðrymlíc**, adj., *glorious*: apm. þrymlíce 245.

**ðrymlíce**, adv., *gloriously*: 547.

**ðrymna**, m., *strong man, warrior*: np. þrymnan 1139.

**ðrymsittende**, adj., *dwelling in glory*: gsm. þrymsittendes 417, 528; npm. þrymsittende 884.

**ðrýð**, f., *strength, power*: ip. þrýðum 376, 1148.

**ðrýðbearn**, n., *glorious son*: as. þrýðbearn 404.

**ðrýðeyning**, m., *king of glory*: as. þrýðeyning 436.

**ðrýðfull**, adj., *glorious, powerful*: dpm. þrýðfullum 1329.

**ðrýðweorc**, n., *glorious work*: as. þrýðweorc 773.

**ðū**, pron., *thou*: ns. 73, 85, 98, 105, etc.; þū 68, 283, 943, 1187, etc.; for gs. *see* **ðin**; ds. ðē 275, 386, 483, 618, etc.; þē 81, 83, 97, 102, etc.; as. ðē 112, 292, 534, 633, etc.; þē 99, 100, 101, 108, etc.; np. ge 256, 295, 337, 344, 345, 346, 348, 429(2), 430, 676, 744, 746, 1179, 1183, 1197, 1333, 1558, 1609, 1612; dp. ēow 297, 338, 316, 458, 758, 851, 970, 1176, 1343, 1344, 1611; ap. ēow 336, 347, 884, ēowie 259, 882.

**ðurfan**, PP, *need*: 2 pl. ðurfan 337. *See* **beðurfan**.

**ðurh**, prep. w. acc. 1. *through, by, because of, in accordance with (condition and agency)*: ðurh 66, 315, 633, Ap.

34, 68, 80, þurh 34, 79, 109, 187, 218, 439, 525, 585, 597, 611, 631, 635, 642, 651, 670, 688, 699, 725, 771, 827, 912, 941, 965, 971, 975, 1000, 1092, 1294, 1336, 1348, 1418, 1440, 1442, 1444, 1475, 1476, 1520, 1530, 1532, 1552, 1580, 1586, 1616, 1629, 1635, 1651, 1692, Ap. 26, 29, 39, 53, 56, 60, 67, þurg Ap. 13, 63, ðurg Ap. 72. — 2. *through, out of (place)*: þurh 739, 1276, 1279.

**ðurhðrifan**, 1. *pierce through*: pp. þurhðrifen 1397.

**ðus**, adv., *thus*: 1411, Ap. 85, þus 62, 173, 354, 539, 686, 818, 1716.

**ðusend**, num., *thousand*: ap. ðusends 591.

**ðūsendumælum**, adv., *in thousands*: þūsendumælum 872.

**ðyder**, adv., *thither*: þyder 282.

**ðý læs**, conj., *lest, that not*: þý læs 77, 1147, þē læs 1047.

**ðyldig**, *see* **geðyldig**.

**ðýn**, 1. *suppress*: 3 sg. ðýð 520. *See* **geðýn**.

**ðyncan**, W1, *seem*: 3 sg. þinceð 609, þynceð 472; pret. 3 sg. þūhte 749, 1135; pret. 3 pl. þūhton 440.

**ðynden**, *see* **ðenden**.

**ðyssa**, *see* **mereðyssa**.

## U

**U** = *rune* ∩ Ap. 101; for meaning, *see* *Notes*.

**ūhta**, m., *dawn*: ds. ūhtan 235, 1388.

**unbrēce**, adj., *imperishable*: asm. unbræcne Ap. 86.

**uncūð**, adj., *unknown, strange*: asn. Ap. 93; npn. Ap. 112; gp. uncūðra 178.

**under**, prep., *under, beneath, in*: w. dat. 2, 93, 98, 505, 512, 545, 837, 1000, 1204, 1402, 1493; w. acc. 128, 208, 455, 1395, 1457, 1595, 1600; case indeterminate 46, 95, 141, 144, 420, 832, 940, 1005, 1013, 1038, 1065, 1071, 1253.

**undyrne**, adj., *manifest, famous*: nsf.

Ap. 42; asf. 1480.

**uneade**, adj., *difficult*: nsn. 205.

**unforenð**, adj., *noble, illustrious*: nsm.

1263; vsm. 475.

**unfyrn**, adv., *soon*: 1371.

**unheore**, adj., *harmful, murderous*:

asm. unheorne 34.

**unhwilen**, adj., *eternal*: asf. 1154;

asn. Ap. 20, 120.

**unhȳdig**, adj., *wretched*: npm. unhȳ-  
dige 1078.

**unlæd**, adj., *wretched, wicked*: np. un-  
lēde 741; gp. unlædra 30, 142.

**unlȳtel**, adj., *not little, great*: nsm.

1237; nsf. 1270; nsn. Ap. 8; asn.

876; apm. unlȳtle 1493.

**unmæte**, adj., *very great*: nsn. 1219;

asn. 653, 1682.

**unnan**, PP, w. gen., *grant*: inf. 146,  
208. See **geunnan**.

**unriht**, n., *wrong*: ds. unrihte 1559.

**unrīm**, n., *great number*: as. 704.

**unsælig**, adj., *unhappy, ill-fated*: npm.

unsælige 561.

**unseyldig**, adj., *guiltless, innocent*:  
nsm. 1137.

**unslāw**, adj., *not slow, hastening*: asm.

unslāwne 1711.

**unsȳfre**, adj., *dirty*: asn. 1310.

**untwēonde**, adj., *not doubting, unhesi-  
tating*: asn. 1242.

**untȳddre**, adj., *courageous*: nsm. 1252.

**unweaxen**, adj., *not fully grown, young*:  
npm. unweaxne 1627.

**ūp**, adv., *up, above*: 792, upp 443, 979,  
1125, 1236, 1303, 1318, 1625.

**ūpengel**, m., *heavenly angel*: gp. ūp-  
engla 226.

**ūpgemynd**, n., *thought of heaven*: as.  
1064.

**ūpheofon**, m., *heaven above*: as. 708.

**ūplīc**, adj., *upper, celestial*: dsn. ūplīcan  
119.

**uppe**, adv., *above, on high*: 749.

**ūpweg**, m., *ascent*: as. 830.

**ūre**, see **ūser**.

**ūser**, pron., *our*: nsn. ūre 454; asm.

ūserne 340, 397, 860; asf. ūsse Ap.

116; gpn. ūssa 1319.

**ūt**, adv., *out, forth*: 15, 968, 1221, 1272,

1279, 1390, 1523, 1537, 1577.

**ūtan**, adv., *outside, from without*: 28,  
871.

**utan**, interj., *let us*: 1356, utu Ap. 115.

**ūðweota**, m., *wise man, sage*: ns. 1105.

## W

**W** = *rune Þ* Ap. 100; for meaning, see  
*Notes*.

**wāc**, adj., *weak, yielding*: nsm. 212.

**wacan**, see **onwacan**.

**wæd**, n., *wave, flood*: np. wædu 533,

wadu 1545; gp. wæda 439; ap. wadu

1457.

**wād**, f., *sail*: np. wādo 375.

**wadan**, 6, *traverse, go*: 2 pl. wadað 677;  
inf. 1271. See **ge-**, **onwadan**.

**wāg**, m., *wall*: ds. wāge 714, 732. See  
**sælwāg**.

**wāg**, m., *wave*: ns. 533; gs. wāges  
632, wēges 601; as. wēg 1532; is.  
wāge 1594; np. wāgas 373, 1545;  
gp. wēga 932; ap. wāgas 456, 748,  
1589, wēgas 108.

**wāgan**, see **āwāgan**.

**wāgfarn**, f., *sea-way, ocean*: ds. wāg-  
fare 923.

**wāgflota**, m., *ship*: ds. wāgflotan  
487.

**wāgðel**, n., *ship*: ds. wāghele 1711.

**wālan**, see **bewālan**.

**walea**, m., *wave*: np. walean 1524.

**waldend**, see **wældend**.

**walgifre**, adj., *eager for carnage*: nsm.

372; nsf. 1271.

**walgrædig**, adj., *greedy for slaughter*:  
npm. walgrædige 135.

**walgrim**, adj., *grievous, cruel*: apn.  
1415.

**walm**, see **wylm**.

**walrēaf**, n., *body*: as. Ap. 95.

- wælrēow**, adj., *murderous*: nsm. Ap. 69; np. wælrēowe 1211.
- wælwang**, m., *field of battle*: ds. welwange 1226.
- wælwulf**, m., *warrior*: np. wælwulfas 140.
- wana**, indecl. adj., *lacking, minus, less*: 1040.
- wang**, m., *plain, field*: ds. wonge 22; as. wang 839. *See* beadu-, dēað-, meotud-, neorxna-, sæl-, sige-, stede-, wælwang.
- wangstede**, m., *place*: ds. 988.
- wanhāl**, adj., *sick*: np. wanhāle 580.
- wann**, adj., *dark*: nsm. 1169; np. wonn 837. *See* brūnwann.
- wansælig**, adj., *unblest*: np. wansælige 963.
- wæpen**, n., *weapon*: gs. wæpnes 1180; ap. wæpen 1145; gp. wæpna 71; dp. wæpnum 1291; ip. 1069, Ap. 69.
- wæpenhete**, m., *armed hostility, battle*: as. Ap. 80.
- wær**, n., *sea*: is. wære 260, 487.
- wær**, f. 1. *faith*: as. wære 213. — 2. *protection*: as. wære 824; is. 535, 988. *See* freoðuwær.
- wærfæst**, adj., *faithful*: nsm. 416, 1310; asm. wærfæstne 1273.
- wærlēas**, adj., *faithless*: gp. wærlēasra 1069.
- wærloga**, m., *traitor*: ns. 1297; ds. wærlogan 613; np. 71, 108.
- waroð**, m., *shore*: ds. waroðe 263, waruðe 236, 240; gp. waroða 306.
- waroðfaroð**, m., *surf*: gp. waroðfaruða 197.
- warn**, *see* burgwaru, ceaster-, eorð-, Sigelware.
- waruðgewinn**, n., *surf*: as. 439.
- wætan**, *see* gewætan.
- wæter**, n., *water*: ns. 333; gs. wæteres 22, 452, 1260, 1536; ds. wætere 587, wættre 953; as. wæter 201, 222, 253, 1507; np. 1553, 1572.
- wæterbrōga**, m., *water-terror*: as. wæterbrōgan 197, 456.
- wæteregesa**, m., *water-terror*: ns. 435, wæteregsa 375.
- wæterflōd**, m., *flood*: np. wæterflōdas 503.
- wāð**, f., *going, journey*: ds. wāðe 593.
- wāðu**, *see* wæd.
- wāðuma**, m., *flood*: gs. wāðuman 1280.
- wēa**, m., *woe, lamentation*: is. wēan 675.
- weale**, *see* geweale.
- weald**, conj., with hū, *however*: 1355.
- weald**, *see* ge-, ahtgeweald.
- wealda**, *see* ealwealda.
- wealdan**, R. w. gen., *rule*: 3 sg. wealdeð 1603, 1685. *See* gewealdan.
- wealdend**, m., *ruler, Lord*: ns. 225, 248, 325, 604, 799, waldend 388, 702, 855; gs. wealdendes 576; as. waldend 213, 539, 1056; vs. 193, 920, 1451.
- weall**, m., *wall*: ds. wealle 726, 736, 1492; np. weallas 843; ap. 1553. *See* burhweall.
- weallan**, R. 1. *flow, well out, flow forth*: 3 pl. weallað 1405; pret. 3 sg. wēoll 1240, 1275, 1280, 1546; ptc. ns. weallende 1574; inf. 1503. — 2. *be agitated, excited*: pret. 3 sg. wēoll 769; ptc. nsm. weallende 1709. *See* āweallan.
- weallgeat**, n., *wall-gate*: dp. weallgeatum 1203.
- weard**, m., *ward, guardian*: ns. 227, 596, 601, 632, 987; as. 52, 56; vs. 82, 1406. *See* burh-, helm-, herig-, lid-, scipweard.
- weard**, *see* and-, innanweard.
- weardigan**, W2, *guard, inhabit*: 3 pl. weardigað 176; inf. 599.
- wēatācen**, n., *sign of grief*: ns. 1119.
- weaxan**, 6, *grow, increase*: pret. 3 sg. wēox 568, 1536, 1677; pret. 3 pl. wēoxon 373, 1545.
- weaxen**, *see* unweaxen.

**webbian**, W2, *weave*: pret. 3 sg. web-bade 672.

**weccean**, W1, *awaken*: inf. 850. *See* **āweccean**.

**wecgan**, *see* **āwecgan**.

**wedd**, n., *promise*: is. wedde 1631.

**weder**, n. 1. *sky*: gs. wederes 837. — 2. *air, breeze*: np. 1256.

**wederburg**, f., *pleasant city*: as. 1697.

**wedercandel**, f., *light of heaven, sun*: ns. 372.

**weg**, m., *way, road*: as. 170, 191, 252, 1173, 1680, AP. 31; np. wegas 1234; gp. wega 65. *See* **barð-**, **feor-**, **fold-**, **grind-**, **holm-**, **ūpweg**.

**wegan**, 5, *bear, endure, experience*: pret. 3 pl. wēgan AP. 87.

**wel**, adj., *well*: 212, well 885.

**wela**, m., *riches, prosperity*: gs. welan 1159; as. 302, 318; ip. welum 755. *See* **æht-**, **ār-**, **bold-**, **ēad-**, **lifwela**.

**wellan**, *see* **āwellan**.

**welm**, *see* **wyhm**.

**welwang**, *see* **waelwang**.

**wēman**, W1. 1. *sound, be heard*: pret. 3 sg. wēmdē 740. — 2. *proclaim, announce*: pret. 1 sg. wēmdē 1480.

**wemman**, *see* **gewemmed**.

**wēn**, f., *hope, expectation*: ns. 1074; dp. wēnum 1087.

**-wēna**, *see* **orwēna**.

**wēnan**, W1, w. gen., *expect*: pret. 3 sg. wēnde 377; pret. 3 pl. wēndan 1072, 1597.

**wendan**, W1, *change, turn*: inf. 587. *See* **onwenden**.

**-wende**, *see* **lēofwende**.

**wenian**, W1, *direct, guide*: pret. 3 sg. wenede 1682.

**weorc**, n. 1. *work, fabric*: as. 799. — 2. *occupation*: is. weorce 1365. — 3. *pain, affliction*: ns. 1659; gs. weorces 1277; as. weorc AP. 80. *See* **ellen-**, **frum-**, **fyrn-**, **ge-**, **gūð-**, **ðryð-**, **wundorweorc**.

**weorm**, m., *worm*: ns. 769; dp. weorum AP. 95.

**weorn**, *see* **worn**.

**weorod**, n., *host, throng*: ns. weorud 761, werod 1219; gs. weorodes 1039, 1271, 1592; ds. weorode 1659; as. weorod 1046, 1682; is. weorode 1706, weorude 1390; np. werod 1069; gp. weoroda 870, 1206, 1415, weoruda 62, 173, 388, 435, 727, 1282, 1663; dp. weorodum 564, 736, AP. 55, weorudum AP. 61.

**weorp**, *see* **ge-**, **wintergeweorp**.

**weorpan**, *see* **ymbweorpan**.

**weorðan**, 3. 1. *be, become*: 2 sg. wyrðest 483; 3 sg. weorðeð 1383, wyrðeð 219, 972; pret. 2 sg. wurde 1408; pret. 3 sg. wearð 90, 92, 350, 369, 467, 524, 566, 770, 910, 960, 1085, 1090, 1106, 1149, 1386, 1529, 1550, 1569, 1595, 1702, AP. 42, 52, 64, 82; pret. 3 pl. wurdon 376, 447, 453, 1339, 1583; opt. pres. 2 sg. weorðe 276; opt. pres. 3 sg. wyrðe 208; opt. pret. 3 sg. wurde 156, 1066, 1228, 1423; opt. pret. 3 pl. wurdan 1619; imper. 2 sg. weorð 902; inf. weorðan 137, 211, 758, 890, 953, weorþan 204, 948, wyrðan 215, 437, wyrþan 182. — 2. *befall, happen*: pret. 3 sg. wearð 1343, 1526, AP. 78. *See* **geweorðan**.

**weorðian**, W2, *honor*: pret. 2 sg. wyrðodest 551; pret. 3 sg. weorðode 755, weorðade 1268, wyrðode 55, wyrðude 538; pret. 3 pl. weorðodon 806, weorðadon 1055, weorðedon 1715; inf. AP. 48. *See* **geweorðian**.

**weorðung**, *see* **dōm-**, **sineweorðung**.

**weota**, *see* **wita**.

**wēpan**, R. 1. *cry out, weep*: pret. 3 sg. wēop 1400; ptc. nsm. wēpende 59. — 2. *beweep, be grieved at*: imper. 2 sg. wēp 1431.

**wer**, m., *man*: ns. 168, 1395; gs. weres AP. 27; as. wer 1171, 1648; np. weras 963, 1536, 1637, 1666; gp.

- weras 35, 135, 620, 650, 705, 730, 787,  
 1145, 1155, 1200, 1507, 1554, 1597;  
 dp. werum 22, 153, 558, AP. 106; ap.  
 weras 428.  
**wergan**, *see* **āwergan**.  
**werian**, W1, *ward off, defend*: pret.  
 3 sg. werede 743, 1053.  
**wērig**, adj. 1. *tweary, wretched*: nsm.  
 1278; npm. wērige 580, 593; dpm.  
 wēregum 59. — 2. *evil, cursed*: gs.  
 wēriges 1169; np. wērige 615; dp.  
 wērigum 86, 615. *See* **lid-**, **sāwērig**.  
**wērigferð**, adj., *sad at heart*: nsm.  
 1400.  
**wērigmōd**, adj., *tweary in spirit*: nsm.  
 1366.  
**werðeod**, f., *people, nation*: gs. wer-  
 ðeode 855; ds. werþeode 137, 573;  
 ap. werþeoda 543, AP. 15.  
**wesan**, anv., *be, exist*: 1 sg. eom 636,  
 bēo 72; 2 sg. eart 505, 527, 1188,  
 1291, 1508; 3 sg. is 102, 113, 120,  
 177, 313, 324, 393, 394, 420, 422, 424,  
 492, 496, 501, 526, 542, 544, 549, 682,  
 717, 719, 724, 751, 758, 906, 907, 940,  
 951, 979, 1165, 1166, 1173, 1199, 1317,  
 1372, 1425, 1427, 1434, 1481, 1489,  
 1562, 1563, 1565, 1602, 1605, 1611,  
 1664, 1717, 1718, 1722, AP. 14, 118;  
 (w. neg.) nis 107, 205, 1210, 1432; bið  
 185, 275, 320, 637, 885, 889, 935, 1056,  
 1153, 1384, 1567, 1693, AP. 113; 1 pl.  
 synd 323; syndon 264; biōð 408;  
 2 pl. sint 348; synd 744; syndon 344,  
 676; 3 pl. sint 1404, 1425; synt 198,  
 391; synd 1365; sindon 201, 1360,  
 AP. 112; syndon 686, 689, 720, 973;  
 pret. 1 sg. was 64, 489, 949; pret.  
 2 sg. wære 898; pret. 3 sg. was 11,  
 10, 25, 29, 36, 40, 41, 57, 122, 147,  
 158, 161, 169, 230, 231, 232, 239, 248,  
 262, 385, 594, 665, 667, 684, 700, 854,  
 869, 874, 878, 887, 892, 967, 981,  
 1010, 1013, 1018, 1097, 1105, 1112,  
 1116, 1119, 1138, 1155, 1201, 1223,  
 1225, 1238, 1242, 1245, 1250, 1251,  
 1253, 1274, 1302, 1307, 1322, 1382,  
 1394, 1395, 1476, 1532, 1534, 1537,  
 1542, 1547, 1554, 1571, 1573, 1579,  
 1581 (2), 1584, 1622, 1627, 1643, 1659,  
 1689, 1708, AP. 25, 37, 41, 48, 57, 66,  
 106; (w. neg.) næs 21, 380, 662, 888,  
 1113, 1162, 1471, 1522, AP. 33; pret.  
 3 pl. wæron 7, 46, 250, 579, 791, 1016,  
 1041, 1114, 1259, 1334, 1695, AP. 4;  
 (w. neg.) nāron AP. 75; opt. 2 sg. sie  
 417; opt. 3 sg. 70, 1439, 1451, AP. 107;  
 opt. 3 pl. sien 734; pret. opt. 3 sg.  
 wære 563, 765, 799, 1178; imp. 2 sg.  
 bēo 98, 214; wes 540, 914, 959; imp.  
 2 pl. bēoð 1609.  
**wēste**, adj., *desolate*: asn. 1159.  
**wēstenn**, n., *desert*: ds. wēstenne 699.  
**wex**, n., *wax*: ds. wexe 1145.  
**wīc**, fn., *habitation*: as. 131, 1310; np.  
 AP. 112. *See* **eardwīc**.  
**wieg**, n., *horse*: dp. wiegum 1095.  
**wīd**, adj. 1. *broad, wide*: asn. wīdne  
 283. — 2. **w. forh. ealdor.** = *for-*  
*ever*: dsn. wīdan 106, 810, 938, 1452,  
 1721; asn. 1383.  
**wīde**, adv., *widely, far and wide*: 333,  
 576, 1119, 1234, 1554, 1637, AP. 2, 6,  
 15, 42.  
**wīdfæðme**, adj., *broad-bosomed*: nsm.  
 533; asn. 240.  
**wīdfærende**, adj., *far-traveling*: np.  
 279.  
**wīdland**, n., *earth, broad earth*: as. 198.  
**wīdlāst**, m., *far journey*: ap. wīdlāstas  
 677.  
**wīdrynig**, adj., *far-flowing*: asn. 1507.  
**wīf**, n., *woman*: np. 1666; gp. wīfa  
 1039, 1597.  
**wīg**, m., *idol*: as. AP. 48.  
**wīg**, n., *war, battle*: gs. wīges 839,  
 1183, 1226, 1355, AP. 74.  
**wīga**, m., *warrior*: as. wīgan 1711.  
**wīgend**, m., *warrior*: np. 1053, 1203;  
 gp. wīgendra 506, 887, 896, 1450,  
 1572, 1608, 1672, wīgendra 1095; ap.  
 wīgend 850, 1297.

**wiht**, f.n., *aught*: is. *wihte* 1522, 1661.  
*See call-, ōwilt.*

**willā**, m., *will, desire*: ns. 70; gs. *willan* 65, 106; ds. 1401, 1641; as. 304, 350; ip. *willum* (*blissfully*) 810.

**willan**, anv., *will, wish, desire*: 1 sg. *wille* 84, 347, 458, 474, 648, 1412; 2 sg. *wilt* 288; 1 pl. *willað* 292; 3 pl. 178, 208; pret. 1 sg. *wolde* 271, 478, 483, 970; pret. 2 sg. *woldest* 203, *woldes* 308; pret. 3 sg. *wolde* 146, 894, 1109, 1130, 1655, 1658, 1660, 1699, Ap. 47; pret. 1 pl. *woldon* 1424; pret. 3 pl. 129, 402, 803, 1072, 1141, 1392, 1460, 1538, 1639; opt. 2 sg. *wille* 75, 312, 1286.

**willgedryht**, f., *faithful band*: as. 914.

**willgeofa**, m., *gracious dispenser*: as. *wilgeofan* 62; vs. *willgeofa* 1282.

**wilnian**, W2, w. gen., *desire*: 2 sg. *wilnast* 283; pret. 3 sg. *wilnode* 918; pret. 3 pl. *wilnedon* 448; inf. 1128.

**wilsīð**, m., *pleasant journey*: as. 1046.

**wilðegū**, f., *desired feast*: ds. *wilþege* 153.

**wīn**, n., *wine*: as. 587. [Lat. *vinum*.]

**wīnburg**, f., *city of festivity*: as. 1637; ds. *wīnbyrig* 1672.

**wīnd**, m., *wind*: ns. 269, 503; np. *wīndas* 373; ap. 452, 456.

**wīndan**, 3, *wind, gyrate*: pret. 3 sg. *wānd* 372. *See be-, onwīndan.*

**wīndig**, adj., *windy*: npm. *wīndige* 843.

**wīne**, m., *friend*: as. 1464; vs. 307, 1431; np. *wīnas* 108.

**wīnedryhten**, m., *friendly lord*: as. 919.

**wīneðearfende**, adj., *in need of a friend*: nsm. *wīneþearfende* 300.

**wīnn**, *see ge-, gārge-, gūðge-, handgewinn.*

**-wīnna**, *see gewinna.*

**wīnnan**, 3, *endure, suffer*: pret. 2 sg. *wunne* 1380.

**wīnreced**, n., *wine-hall*: as. 1159.

**wīnter**, m., *winter, i.e. year*: dp. *wīntrum* 506.

**wīnterceald**, adj., *wintery cold*: asf. *wīntercealdan* 1265.

**wīntergeworp**, n., *winter storm*: ip. *wīntergeworpum* 1256.

**wīr**, m., *wire, bracelet*: gp. *wīra* 302.

**wīs**, adj., *wise*: nsm. 316, 470, 919, 1497, *wīsa* 843; asmi. 552; vsm. *wīs* 624; comp. asm. *wīsan* 474.

**wīsdōm**, m., *wisdom*: ns. 569, 1678; gs. *wīsdōmes* 645; as. *wīsdōm* 650.

**wīsfæst**, adj., *wise*: asm. *wīsfæstne* 1648; gp. *wīsfæstra* 1167.

**wīsian**, W2. 1. trans. w. acc. and dat., *guide, direct*: pret. 3 sg. *wīsode* 381, Ap. 9; opt. 2 sg. *wīsigē* 488; inf. 1099. — 2. intrans., *lead or indicate the way*: pret. 3 sg. *wīsode* 985.

**wīslie**, adj., *wise*: asn. 509.

**wīst**, f., *food*: ns. 21; ds. *wīste* 153; as. 302, 312, 318, 593, 1074, *wīst* 388. *See ondwīst.*

**wīt**, *see edwītspræc, ge-, inwīt.*

**wīta**, *see fyrnwīta, ūðweota.*

**wītan**, PP, *know*: 1 sg. *wāt* 183, 199, 433, 498, 814, 904, 941; 2 sg. *wāst* 932, *wāst* 1186, 1282; pret. 3 sg. *wīste* 261; opt. 1 sg. *wīte* 603; opt. 3 sg. 546; w. neg., 1 sg. *nāt* Ap. 111; 2 pl. *nyton* 745; pret. 3 pl. *nyston* 1088.

**wītan**, *see ge-, ōðwītan.*

**wīte**, n., *punishment, torture*: ns. 889; np. *wītu* 1365; gp. *wīta* 1470, 1490, 1618; dp. *wītum* 1299; ap. *wītu* 1052, 1415, 1611; ip. *wītum* 580, 1211, 1361, 1631.

**wītebend**, mf., *torture-bonds*: ip. *wītebendum* 108, 1561.

**wītian**, W2, *order, appoint, decree*: pp. *wītod* 889, *weotod* 951, *weotud* 1366, asf. *weotude* 1074.

**wītīg**, adj., *wise*: nsm. 743.

**wītīga**, m., *prophet*: np. *wītīgan* 801.

**wīð**, prep. w. dat. and acc. 1. w. dat., *against*: 425, 560, 1210, 1291, 1359. — 2. postpositive, w. dat., *in reply to*:

299. — 3. w. dat., *from* (separation): AP. 37, 83. — 4. w. dat., *from* (source): 275. — 5. w. acc., *to, towards*: 213, 389(?), 921, 1188, 1387, 1495.
- wiðerfeotend**, m., *enemy*: as. 1183.
- wiðerhyegende**, adj., *hostile, opposing*: nsm. 1172; npm. 1072.
- wiðerhȳdig**, adj., *hostile*: nsm. 675.
- wiðermēde**, adj., *hostile*: nsm. wiðermēda 1195.
- wiðstandan**, 6. w. dat. *oppose, defeat*: pret. 3 sg. wiðstōd 167.
- wiððingian**, W2, w. dat., *talk with, bargain with*: pret. 3 sg. wiððingode 263, 306, 632.
- wlīte**, m., *appearance, beauty*: ns. 1471. *See* magwlīte.
- wlītelēas**, adj., *ugly*: ns. 1169.
- wlītīg**, adj., *fair, beautiful*: nsm. 870; nsf. 732, wlītīge (weak) 1437; npm. wlītīge 363.
- wlītīge**, adv., *fairly, beautifully*: 716, 1721.
- wlītīgian**, *see* gewlītīgian.
- wlōh**, f., *fringe*: ns. 1471.
- wolcen**, n., *cloud, sky*: dp. wolcnum 93, 837; ip. 1046.
- wōma**, m., *tumult, terror*: as. wōman 1355. *See* dægred-, hildewōma.
- wong**, *see* wang.
- wōp**, m., *lamentation, weeping*: ns. 1155, 1554, 1666; gs. wōpes 1278.
- word**, n., *word, speech*: ns. 569, 1678; gs. wordes 261, 474, 1648; as. word 416, 650, 732, 801, 855, 896, 1172, 1299, 1358, 1361, 1381, 1400, 1418, 1430, 1497, 1663, AP. 53; is. worde 193, 210, 304, 418, 584, 716, 727, 743, 778, 850, 913, 1019, 1206, 1280, 1450; gp. worda 509, 904, 923, 1439; dp. wordum 88, 761, 1026, 1167, 1219, 1512, AP. 106; ip. 13, 55, 62, 173, 300, 354, 428, 539, 596, 624, 630, 740, 755, 806, 812, 919, 963, 1053, 1195, 1200, 1268, 1464, 1480, 1510, 1608. *See* hosp-, huse-, lēodword.
- wordewide**, m., *speech*: dp. wordewidum 552, 1447.
- wordhlēoðor**, n., *speech, speaking*: ns. 708; gs. wordhlēoðres 93.
- wordhord**, n., *treasury of words*: as. 316, 601.
- wordlatu**, f., *delay in obeying*: ns. 1522.
- wordlaðu**, f., *speech, eloquence*: as. wordlaðe 635.
- wordloca**, m., *treasury of words*: as. wordlocan 470.
- worn**, m., *multitude, number*: as. 812, 904, weorn 677; gp. weorna 1490.
- worp**, *see* wintergeworp.
- woruld**, f. 1. *world, earth*: ds. worulde 304, 356, 948, AP. 112; as. woruld 576. — 2. *mankind*: ds. worulde 509. — 3. *in world worulda = forever*: as., gp. 1686.
- woruldspēd**, f., *worldly prosperity*: as. woruldspēde 318.
- woruldwunigende**, adj., *dwelling on earth*: np. AP. 100.
- wōð**, f., *sound, voice, song*: as. wōðe 675.
- wræc**, n., *exile, misery*: gs. wræces 1383; as. wræc 1380.
- wræcsīð**, m., *exile, misery*: ns. 889; as. 1358, 1431.
- wraen**, f., *punishment*: as. wræc 615.
- wrāsen**, *see* fetor-, inwitwrāsen.
- wrætlic**, adj. 1. *skillful, beautiful*: asf. wrætlice 712. — 2. *wondrous*: nsm. wrætlic 740; nsf. 93; ipn. wrætlicum 630, 1200.
- wrāð**, adj., *angry*: nsm. 1297; dsm. wrāðum 613; gp. wrāðra 1273, 1317.
- wrecan**, 5. 1. *avenge*: inf. 1180. — 2. *utter, send forth*: pp. wrecen 1548. *See* bewrecan.
- wreðian**, W1, *support*: pret. 3 sg. wreðede 523.
- wrīdian**, W2, *grow, flourish*: 3 sg. wrīdað 635; pret. 3 sg. wrīdode 767.



- writan**, *v.* *write*: pret. 3 sg. wrāt 1510; inf. 13. *See* **āwritan**.
- wrōht**, *f.*, *blame, calumny*: as. 672.
- wrōhtsmið**, *m.*, *evil-doer*: dp. wrōhtsmiðum 86.
- wudubāt**, *m.*, *wooden ship*: ds. wudubāte 905.
- wuldor**, *n.*, *glory, heavenly glory, heaven*: ns. 171, 555, 854, 1317, 1452, 1463; gs. wuldres 55, 70, 88, 193, 210, 354, 535, 539, 596, 708, 726, 758, 806, 870, 887, 913, 1026, 1056, 1268, 1380, 1510, 1611, 1631, 1661, 1678, 1715, AP. 27, 48, 61, 87, wuldras 523; ds. wuldre 356, 948, 1682, 1721; is. 543, 669, 1618; vs. wuldor 1411, wuldur 899.
- wuldorcynig**, *m.*, *king of glory*: gs. wuldorcyniges 418, 801, 1430, 1447; as. wuldorcining AP. 74.
- wuldorgesteald**, *n.*, *heavenly habitation*: gp. wuldorgestealda 1686.
- wuldorgifu**, *f.*, *glorious gift*: ip. wuldorgifum 938.
- wuldorspēdig**, *adj.*, *glorious*: apm. wuldorspēdige 428.
- wuldortorht**, *adj.*, *gloriously bright*: nsn. 1457.
- wuldorðrym**, *m.*, *heavenly glory*: gs. wuldorþrymmes 325, 702.
- wulf**, *see* **wælwulf**.
- wund**, *f.*, *wound*: ns. 1473; dp. wundum 953, 1278.
- wund**, *adj.*, *wounded, crippled*: nsm. AP. 61; npm. wunde 407.
- wundor**, *n.*, *wonder, miracle*: ns. 736; ds. wundre 620; as. wundor 620, 730; gp. wundra 564, 569, 584, 699, 812; dp. wundrum = adv. *wondrous* 1492, 1497; ap. wundor 604, 712.
- wundorcraeft**, *m.*, *wondrous power*: is. wundorcraeft 13, 645, AP. 55.
- wundorweorc**, *n.*, *miracle*: gp. wundorworca 705.
- wunian**, *Wb.* 1. *occupy, dwell in*: pret. 3 pl. wunedon 131; imper. 2 sg. wuna 1672; inf. 1310, 1697. — 2. *support, stand by*: 1 sg. wunige 99, 1218. — 3. *remain, stand, abide*: 3 pl. wuniað 101; pret. 3 sg. wunode 163, 1262; pret. 3 pl. wunedon 868, 1158; opt. pres. 3 sg. wunige 945; inf. wunigean 802, AP. 95. *See* **gewunian**.
- wunigende**, *see* **woruldwunigende**.
- wunn**, *see* **wynn**.
- wurd**, *see* **wyrd**.
- wylm**, *m.*, *surge, billow*: as. 367, 863; dp. wælmum 452. *See* **flōd**-, **heaðo**-, **strēamwylm**.
- wynn**, *f.* 1. *joy*: ns. 887, 1113, 1162; ip. wynnum 635, winnum 1019. — 2. *choice, best* (w. gen. pl.): ns. 1223; as. wunn 1713.
- wyrean**, *W1*, *make, fashion*: pret. 3 sg. worhte 523, 1479. *See* **gewyrean**.
- wyrd**, *f.* 1. *fate*: ns. 613, 1561. — 2. *event, happening*: ns. 758, wurd AP. 42; as. wyrd 1480; gp. wyrda 630, 1056. *See* **forwyrd**.
- wyrht**, *see* **gewyrht**.
- wyrhta**, *m.*, *Creator*: ns. 325, 702. *See* **gewyrhta**.
- wyrresta**, *see* **yfel**.
- wyrðian**, *see* **weorðian**.
- wyrðmynd**, *fn.*, *honor*: ip. wyrðmyndum 905.

## Y

- Y** = *rune* ᚷ AP. 103; *for meaning, see* *Notes*.
- yfel**, *n.*, *evil*: ns. 695; gs. yfles 1382; gp. yfela 1312.
- yfel**, *adj.*, *bad, evil*: sup. asm. wyrrestan 86; sup. npm. 1592.
- ylde**, *mpl.*, *men*: gp. ylða 182, 1555.
- ylðing**, *f.*, *delay*: ns. 215.
- ymb**, *prep.* w. acc. 1. *round, about*: 872, 1233, 1247, ymbe 841, 871, 1577. — 2. *after, after every* (temporal): 157. — 3. *concerning*: 1117.
- ymbseċinan**, 1. *shine about*: pret. 3 sg. ymbseċan 1017.

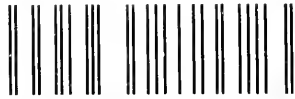
- ymbweorpan**, 3. *surround*: pret. 3 pl. ymbwurpon 1553.
- yppan**, *see* **geyppan**.
- yppe**, adj., *manifest, revealed*: nsn. AP. 64.
- yrmiðu**, f., *distress, affliction*: as. 1384, yrmðo 1190, ermðu 1162; gp. yrmþa 970; dp. yrmðum 163.
- yrre**, adj., *angry*: asm. yrne AP. 68; npm. eorre 47, 1076.
- ȳst**, f., *tempest*: ns. 1586.
- ȳð**, f., *wave*: ns. 443; as. ȳðe 1591; gp. ȳða 259, 352, 368, 466, 823, 863; dp. ȳðum 451, 514, 1713; ap. ȳða 519; ip. ȳðum 1240, 1275, 1546. *See* **ārȳð**.
- ȳðbord**, n., *ship*: as. 298.
- ȳðfaru**, f., *flood*: ds. ȳðfare 900.
- ȳðfynde**, adj., *easy to find*: nsn. 1547.
- ȳðlād**, f., *ocean*: ds. ȳðlāde 499.
- ȳðlid**, n., *ship*: ds. ȳðlide 278; as. ȳðlid 445.
- ȳwan**, W1, *shore*: pp. ȳwed 972. *See* **at-**, **oðȳwan**.



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